No. LXIII

THE TĀRĪKH-I-MUBĀRAKSHĀHĪ

(English Translation)
THE TĀRĪKH-I-MUBĀRAKSHĀHĪ

BY

YĀḤIYĀ BIN AḤMAD BIN ʿABDULLAH SIRHINDI

Translated into English from the Original Persian with Textual Notes and Index

BY

K. K. BASU, M.A.,
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, T.N.J. COLLEGE, BHAGALPUR (BIHAR),
CO-OPTED MEMBER HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION (1930).

With a foreword by

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

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FOREWORD.

The Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī of Yahiyā bin Āhmad Sārhindī, in spite of its small size and lack of literary pretensions, is a work of exceeding value, being the primary source of information for one particular period of Delhi history, namely the reigns of the Sultans of the Sayyid dynasty. The Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri of Minhājuddin brings Delhi history down to 1259; Zīā Barāni takes the story up at this point and carries it down to 1356, while Shams-i-Sirāj Ārif continues it for the entire reign of Firuz Shāh Tughlaq (1351–1388), though he slurs over the last years of that monarch’s reign. Yahiyā comes in at this stage and gives us what he himself witnessed or learnt from trustworthy observers from the times of Firuz Shāh to the accession of the third Sayyid Sultan, Muhammad (1434). Thus, he is our most original authority for a period of 35 years, 1400–1434, or even longer, as he supplements the meagre information of Ārif from about 1380 onwards. What enhances his value is that he is the only “source of all our knowledge of the Sayyid period. All later writers have been directly or indirectly indebted to him for the history of the troublous times which followed the invasion of Timur...[His work] covers that hiatus of about sixty years which Col. Lees thought it would be difficult to fill up from contemporaneous historians. The whole account of the Sayyid period in Nizāmuddin Āhmads Tabaqāt-i-Akbari is a mere reproduction of the statements of Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī very often copied verbatim. Badayuni follows it very closely. Firishtah often borrows its very words”.

[ Dowson.]

Even for earlier periods of Indo-Muslim history, Yahiyā gives many little pieces of information not to be found elsewhere. These facts were evidently remembered in his time, but were forgotten when, a century and a half later, the historians of Akbar’s time wrote their accounts of the so-called Pathan period. Yahiyā is praised by Dowson as “a careful and apparently an honest chronicler”. His work gains an added interest from the
fact that he was a Shia, while nearly all other Delhi historians have been Sunnis.

The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī* is "an exceedingly rare work". The only manuscript of it known to exist in India belongs to me and was transcribed in Jahangir's reign. From this Professor Kamal Krishna Basu, M.A., made an English version, which he afterwards corrected from the rotographs of the British Museum and Bodleian MSS secured by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The complete apparatus of the various readings is given in his footnotes. From the condition of the text, it is a difficult book to translate. In particular, the geographical names require further elucidation and correction, but the translator has afforded every assistance to future workers by scrupulously giving the readings of the different MSS in every case, as well as extracts from other Persian historians on the same points. This is the first critical study of this unique history.

The Government of H.H. the Gaekwad deserve the cordial thanks of the scholarly world for undertaking the publication of this translation. Works of this class do not pay their own way even in Europe, still less can they be expected to do so in India, where neither English nor Persian is the mother tongue of the people. The valuable Indian histories included in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series will stand as an enduring monument to the enlightened liberality of the Ruler of Baroda and the wisdom of his advisers.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

Darjiling, 10th April, 1932.
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The translation now offered to the public has been made from the following sources:—

(1) Manuscript of the Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhī belonging to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E. I have in this work referred to the manuscript as JNS. In size it is 9" x 5½", consisting of 295 pages with 15 lines into a page. The concluding portion of the MS shows that its transcription was completed in midday of the 21st Ramzan, 1037 H. (1629 A.D.). Excepting the opening page, that has been lost, all other pages of the MS are intact. Sir Jadunath's MS is in a clear, bold hand, but its defect lies in its being inaccurately transcribed, and in its being eaten up, here and there, by white ants, occasionally rendering the text unintelligible.

(2) The rotograph copy of the British Museum manuscript (No. 41057) of the Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhī, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This Manuscript has been indicated by me as MBM. The original work was very neatly done and written in a bold and legible hand. No page of this MS. is lost; the total number of the pages of this MS is 243. The first page contains 9 lines and the other pages 13. The MS bears no date as to when its transcription was done.

(3) The rotograph copy of the Bodleian library MS of the Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhī (MS Fraser. 150) in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I have, in my translation, referred to this work as MBL. From the concluding lines of this work it appears that its transcription was completed on the 8th Rajab, 957 H. (23rd July, 1550 A.D.). Of the three MSS referred to, the last one is the earliest, containing in comparison with the other two less of clerical errors or slips.

Some portion of this volume appeared in some of the research Journals, such as, Journal Asiatic Society Bengal; Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Those portions were mainly the
outcome of work done with the manuscript belonging to Sir J. N. Sarkar, as the rotograph copies of the MSS in the British Museum and Bodleian library were not made available to me then. In this work all the three texts have been duly compared and collated, and all variant readings noted in the footnotes.

Sir H. M. Elliot's translation of Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhī deals with the selected portions only; the text that Sir Henry handled lost its pages here and there, and so, he supplemented it by quoting passages from Tabākat-i-Akbari.

I have taken care to translate the text as literally as possible, in order to convey some idea, however faint of the original author's standard of literary excellence. I have made an attempt to reproduce the thought of the original in English, of course, making it free from the crudities of foreign idiom and the verbosity and affectation of the Persian language. The poetical portions of the original work have been translated in prose and not in verse, thus preserving the substance though sacrificing the form.

In transliterating Persian names I have for the most part followed the system of transliteration adopted and published by the Philological Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The hamza is represented by ' , the letter خ by · and the letters خ and ش have been represented by underlining the combinations kh, gh and sh respectively. The Persian words amirs and maliks have been retained and no equivalent English words have been used.

I feel I shall be failing in my duty if I do not close this preface on a more personal note. No amount of words is adequate enough to express my deep gratitude to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E. for his generous assistance and unfailing kindness. It was at his suggestion that the translation-work was undertaken, and it was under his fostering care that the work progressed and has been brought to a finish. He not only made a generous loan of his own MS of the Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhī, but also kept the doors of his private library always open for me. In fine, to Sir Jadunath I owe the opportunities of this little historical research that I have been able to carry on. I have also to gratefully
acknowledge the courtesy and readiness to assist extended to me by my venerable colleague, 'Abdul Majid, Esq., Prof. of Persian, who spared no pains in revising the translation drafted by me and helping me with suggestions. I am also very grateful to late Major B. D. Basu of Allahabad, whose help has made this work see the light of day. It is a matter of deep regret that the Major left us before he could see the publication of this work. I have also to acknowledge the assistance of my worthy colleague Prof. Ali Ahmad, M.A. and my esteemed friend Prof. Abdul Kadir, M.A. of Islamia College, Calcutta. I have much pleasure in expressing my thanks to J. Van Manen, Esq., the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for his valuable help. Finally, I cannot conclude without recording my gratefulness to the Government of Baroda for their having so kindly undertaken the publication of this work in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

K. K. BASU.

Bhagalpur,
9th March, 1931.
ABBREVIATIONS.

Afif—Shams-i-Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi (A.S.B., 1888–1891) and also Elliot (Translations of Extracts from Afif).


Badaoni—Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh (A.S.B.).


Indian Ephemeris—By L. D. S. Pillai, published under the authority of the Government of Madras, 1922.


J.N.S.—MS. of the Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī belonging to Sir J. N. Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E.


MBL—MS. of the Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī in the Bodleian Library (MS. Fraser. 150).

MBM—MS. of the Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī in the British Museum Library (MS. no. 41057).

Ranking—G. S. A. Ranking, English Translation of Badaoni (A.S.B., 1898).


T.A. or Tab.-i-Akb.—Tabākāt-i-Akbari of Nizām-ud-din Aḥmad (A.S.B.).

Thomas—Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi.
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The Tārikh-i-Mubārakshahi.

THE AUTHOR’S INTRODUCTION.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

Infinite praise be solely to God, the Creator of the angel and the mankind, Who with the assistance of the equity of the emperors, the defenders of the Faith, elevated and established the foundation of the Islamic Religion in a manner that it might not be endangered “till then when those in their graves would be taken out”; and unlimited thanksgiving be to the Eternal and Sole Lord, Who by the awe-inspiring sword of the emperors, devoted to the Faith, razed to the ground and destroyed the foundations of the infidels so that they could not construct their edifices “until the Day of Resurrection!” “In the words of the Prophet, upon him be peace, the Faith and the Country are like twins.”

Increasing benedictions and pious salutations be upon the chosen among the created beings, the abstract of the existences, the best and the greatest among the men, the chief of the descendants of Adam, Muhammad bin ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abdul Mu’tālib bin Hashim bin ‘Abd Manāf; and peace be upon the “followers and descendants of the Prophet that are pure, holy, and righteous”; especially, upon the four friends, the choosen of the Omnipotent God, and the true Caliphs; upon him, the best among the companions and the associates, Amiru-l Mu’minin Abu Bakr al-Šidîk, May Allah be pleased with him! whom He has honoured

1 MBM and MBL read استمداد.
2 MBL reads دين داران.
3 Text reads صيد, which literally means “in want of nothing” (بي نياز).
4 MBM reads ملت صادقين : MBL reads ملت مبارکين : ملت مبارکين.
5 MBL reads مولى کفر از مسلمانش شیخزادگان. مولى کفر از مسلمانش شیخزادگان.
6 JNS begins here.
by saying that, he was the second among the two who took shelter in the cave;

upon him, who was the crown among the just and the selected, whose action is a proof positive of (the existence of) God, who was befriended by Allah, the Bestower of gifts—Amir ul Mú’mínín ‘Amr ul Khaṭṭāb¹—May Allah be pleased with him! whom He has honoured by saying, “He is severe upon the infidels”;

, upon him, who was the greatest martyr in the cause of Allah, the chief among the saints, who put into shape the Korâ̧n—Amir ul Mú’mínín Osmân, the son of ‘Affân, May Allah be pleased with him! with regard to whom he has said, “The most compassionate among them” (followers of the Prophet);

upon him, who was the last of the (four) Caliphs, the helper of the weak, the victorious lion of Allah—Amir ul Mú’mínín, ‘Ali-bin-Abi-Ṭâlib, May Allah be pleased with him and May He honour him! with regard to whom He has said, “Thou seest in him one bowing and performing Sijdah and praying for the grace and glory of Allah”;

upon them, who were the two pieces of the Prophet’s body, the apple of the eye of Zuhra Batul (daughter of the Prophet)—“the pupils which gave sight in both her eyes”!—Amir ul Mú’mínín Al Hasan and Al Husen—May Allah be pleased with them and may they remain contented with the decree of Allah, and May He (also) be pleased with all the companions of the Prophet, with those who came after them, and with the Imâms, who were shown the proper path and were satisfied with the decree of Allah—those who pronounced judgment with honesty and administered justice with equity, every one of whom (companions and Imâms), was the leader of the Religion and believer in the Religion, according to the saying of the Prophet, “My companions are like stars, whomsoever you follow, you take the proper path.”

It is represented by Yâhiyâ, the well-wisher of all Muslims,² the humblest slave of the Omnicent Lord³ and the son of Ahmad bin ‘Abdullah⁴ of Sirhind⁵—May God help him to be devotional

¹ JNS reads ‘Amr bin-ul Khaṭṭāb, but MBL and MBM read ‘Amr ul Khaṭṭāb.
² MBM reads كاتبphoné : MBL reads كاتبphoné.
³ MBM and MBL ملكphoné : JNS ملكphoné.
⁴ JNS reads ابن احمد عبد الله.
⁵ MBM السهرودیphoné : JNS السهرودیphoné.
and May He free him from sin! that, when the Great and Glorious God granted the rein of sovereignty over Hindustan to Muizzuddunyā-wa-ud-din Abu-l-Fateḥ Ḥazrat Mubārak Shāh-ul-Sulṭān. May Allah perpetuate his kingdom, his sovereignty and May He increase his dignity—the powerful lord of the universe, the ruler over the sons and daughters of Adam, the lord of the Persian and Arabian Kings, the potent royal personality befriended by the Merciful, and the son of Naṣīr-ud-daulat-wa-ud-din Khīẓr Khān, the great and the bountiful and of revered memory—May his tomb be sanctified, and May he dwell in paradise—and He installed him upon the throne of the capital city, Dehli, which had been the chief seat of many a great and noteworthy ruler, the world and its denizens, owing to the immense benignity and justice of the heavenly-exalted king, were honoured with the gift of law and order; moreover, the recalcitrants and the infidels for fear of the sharp edged sword and the vast army (of His Majesty) walked into the corner of misfortune, and remained sick, distressed and ruined. May God, the Great and the Glorious, cast perpetually till the continuance of the progeny of Adam, the shadow of the imperial umbrella—the shadow of God in the universe—upon the world and its denizens, and May He, under His own shelter and defence, protect it from misfortunes and disasters of the final day.

Verse.

O! that thou mayest avail yourself of the throne, fortune, prosperity and youth,
As a good king, thou mayest scatter wealth according to your desires!

1 MBL: زمام سلطنت و قوام مملکت هند و سند سلطنت مملکت هندستان MBL and JNS read: زمام
2 MBL has no “ul-Sulṭān” after Mubārak Shāh: JNS agrees with MBL.
3 MBL and MBM read: مغفر JNS omits مغفر.
4 MBL: در کنی ادار ادار MBM: در کنی ادار JNS.
5 MBM: ظلل اللہ فی العالم JNS reads: العالیین MBM reads: العالم instead of JNS agrees with MBM.
6 MBL gives: خوشخ نده در پنجه و عصمت خوشخ جایی دهد JNS agrees with MBL but omits جایی.
On the whole, this well-wisher (i.e., the author) had the intention of being honoured by kissing the ground of His Auspicious Majesty,—May Allah, The Most High, ever make him supreme!—but owing to the dearth of any suitable present worthy of the royal dignity, let him narrate the history of the late emperors—May Allah shed lustre on their demonstrations!—who obtained under the custody of Allah, The Most High! the guardianship over events (i.e., whose period of sovereignty is reminiscent of various events). The facts (of this work) have been gathered from various histories and recorded up to the coronation of the powerful Firoz Shâh—May Allah shed light on his tomb!—the deceased (Emperor), and after that event whatever was witnessed (by the author) has been related.

Verse.

What gift can the Earth make to the Sky?
What service can a beggar* render to the King?

This book has been called, "The Tarih-i-Mubârak Shâhi". If it be accepted by His Majesty, it is hoped that the slave (the author) will be sufficiently pitied for and sympathised, and that the head of his prosperity will touch the sky of beatitude and felicity. God Is The Helper!

An account of the deceased pardoned martyr Sulțân Sa‘iyid
Mu‘izzu-duniya-wa-ud-din Muḥammad Sām Ghuri, May the blessing of God be on his tomb, and May he dwell in paradise!

As Islam was established in Dehli and the countries of Hindustan by the late pardoned martyr Sulțân Sa‘iyid, we begin with his account.

Sulțân Sa‘iyid, the great and powerful emperor, was the son of

---

1 MBL: مسلم بند ہے : JNS agrees with MBL.
2 MBL: صبر و منا : JNS agrees with MBM.
3 MBL: دار ناسیر : JNS omits.
4 MBL: خدمتی گذا : JNS agrees with MBL.
5 MBM: سلطان سعید : MBM and JNS Sultân al-Sa‘ïd.
6 MBM: محمد بن سام : محمد بن سام MBM agrees with MBM : MBM.
Bahá’-ud-dín Sám and the nephew (brother’s son) of Sultán ‘Alá’-ud-dín Jahán-soz. When after the demise of Sultán Saif-ud-dín, son of Sultán ‘Alá’-ud-dín Jahán-soz, the sovereignty of Ghur was vested on Sultán Ghias-ud-dín Muḥammad, the elder brother of the Sultán Sa’iyid, he bestowed the fief of Tīgīnābād upon Sultán Mu’izz-ud-dín.

On the first year (of Ghias-ud-dín’s reign), Sultán Sa’iyid raided Ghaznīn from which the tribe of Ghuzz had brought out by force the late Sultán named Khusru Malik, the daughter’s son of late Mahmūd Ghāzī. In 569 H. (1173 A.D.), Sultán Ghias-ud-dín drew his force from Ghur and marched to Ghaznīn. The tribe of Ghuzz, who were the masters of Ghaznīn, having lost all strength for opposing the invader, made off, perforce, to their own country. Ghaznīn fell to Sultán Ghias-ud-dín, who conferred it upon the late Sultán Sa’iyid (Mu’izz-ud-dín) with the title of Sultán, and himself turned back towards Fīroz-kōh, his capital.

The same year, the late Sultán Mu’izz-ud-dín brought the vicinity of Ghaznīn under his jurisdiction. On the second year, 570 H. (1174 A.D.), he conquered the akhā’ of Gurdez. Next year, he led

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1 MBL and JNS read Shihāb-ud-dín Sām : MBM, Bahá’-ud-dín Sām : Ferishta gives the name as Bahá’-ud-dín Sām and relates that ‘Alá’-ud-dín appointed his two nephews, Ghāzī-ud-dín and Mu’izz-ud-dín, to the government of the province of Ghur called Sunja, but as the revenue of the province did not support them in the style they wished they made encroachments on their neighbours for which ‘Alá’-ud-dín confined them in a fort of Jūoristan (Tab-i-Nāṣ, Wajiristan). But when Saif-ud-dín, son of ‘Alá’-ud-dín, ascended the throne he released his two cousins from their confinement and again conferred on them the Government of Sunja.

2 MBL and MBM. Taknābād (تکناباد) : JNS agrees with them : Tab-i-Nāṣ. Tīgīnābād : Dow calls it Tunganābād and places it in the province of Khorasan. The city of Taknābād or Tīgīnābād was situated between Ghaznīn and Ghur.

3 Tab-i-Nāṣ, says that he became Sar-i-Jāwālār (the chief armour bearer).

4 Ferishta writes 567 H. There is discrepancy among writers with regard to the date of the capture of Ghaznīn. Some say 567 H. ; others 569 H. and 570 H. See Raverty, p. 449, f.n. 8.

5 MBM. فرز کوه : MBL and JNS read کور کور .

6 MBL and MBM read کرده : JNS : Tab-i-Nāṣ. and Badaoni (p. 46 Bib. Ind.) Gurdez. Acc. to Raverty it is the name of a valley with hills on two sides, belonging to the tribe called the Tājiks. اطماع—(iṭkā or ṣakī is the plural of ṭīt).

7 Ferishta writes 572 H.
his army towards Uchch, Bhati, and Multān. The Bhati tribe shut themselves up in the fortress of Uchch and showed opposition; but after a few days' fighting, by the aid of Allah, The Most High, the fortress was taken. Having placed the aṅṭā of Multān and Uchch in charge of Sipah Sālār 'Ali Karmākh, Mu'izz-ud-dīn returned to Ghaznī.

In the year 574 H. (1178 A.D.), Mu'izz-ud-dīn marched towards Gujrat via Multān and Uchch. Rai Bhim Deo, the accursed chief of Gujrat, who had a large number of elephants and an immense foot and cavalry, gave him battle; after a severe struggle the Muslim army was defeated, and the Sultān retired without any success.

In the year 575 H. (1179 A.D.), the Sultān marched against Furshur and conquered it. Next year, he successively despoiled Lahore: neither could Khusro Malik resist the invader in the open

---

1 It was situated on the east bank of the Panjnad, 70 m.s.s.w. of Multān. It was here that Alexander was severely wounded and he narrowly escaped with his life.

2 MBL: Bhati a strong fort of this name is situated between Multān and Alor. Ferishta writes Multān and Oocha, and makes no mention of Bhati. Tab-i-Akb. and Badooni refer to Bhati. The tribe of Bhattis whose name has been variously spell were previously in possession of a great part of Sind.

3 The translators of Ferishta incorrectly relate a story how owing to the treachery of the Queen the place was reduced. For full particulars see Raverty, pp. 449 51, f.n. 2.

4 Tab-i-Akb. (Bib. Ind. 36) writes that Multān was conquered from the schismatics known as the Kirānītah.


6 MBL: Tab-i-Akb., Ferishta and Badooni have Bhim Deo: JNS Rāi Bālm: Ferishta writes that Rai Bhim Deo was the lineal descendant of Brahma Deo, who opposed Mahmut of Ghazni. Some writers call him Bhoj Deo.

7 The Sultān suffered many hardships on his way to Ghaznī. (Ferishta.)

8 The authors disagree in date. Some say 575 H., others 576 H., the majority 577 H., and Badooni 580 H. MBL read خمس و سابعين.

9 The MSS. read ژر: The place may be identified with Peshawar.

10 MBL and JNS: MBL.
field, nor did he dare come outside the fortress. When the invader neared Lahore, Khusro shut himself up in the fort, and at last, made a presentation of an well-equipped elephant as a tribute.¹

The late Sultan then returned to Ghaznin from that place.

In the year 580 H.² (1184 A.D.), he again advanced to Lahore, sacked and plundered it. *On his return-journey he laid the foundation of Sialkot³ between the two rivers, the Ravi and, the Jilum; appointing Husen Kharmil⁴ as the warden of the fort, and giving him munitions of war, the Sultan returned to Ghaznin. After some time, Sultan Khusro Malik with a group of his partisans and the Khokhar tribe laid siege to Sialkot; but the prosperity of Mahmud’s descendants⁵ having come to an end, the invader failed to conquer it, and had to withdraw.⁶

In 582 H. (1186 A.D.), the Sultan again invaded Lahore. Khusro Malik shut himself up in the fort, and put forth battle. Failing to defend himself, he was compelled to seek an interview and was taken with the Sultan to Ghaznin.⁷ On the death of Sultan Khusro Malik the same year, the akta⁸ of Lahore was placed under the charge of Sipah Salar ‘Ali Karmakh,⁹ the commandant at Multan.

¹ Tab-i-Nas. (Raverty, 452), Tab-i-Akb. (37) and Ferishta say that Khusro sent also his son, and Ferishta gives the name of the son as Mullik Shah.
² Tab-i-Nas. gives 581 H.
³ Yahiya likewise Nigam-ud-din Ahmed (Tab-i-Akb. 37) says that Sialkot was founded by Murizz-ud-din, whereas the author of Tab-i-Nas. (trans., p. 453, f.n. 4) and Ferishta say that the Sultan only restored or repaired it. As a matter of fact, this was one of the ancient forts founded by Hindu rulers but had become dilapidated.
⁴ Tab-i-Akb. Husen Kharmil: Ferishta, Hosein Firmully: Tab-i-Nas. Husain, son of Khar-mil.
⁵ Khusro was the descendant of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin.
⁶ Badaoni writes that in 581 H., the Sultan marched against Diwal (Thatha) and plundered it.
⁷ Tab-i-Akb. says that he was afterwards sent to Ghiaq-ud-din at Firoz-Koh. Ferishta writes that Khusro and his family were confined in a fort in Jooristan (Tab-i-Nas. Ghuristan) where they were some time after put to death.
⁸ Badaoni: MBL. JNS and MBM read علي كرمخان
In the year 587 H. (1198 A.D.), the Sultān drew up his forces and proceeded against the fort of Tabarhindah.\(^1\) Having conquered it and handed it over to Malik Žiā-ud-dīn Tulakī,\(^2\) and placing under him 1,200 selected and brave warriors of note, made his return. After having made necessary provisions for the upkeep of the fort, when the Sultān was about to depart, he received information of the approach of the accursed Pithor Rai\(^3\) with his numerous cavalry, foot and elephants against the Muslim army. The late Sultān went forward to meet that wretch with his own equipage in the vicinity of Tara’î near Sarsuti, in the village of Tara’in.\(^4\) The two forces faced each other, and on the day following, both drew themselves up in battle array. Although the Muslims displayed great valour and failed not to expose themselves to the (enemy’s) dagger, yet by the aid of the Almighty Allah, the detested unbelievers were crowned with victory and the Muslim army was defeated. When the Sultān saw this, he spurred on his charger\(^5\) against Govind Rāi,\(^6\) the ruler of Dehli and the brother of Pithor Rāi, and who was mounted on an elephant, which was always in the front line of the army, and smote him on

\(^{1}\) Tab-i-Akb. (138) Fort of Sirhind: Ferishta (Brigg. I. 172) Bitunda. MSS. read نیدهند.

\(^{2}\) All the three MSS. read تکلیم: Badaoni reads Tukili: Tab-i-Nas. Tulakī: Ferishta Toozuky: The correct reading is Tulakī. Žiā-ud-dīn was the Kāfi of Tulakī, a town near Herat.


\(^{4}\) MBM and MBL read نراین: JNS: Ferishta (Brigg. I. 172) writes that the Sultān encountered the enemy at the village of Naraun, now called Tiowry, on the banks of Sarsuti, (14 m. from Thaneshwar and 80 from Dehli). Cunningham is of opinion that the exact site was on the banks of the Ranvahi river, 4 m. south of Tirawri, and 10 m. to the north of Karnal. Raverty (Tab-i-Nas. Trans. 459, f.n. 1) identifies Tirawri with Talawari. Sarsuti is a sacred river of the Punjab rising in Sirmor State, passing by Thaneshwar, Karnāl and Patiala joins Gagger.

\(^{5}\) MBM and MBL read اسپ بر گرفت and omits اسپ: JNS agrees with MBM but it omits اسپ:

\(^{6}\) MBL and MBM read کند هرا رائی: JNS agrees with MBL and MBM. Tab-i-Akb. (Bib. Ind. 38): کند رائی: Tab-i-Naṣ. کند رائی: Ferishta calls him Chawand Rai. Badaoni agrees with Tab-i-Akb. Chand, the Hindu bard calls him Rāi Govind.
the face thereby breaking the teeth of the accursed chief. The Rāi, in return, struck the Sultān on the arm with his lance and wounded him.\(^1\) The Sultān was about to slip out of his stirrup when a dexterous Khalji foot-soldier\(^2\) immediately mounted behind him and supporting him in his arms rode hard out of the battle field.\(^3\) The army of Islām was defeated and they retreated to a place safe from the attack of the unbelievers. The tumult which had commenced with the disappearance of the Sultān soon subsided with his safe return in the army.\(^4\) The army was then set at rest. With successive marches the Sultān took his way to Ghaznin via Multān and Uchch. Failing in his pursuit of the fugitive, Pithor Rāi marched against the fort of Tabarhindah which was defended by Zia-ud-din Tulaki, and invested it for thirteen months. At length, supplies of fodder and of the new recruits failing, Zia-ud-din, perforce, sought for negotiations and evacuated the fort.

In the year 588 H. (1192 A.D.), the Sultān having enlisted a big force\(^5\) moved towards Hindustan.\(^6\) Pithor Rāi who, too, was prepared for action hastened to Tara’in, and drew up his men as he had

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1 MBL and MBM read:  
أزخم نيرة زد:  
Tab-i-Akb.  
أزخم نيرة زد:  
JNS.  

ibid.,  
(88).

2 MBM and JNS read:  
خليجي فيادة:  
MBL.  
خليجي فيادة:  
Tab-i-Akb. agrees with MBM and JNS.

3 Badaoni (Ranking. P. 69) writes— “The Sultān got off his horse, and taking up his son Khalji upon his horse and mounting behind him took him off the field.”

4 The author of Habibu-s-Siyar, contrary to all other authorities, writes that Murizz-ud-din, after the wound that he had received, fell from his horse and lay upon the field among the slain at night: and in the dark, a party of his own body-guard returned to search for his body, and carried him off to his camp.

5 Ferishta says that the Sultān’s army was composed of 120,000 chosen horse, composed of Turks, Tajiks and Afgans, many of whom had their helmets ornamented with jewels, and their armours inlaid with silver and gold.

6 Acc. to the Rajput version, a hostility arose between Pithor Rāi and Jai chandra, Rājā of Kanauj, respecting the Kanauj princess. Having learnt the state of Pithor Rāi’s affairs, the Sultān made preparations to avenge his previous defeat. Bijoy Dev, Rājā of Jamūn, despatched his son with a body of forces to help Murizz-ud-din and Jaichandra. The latter had been in communication with the Sultān, and had made up his mind to humiliate Pithor Rāi. During the encounter it was decided that the troops of Jamūn and Kanāīj were to oppose Govind Rāi of Delhi, while the Sultān encountered Pithor Rāi. Govind Rāi fell by the sword of Narsing Deo,
done on the previous occasion. Leaving behind at a distance of three *kuroh* his army, family, foot, horse, insignia of royalty and the umbrella of sovereignty, Mu‘izz-ud-din proceeded against Pithor Rāi with his famous and valiant cavalry numbering 40,000. The Sulṭān divided his army into four equal sections, and ordered them to attack the army of the infidels from the four different quarters.

Thus, when the elephants and the cavalry of the Hindus would fall upon one of his sections, the rest would make a simultaneous assault upon them (Hindus) from the other three sides. By the help of Almighty Allah, the Hindus were pressed hard and their line gave way; when their adversaries came up and attacked them in the centre, they got perplexed and made a stampede. Govind Rāi was killed in battle: Pithor Rāi who had been riding an elephant, exchanged it for a horse and made his retreat, but he was taken prisoner in the vicinity of Sarsuti, and sent to hell.

son of Bijoy Dev of Jamūn. Pithor Rāi was captured alive and sent to Ghaznīn, where he was deprived of his sight.

Afīf gives another version of the battle. He says that the Sulṭān in order to separate Pithor from his own territory, made a retreat. The battle took place in mouza‘ Shihāb-ud-din, in which Pithor Rāi was defeated and taken prisoner. The Rāi was later put to death by Mu‘izz-ud-din.

Another writer says that Pithor Rāi was killed in the battle, and Govind Rāi escaped: whilst another historian says that “both were captured and slain.” See Raverty, p. 466, f.n. 1.

1 MBL: JNS: فرمتبتا اول باز هم.
2 Ferishta repeats the account given in Tāj-ul Ma‘asir and relates how when the Sulṭān arrived at Peshawar, an old sage prostrated before him and wanted to know the Sulṭān’s design, in reply to which Mu‘izz-ud-din said, “Since the time of my defeat at Hindustan... I have never slumbered in ease or walked but in sorrow and anxiety. I have, therefore, determined with this army to recover my lost honour from those idolators or die in the attempt.” The sage then blessed him. Reaching Lahore, the Sulṭān despatched Kawam-ul Mulk Humzvī to Ajmir with a declaration of war should the Indians refuse to embrace the true faith. Pithor Rāi sent a haughty answer.

3 Badaoni also gives the same number.
4 The conflict took place in the former field of battle—Tara’in.
5 According to Ferishta the Hindu army consisted of 300,000 horses, 3,000 elephants and a body of infantry.
6 The account given in Tāj-ul Ma‘asir is different: According to this work, the Rāi was taken prisoner and his life was spared. At Ajmir he was detected in an intrigue (which is only obscurely hinted) and killed at the orders of Mu‘izz-ud-din. Tab-i-Akb. and Ferishta agree with Yaḥiya. Badaoni merely states that Pithor Rāi was taken prisoner.
This victory took place in the year 588 H. (1192 A.D.). Help us oh God against the unbelievers!

Mu‘izz-ud-din then conquered the forts of Sarsuti and Hansi;\(^1\) plundered and ravaged Ajmir, the capital of Pithor Rāi;\(^2\) and imprisoning the infidels of the Sivalik regions, and placing Malik Kūṭub-ud-din Aibak, his slave in the fortress of Kuhram\(^3\) with a strong detachment returned to Ghaznīn.

The Sultan conquers Sarsuti, Hansi: ravages Ajmir.

The same year Malik Kūṭub-ud-din Aibak conquered the strongholds of Mirat and Dehli from the kinsmen of Pithor Rāi and Govind Rāi; the aforesaid infidels (kinsmen of Pithor and Govind) fled to Jhaban.\(^4\)

Next year, 589 H. (1193 A.D.), Kūṭub-ud-din laid siege to the fortress of Kol,\(^5\) and taking up his residence in Dehli made it his capital. He then subjugated the country round about Dehli.

And seizes Kol: makes Dehli his capital.

In 590 H.,\(^6\) Sultan Sa’iyid (Mu‘izz-ud-din) left Ghaznīn with a strong army, and advanced against Kānāuj via Dehli. Rāi Jai Chand, the powerful chief of Kānāuj, who possessed more than 300 elephants, marched against him and gave him battle in the vicinity of Chandwār\(^7\) and Etawah. By the Grace of Allah, the Muslims were crowned with victory\(^8\). The Rāi\(^9\) was killed and his elephants fell into the hands of the victors. Thank Allah for this!

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1 Firishta says that the forts of Sarsuti, Sāmāna, Kuhram and Hansi surrendered after the victory.
2 The country according to Firishta, was delivered over by the conqueror to Gola, or the natural son of Pithor Rāi.
3 Badaoni writes that Kuhram was situated at a distance of 70 Kurohs from Dehli.
4 JNS reads (جمبین) : MBL and MBM (جمبین).
5 40 m. North of Agra.
6 Badaoni gives 589 H., Tab-i-Akb. and Firishta also of same opinion.
7 Tab-i-Nās, Chandwāl : MBL, MBM, and JNS read Chandwār and Etawah : Tab-i-Akb., Badaoni and Firishta all agree with these MSS. Chandwār has not yet been identified: the only place, says Raverty, which bears a similar name is Chandpur or Chandanpur, in the district of Farrukhābād.
8 Firishta says that Jāi Chand sustained a signal defeat from the vanguard of the Qiznevide army led by Kūṭub-ud-din.
9 Firishta writes that the number of slain on that day was so great that it was
With a rich booty the Sultan returned to Ghaznī leaving Malik Ḵūṭub-ud-dīn in Delhi. The latter took the forts of Thankir, Gwalior and Badaon, and sacked most of the countries of Nahrwālah.

As the maliks of Turkistan and the infidels of Khitā had come to the aid of (the king of) Khwārizm, Muʿizz-ud-dīn advanced into Khwārizm with a large army in the year 601 H. (1204-05 A.D.), but on account of the lack of forage in the army the Sultan had to withdraw his forces. The same year, news came that the Khōkhars and the tribes inhabiting in Koh Jūd had broken out into revolt. The Sultan made his way to Lahore. On his reaching the neighbourhood of Lahore, Kuṭūb-ud-dīn came from Delhi with his own force and joined him. The

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1 Ferishta writes that after the victory the Sultan marched to the fort of Aṣni, where Jāi Chand had laid up his treasure, and took gold, silver, and precious jewels. He then marched from thence to Benaras, broke 1,000 temples and consecrated them to the worship of the true God. From thence he returned to the fort of Kol, where he confirmed Kuṭūb-ud-dīn in the vice-regency of India. After this he took the route to Ghaznī. Tab-i-Akb. and Badaoni agree with Yahiya.

2 MBL and JNS agree with MBL. Tab-i-Akb. Thankir : Tab-i-Nāṣ. Бенгир : JNS Бенгир. Ranking, Bhangar : proper reading in Thankir (the Modern Bīnāsh): Tab-i-Nāṣ. and Badaoni give the date of the siege 591 H., Alī 590 H. and Tāj-ul Maʿāṣir 592 H.

3 MBL and JNS agree with MBL. Tab-i-Akb. Gwalior : Badaoni omits it. Acc. to Badaoni and Tab-i-Nāṣ. the siege of Thankir etc. took place in 591 H.

4 Tab-i-Nāṣ. says that Nahrwālah was conquered in 593 H. Ferishta writes that in aid of Gola, the natural son of Pithor Rāi who was expelled from Ajmir by Hemraj one of his relations, Kuṭūb-ud-dīn marched against Hemraj, defeated and killed him.

5 The ruler of Khwārizm applied to Gūrkhan of Kara Khitā for assistance (Ranking, p. 71, f.n. 7): Ferishta writes that Kurra Beg, the general of Gūrkhan, king of Khitā and Othman Khān Samarkandy advanced to the relief of Khwārizm Şāh. The Sultan was forced to retire towards Khurasān and took refuge at the fort of Andkhoo, but on paying a large ransom to Othman Khān was suffered to return to his own dominions.

6 MBL and JNS : Koh Jūd or Jūd mountains may be identified with the Salt Range situated in part of the Shāhpur Dist. of the Rawalpindi Division.
rebels, some of whom in fear of Mu'izz-ud-din's army took refuge in the hills and some in the banks of the river, were pinioned and made food for the sword. The Sultan shouldered his way to Ghaznin and bade farewell to Kutub-ud-din who returned to Dehli.

The murder of the Sultan.

When Mu'izz-ud-din arrived at the village of Damyak,¹ the Fida'i Mulahidah² all on a sudden appeared before the royal camp and wounded him: so that, the late Sultan Sa'iyid, the martyred Ghazi, succumbed to it:³ this incident occurred on the 3rd Sha'ban, 602 H.⁴ (Wednesday, March 15, 1206 A.D.).

It is said that, the Sultan left after his death 1,500 man⁵ of diamonds of most precious kind in his treasury! The quantities of cash and other jewels may be estimated from this. Never-the-less, nothing but good character could he take with him. Born empty-handed, he departed from this ephemeral world carrying nothing away.

¹ Situation variously given: (a) west of Jhilum, (b) on the Nilab, (c) a village beyond Indus on the road to Ghaznin, (d) Ferishta writes Rohtak.

² MBL: Farsi: Alfi, and the authors of Tab-i-Akb., and Jam'ut Tawarikh agree in saying that the Sultan was killed by the Khokhars, whereas, Ferishta is of opinion that the assassins of the Sultan were Gakkars, a race distinct from the Khokhars. Tab-i-Nas, writes that the Sultan died at the hand of the Mulahidah: the author of Taj-ul-Masir is of similar opinion. The Hindu version, supported by Abul Fazl and others, ascribe the death of the Ghazni ruler to the arrow thrown by Ras Pithor. Ferishta relates in detail how 20 Gakkars, who had lost some of the relations in the late wars, entered into conspiracy against the king's life, how these assassins found their way to the sleeping Sultan's tent and killed him by no fewer than 20 wounds.

³ MBL adds the following lines after this: MBM and JNS have no mention of them: the following verse are also to be found in Tab-i-Nas, Tab-i-Akb. and Badaoni.

To chronicle this event of the Emperor Ghazi it has been said:

Qita'h.

"The martyrdom of the king of sea and land Mu'izz-ud-din,
From the beginning of the world the like of whom no monarch arose,
On the third day from the 1st of Sha'bân in the year six hundred and two,
Happened on the road to Ghaznin at the stage of Damyak."

⁴ Ferishta gives Sha'bân 2: Tab-i-Akb., Sha'bân 3; other histories Sha'bân 1.

⁵ A man is equal to 8 pounds nearly. In Tab-i-Akb. and Badaoni the amount of diamond has been estimated at 500 mans.
Verse.

Those jewels and treasures which could not be counted up,  
Even Sam and Faridun could not carry them away.  
The period of Mu’izz-ud-din’s rule lasted for 32 years and few months. God is more aware of the real facts.

An account of Sultan Kutub-ud-din Aibak Al-Mu’izzi.

Sultan Kutub-ud-din, the slave of Mu’izz-ud-din Sâm, was unparalleled in bravery and kindness. While young he was brought from Turkistan to Nishapur, where Kazî-ul Kutuzat Imam Fakhr-ud-din Abdul ‘Aziz Kufi, a descendant of Imam-i-A’zam Abû Hanîfâ Kufi—May God be pleased with him!—bought him, and like his own son taught him the Koran and the archery. He became perfect in a short while. When he attained adolescence, he was sold by a merchant to Mu’izz-ud-din, the ruler of Ghaznîn. Devoid of comeliness but an embodiment of all perfect qualities Kutub-ud-din exhibited signs of greatness. As his little finger was broken, he was called Aibak-i-Shil. Owing to his having diligently and loyally rendered service to the Sultan, he was shown in a short while great favour and distinction, and his dignity waxed day by day. After the conquest of Hindustan, Kuhrâm was conferred upon him in fief. In 589 H. (1193 A.D.), Kutub-ud-din conquered the fort of Mirat. Two years later he took the fortress of Thakir.

1 Son of Noah.  
2 King of Persia.  
3 Tab-i-Nasî calls him “Second Hâtîm.”  
4 Ferishta says that after the death of Fakhr-ud-din, Aibak was purchased by a merchant and was then presented for sale to Mu’izz-ud-din.  
5 Tab-i-Akb. and Ferishta are also of same opinion; Badaoni writes “on the occasion of the eclipse of the moon had a broken little finger.” Ranking (p. 77, f.n. 2) says, “whether the finger was broken at the time of the eclipse, or whether it was a congenital defect does not appear, but from the text before us the connection of the moon is the cause of the name, not, as has been said, the broken finger.” Ravery (p. 513) translates, “and the little finger (of one hand?) had a fracture, and on that account he used to be styled I-bak-i-Shil (the powerless fingured).” The word Shil in Persian means, “impotent, paralysed, weak powerless, soft.” The author of Sami-ut-Tawariikh calls him Ibak-i-lang—”lang” meaning maimed injured. JNS incorrectly writes ایبک شر instead of ایبک شر.  
6 Tab-i-Nasî writes 587 H: Ferishta gives 588, and says that in the year 589 H.
In the year 593 H.,¹ he proceeded to Gujrat, plundered and ravaged the territory of Rāi Bhim Deo,² who had once opposed Mu'izz-ud-din, and took revenge upon the enemy for his past actions.³

After the death of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-din, Sultān Ghiaś-ud-din Maḥmud, the son of the elder brother of the deceased, sent a canopy of state to Malik Kuṭub-ud-din, and conferred on him the title of Sultān. In 602 H. (1205 A.D.), Kuṭub-ud-din set out from Dehli, and came to the auspicious city, of Lahore.⁴ On Tuesday,⁵ the 18th Zilka' da (June 26, 1206 A.D.) of the same year, he took his seat on the throne at Lahore, and conferred valuable gifts, largesses, and robes of honour upon his amirs and maliks. To such an extent did he extend his hand of liberality that people called him Sultān Kuṭub-ud-din Lakh-baksh.

After some time, hostility arose⁶ between him and Sultān Tāj-ud-din Yelduz, a Mu'izzi slave, who had ascended the throne of Ghaznīn after the death of Mu'izz-ud-din, respecting Lahore. Determining upon engagements, both drew up their own forces in battle order. God, The Holy⁷ and the Most High, conferred victory upon Kuṭub-ud-din, and Tāj-ud-din, being worsted made his way to Karmān. The fortress of Ghaznīn fell to Sultān Kuṭub-ud-din, who sat on the imperial throne for four days,⁸ spending the time in amusements, and

Kuṭub-ud-din relieved Hānsi from Jeowan Ray, a general of the Rāja of Nahrwala, in Gujrat. Tab-i-Naṣ. says that in 588 H. Kuṭub-ud-din captured Dehli.

1 Ferishta gives 591 H.
2 JNS and MBBL: راو و بیلیم MBL: Tab-i-Naṣ. reads Bhim Deo.
3 Ferishta writes that in the year 599 Kuṭub-ud-din took Kālinjar, Mahobā (capital of Kalpi) and Badaūn.
4 JNS, MBL: لاهور MBL: Tab-i-Naṣ. لاهور: Correctly speaking, the reference is here to Kuṭub-ud-din’s march into the Lahore territory (not to his going to the city of Lahore merely) to join his master the Sultān against the Khokhars.
5 Texts read روز سہ شنہ . According to “Indian Ephemeris” Vol. IV, by L. D. S. Pillai, the 18th Zilka’da is Monday and not Tuesday.
6 JNS and MBBL: مخالفت بیدا اماد MBL: Should be گیارہ و .
7 MBBL and JNS omit.
8 Badauni gives “40 days”.
fun. Most of the maliks and the Mu‘izzi amirs of Ghaznīn secretly co-operated with Tāj-ud-dīn and welcomed him from Karman. When Tāj-ud-dīn reached the confines of Ghaznīn, and the vanguard of his army made its appearance, the people of the city joined hands with him, so, Sultān Kuṭub-ud-ṣīn abandoned Ghaznīn by the route of Sang-i-Surākh ¹ and retired to Lahore. Ghaznīn then reverted to Sultān Tāj-ud-dīn.

While playing golf ² at the maidān of Lahore, the Sultān, by the decree of Allah, had a sudden fall from his horse, and the bow of his saddle struck against his breast. The Sultān died, and was interred at the auspicious city of Lahore. The late Sultān Shams-ud-ṣīn Iyal-timish constructed a mausoleum for him.

Verse.

The necks of many a valiant it broke, this old Sphere circular, Rely thee not, as much as thou canst, on the Sun, the Moon and the Jupiter!

The death of the Sultān occurred in 607 H. (1210-11 A.D.). His period of authority from the conquest of Dehli till the time of his death lasted for twenty years and a few months, and his reign with the royal canopy and a dūr-bash and the title of sovereignty lasted for four years. God is more aware of real facts.

An account of Sultān Shams-ud-ṣīn Iyal-timish. ³

Malik Iyal-timish was the slave of late Sultān Kuṭub-ud-ṣīn Aibak Al Mu‘izzi. On the latter’s death, the Kuṭbi amirs and maliks placed Arām Shāh, the son of Kuṭub-ud-ṣīn, on the throne in order that the disturbance in the country might be set at rest. Malik Nāṣir-ud-ṣīn Kūbāchā, the son-in-law of Kuṭub-ud-ṣīn marched towards Sind, and took possession of the akṭā’s of Multān, Uchch,

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¹ JNS agree with MBL and MBM. ² All the three MSS. read: "chougan". ³ MBL, MBM and JNS write: Some writers write "ay-tutulmash <eclipse of the moon. (Ranking. 89 f.n. 1)."
Bhakhar, and Siwistân.¹ Sipah Sâlâr ‘Ali Isma‘el, the Amîr Dâd ² (the chief justice) of ḥâzrat Dehli, with the other nobles who befriended him sent letters of welcome to Malik Iyat-timîsh, who was then the amir of Badãôn. With all his forces the Malik reached ḥâzrat Dehli in all haste, and seized it. Leaving Dehli, Arâm Shâh came outside the city. But as some of the people having collected round Arâm laid the foundation of enmity and approached Dehli, Malik Iyat-timîsh had also to come out of the city and to fight with them.³ In the engagement which took place between the two in the plain of Jud ⁴ the Most High and Holy God, crowned Iyat-timîsh with victory; Arâm Shâh and the Kuṭbî amirs were defeated.

Ascending the throne at the imperial palace in the year 607 H. (1210 A.D.), the victor assumed the title of Sulṭân Shams-ud-dîn and brought under his jurisdiction the outlying districts.

In the year 602 H. (1215 A.D.), he proceeded to Lahore, which after the death of Sulṭân Kuṭub-ud-dîn had passed to Sulṭân Tâj-ud-dîn Yelduz, who hailed from Ghaznin, and came vis-a-vis. In the battle ⁵ that followed, the Most High and Holy God, rewarded Shams-ud-dîn with victory: Tâj-ud-dîn was taken prisoner to Badãôn, where he died in captivity. The tomb of Sulṭân Tâj-ud-dîn, May God shed lustre upon his demonstrations! lies on the bank of Suthâ in the confines of Badãôn. To sum up, after the victory Shams-ud-dîn retraced his way to Dehli.

Badaoni writes, (Ranking P. 88), "the reason of the name Iyat-timîsh is that his birth occurred on the night of an eclipse of the moon, and the Turks call a child born under these circumstances Iyat-timîsh."

¹ MBL, MBM سوستان : سوسنلا : شیرکتہ, شیورن.
² MBM جنوبی : شیرکتہ here gives the name of two persons—Amir Ally Isma‘el and Amir Daud Delimy.
³ MBM جنوبی : MBM is here faulty: MBL and MBM quite correct.
⁴ MBM جنوبی : JNS حورد :
⁵ MBM جنوبی : JNS حورد :
⁶ According to Badaoni and Tab-i-Akb, the battle took place on the confines of Tara‘in which was known as Seršî Talâwarî.
Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn Ḳubāchā, who had once been defeated by Shams-ud-dīn in the confines of Uchch, met the latter again in Uchch and Multan in the year 615 H.¹ (1216 A.D.), and was again put to rout. Pursued by the victors, the vanquished fell back on the banks of the river Punjab,² and failing to swim across it, was drowned.

In the year 618 H. (1221 A.D.), Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khwārizm Shāh who laid siege to Ghaznīn by driving out Tāj-ud-dīn, evacuated it owing to the attack made upon him by the accused Jengiz Khān and came towards Lahore with all his family, horsemen and attendants. Being informed of this, Shams-ud-dīn rode to Lahore. Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn³ fell back towards the mountains and retired to Kashmir and Bakhli,⁴ while Iyal-timish returned to his capital.

In the year 620 H.⁵ (1223 A.D.), the Sultān marched with his army towards Lakhnauti, and promising safety to Ghiāṣ-ud-dīn ‘Auz⁶ Khalji brought him under subjection, had the proclamation read and coins struck in his own name. He placed in charge of his eldest son the territory of Lakhnauti, and giving him the title of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn,⁷ and granting him the royal canopy, a dur-bāsh and other paraphernalia of royalty, returned to his capital, Dehli.⁸

¹ Ferishta writes 614 H., and says that the battle took place at Munsooress, on the banks of the Chinab.
² All the three MSS. read باب بنجاب: Tab-i-Nāṣ. reads “the river Sind.” Tab-i-Akb. gives no name of the river.
³ JNS writes ائثر الله after Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn, but MBL and MBM omit it.
⁴ MBM and JNS تنلکی: Badaoni writes, “Jalāluddin... went towards Sind and Siwistan,” and from there by way of Kuch and Makran arrived at Karman and Iraḵ. The author of Tab-i-Akb. is of same opinion.
⁵ In Tab-i-Akb. Badaoni and Ferishta the date is 622 H.
⁶ MBL and MBM موس: JNS موسح: Ferishta reads Ghiāṣ-ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Khalji.
⁷ JNS reads ناصر الدين خرد خطاب كرد: MBM ناصر الدين أزمان أو خرد خطاب كرد: correct reading would be ناصر الدين خرد خطاب كرد:
⁸ Ferishta writes that authentic historians have opined that Iyal-timish in 622 H., marched against Nāṣir-ud-dīn Ḳubāchā and laid siege to Oocha.
In the year 623 H. (1226 A.D.), the Sultān took his way to the fortress of Rantambor, and coerced the rebels of the place. The year following, he advanced to Mandwar and Ajmir, and brought under his subjection those two countries with their out-lying parts. The same year he returned to his capital, Dehli.

In the year 626 H. (1229 A.D.), there came to the court of the Sultān ambassadors from Dār-ul Khelāfa, bringing robes of honour of the Khelāfa, May God perpetuate his Khelifate! The Sultān fulfilled the conditions of reverence and homage, and put on those robes along with his sons, the chiefs, and his old officers. It beggars description how the Sultān felt supreme pleasure and happiness from putting on that robe. Domes were erected in the city and drums of joy beaten. After some time the Sultān respectfully bade farewell to the embassy and sent large presents to the Khalif.

The same year, came the news of the death of (Sultān Nāsir-ud-din) the eldest son of Iyal-timish, who had been made the ruler of Lakhnauti. The mourning ceremonies being over, the Sultān marched against Lakhnauti; and set at rest the insurrection that had there broken out. Placing Lakhnauti, under the charge of Malik 'Alā'-ud-din Jānī, he returned to Ḥaẓrat Delhi.

In the year 629 H. (1231 A.D.), the Sultān marched against

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1 MBM رانتمبر: JNS and MBL
2 JNS: Feraista, "Mando and the country of Malwa": Tab-i-Akb. Mandwar: it was situated 5 miles north of Jodhpur.
3 JNS reads در حضرت دارالخلافات: MBL and MBM: The latter reading is correct.
4 Tab-i-Naṣ. writes that the news of the death reached the Sultān in Jamadi-ul auwal 627 H.
5 According to Badaoni the Sultān proceeded to Lakhnauti in 627 H.
6 JNS: Mulk Mulk Malik 'Alā'-ud-din Khāfī. Badaoni and Tab-i-Akb. give the name as Izz-ul
Gwalior;¹ the accursed Bisal Mālik² was invested in the fort; at the end of eleven months, with the help of the Most High Allah, the garrison was reduced to submission.³ The Sultan left the upkeep of the fortress under a Kotwal and returned to his capital, Dehli.

In the year 631 H.⁴ (1233 A.D.), the Sultan invaded Malwah⁵ and punished its rebels by destroying their temple that had been constructed some three centuries ago. Later marching against Ujjain he took it, and had the temple of Mahākāl deo⁶ destroyed from its foundations. The picture and the effigy of Bikramājīt⁷ with the other images that had been placed on the board, were taken out and carried away to ḍār (Dehli) and placed at the gate of the Jami’ Masjid⁸ to be trampled upon by the people.

In the year 633 H. (1235 A.D.), the Sultan led his army to Bhilsān⁹ where an illness seized him: whereupon, he ordered for an immediate return, and reaching Dehli, on Monday, the 20th Sha’bān, 633 H. (April 30, 1235 A.D.), he wandered by the door of mortality to the door of permanency.

¹ Ferishta writes that it had during the reign of Arām fallen into the hands of the Hindus.
² MBL: МБЛ and JNS: Бисел Малк; Tab-i-Naş. Мебел Девел Ло: Tab-i Akb. Milak Deo Basil: Raverty, Mangal Deva: Thomas (Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, 66) Trailokya Deva, the son of Bissāla Dev: Ferishta, Raja Dewbul.
³ Tab-i-Naş. says that the fort was taken on 20th Safar, 630 H. (1232 A.D.)
⁴ Tab-i-Naş. gives 632 H.
⁵ Badaoni and Tab-i-Akb. write that the Sultan took Bhilsa. It was on the Betwa, and was a place of Hindu pilgrimage.
⁶ Ferishta calls it Mahakaly and says that the temple was formed upon the same plan with that of Somnath. It is said to have occupied 300 years in building, and was surrounded by a wall 100 cubits in height.
⁷ Badaoni writes, “Rai Vikramajit from whom the Hindus reckon their era”.
⁸ Ferishta writes that the images were broken at the door of the great mosque. Badaoni says that the Sultan placed the images on the ground in front of the door of the mosque of old Dehli and ordered the people to trample them under foot.
⁹ MBL: JNS and MBM: Биселань; Tab-i-Naş. Нелисань: Tab-i-Akb. Multān: Bhilsan is a fortress and a city in Malwah.
Verse.

Who is he, in this old world revolving,
Who beats the drum of lemanu-ī Mulk\textsuperscript{1} except The God?
May the Holy Creator immerse that just Sulṭān in His mercy,
and may He by the grace of Nabi and his pious descendants keep
this heavenly exalted emperor in peace and safety till the day of
Resurrection! Sulṭān Shams-ud-din ruled for twenty-six years and
a few months. \textit{God is more aware of real facts!}

An account of Sulṭān Rukn-ud-din Firoz Shāh.

Sulṭān Rukn-ud-din Firoz Shāh was the son of late pardoned
Sulṭān Shams-ud-din Iyal-timish.\textsuperscript{2} Three days
after the mourning rites, in agreement with
the maliks, imāms, the chiefs and the Shamsi
slaves, he\textsuperscript{3} ascended the throne in the royal
residence at ḥaḍrat Dehli on 22nd Sha’bān
633 H. (May 2, 1236 A.D.). Opening the door of the treasury, (the
new Sulṭān) bestowed robes of honour upon all and rewarded them
with gifts. Extending his hand of prodigality, he abandoned him-
self to such a pleasure and enjoyment, that the affairs of the State
were neglected. The conduct of all business of the state and coun-
try remained in the hands of the Sulṭān’s mother, Shāh Turkān.\textsuperscript{4}
The harem of Shams-ud-din was ruined owing
to her old rivalry.\textsuperscript{5} Prince Kūṭub-ud-din
Muḥammad Shāh, the son of Sulṭān Iyal-timish
by his second wife was blinded and put to death. For all this,

\textsuperscript{1} The following line of the verse of the Koran, 
لمس الملك اليوم الله الواحد القهار
\textsuperscript{2} refer to the day of the Resurrection, when being questioned by God, the
dead will say in reply that the sovereignty belongs to Him, Who is Supreme and Alone.
\textit{لمس الملك} means, “for whom is the sovereignty?”
\textsuperscript{3} MSS. read 
\textit{اليالتميش}:
\textsuperscript{4} Forishta writes that in 625 H., Iyal-timish appointed his son, Rukn-ud-din,
governor of Badaon, and later as his assistant in the Punjab.
\textsuperscript{5} Badaoni calls her Shāh Khatun, a Turkish slave girl. Tab-i-Akb. is of
similar opinion.
\textsuperscript{5} Tab-i-Naṣ. says that she had experienced envy and jealousy from some of
the other ladies of the harem: Tab-i-Akb. writes “she had been jealous of them,
and as soon as she obtained an opportunity she had some of them put to death
with much degradation, and treated others with ignominy.”
most of the amirs, and maliks of Dehli and the neighbouring countries parted company with the Sultan Rukn-ud-din, and laid the foundation of opposition. For example, Prince Malik Ghias-ud-din Mahmud Shah, brother of Sultan Rukn-ud-din and the Amir of Oudh, turned away his head from the rule of allegiance and seized the revenue that had been sent from Lakhnauti to the Sultan. Malik Izz-ud-din Salari rebelled in Badau. Malik Ala-ud-din, the governor of Lahore, Malik Izz-ud-din Kanjan, the amir of Multan, and Malik Saif-ud-din Kuji, the governor of Hansi, all assembled together and broke out into open rebellion. Meanwhile, Malik Niaz-ul Mulk Junaidi, the vizir of Sultan Rukn-ud-din, out of fear fled from Dehli and went to Badau to join with Izz-ud-din Salari. Together, they emerged out of the latter place and joined hands with the amirs, who had effected a junction at Lahore. In order to suppress the rebellion, the Sultan turned towards them, and when he reached the vicinity of Kuhram, the following attendants of the aforesaid amirs, who had set out against Rukn-ud-din to Mansurpur, viz., Taj-ul Mulk, Muhammed Dabir, mushrif-i-mamalik, Bahau-ul Mulk, Karim-ud-din Zahir, Zia-ul Mulk, son of Niaz-ul Mulk, the vizir, Khwajah Rashid and Amir Fakhr-ud-din, having made up their minds returned to Dehli, and entering all at once the royal harem swore their allegiance to Sultan Razia, the daughter of Sultan Shams-ud-din. They, then, dethroned Shah Turkhan, the mother of Sultan Rukn-ud-din. When the Sultan was informed of this, he hastened to Dehli and with successive marches reached Kilokhari. The amirs, Maliks and the Shamsi attendants, who had always been on his side, entered Dehli and made homage to Sultan Razia. Afterwards the army came outside the city and seized Sultan Rukn-ud-din at Kilokhari, and brought him before Razia, who put him in prison where he died.

The Amirs swore allegiance to Sultan Razia.

Imprisonment of Rukn-ud-din.

1 Ferishta writes Taju-d-din Zobeidy.
2 Ferishta writes Malik Mahomed Dahir.
3 Tab-i-Akb. and Ferishta read Bahau-d-din Husen.
4 This text differs from that of Tab-i-Nas.: according to the latter these men did not return to Dehli, but were slain by the Turkish amirs and the slaves of the imperial household. Tab-i-Akb., Ferishta and Badaoni all agree with Yahiya.
Verse.

Curse be to this hump-backed,  
For, one who is better than he,¹ did it nourish and kill!

This event took place on Sunday, the 18th Rabi‘-ul-awal, 634 H. (Nov. 19, 1236 A.D.). The period of his ruler was six months and eight days. *God knows the truth!*

An account of Sultan Razia.

Sultan Razia was the eldest daughter of Sultan Shams-ud-din, who on his return from the expedition of Gwalior made her his heir-apparent. In short, she ascended the imperial throne at Dar-ul Mulk Dehli on Sunday, the 18th Rabi‘-ul-awal, 634 H. (Nov. 19, 1236 A.D.).

In the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year a body of Kiramiyah and Mulahidah, who having collected together from different parts of Hindustan had settled down in Hazrat Dehli, instigated by Turk, a learned man who in the gatherings in which he addressed used to call the Ulama of the orthodox people Nasihi (settersup), and to style them Murji (procrastinators), entered from the two sides of the Jami Masjid, on Friday. These heretics came upon the Muslims who were engaged in Friday prayers. A good many Muslims attained martyrdom and many were trodden under foot. Malik Nasir-ud-din Balarami, Imam Nasiir the Poet, and other amirs came to the rescue with a large army, and the Musalmans, who out of dread, had ascended the roof.

¹ MBL: بسيار از ابن كوز; MBM read similar: JNS: بسيار از ابن كوز.
² Except Tab-i-Nas, Tab-i-Akh., Badaoni and Firishta do not refer to this outbreak. "The fact of Firishta's being a Shi'a may account for his eschewing the matter."
³ JNS: نوري ترك: Tab-i-Nas, "Nur, the Turk; he was a Turk and his name was Nur-ud-din."
⁴ Refer to the Sunnis.
⁵ "The name of one of the heretical sects among the Muhammandans, who procrastinate, and consider good work unnecessary, and faith sufficient, and that all Musalmans will be saved, as hell is only reserved for infidels." Raverty 646 f.n. 7.
⁶ MBM: Tab-i-Nas., Nasir-ud-din, Ai-yitim, the Balkimi.
⁷ Tab-i-Nas., Amir Imam-i-Nasiri.
of the *Masjid*, poured down stones and bricks upon them, killed them and quelled that outbreak.

Subsequently, Niżām-ul-Mulk Junaidi, Izz-ud-din Kanjān, Muḥammad Sālāri,\(^1\) who had once rebelled against Sulṭān Rukn-ud-din, now advanced to the gates of the city and assumed a hostile attitude against Sulṭān Rażia. Malik Naṣīr-ud-din Tāysi,\(^2\) the amir of Oudh, reached Dehli in aid of Sulṭān Rażia. Welcoming him and then winning him over, the hostile amirs stopped the Malik from rendering any aid to the Sulṭān. At last, when the hostility continued long, Rażia marched outside the city and encamped on the bank of the Jaun. Repeated engagements took place between Rażia and the rebellious nobles, but with no result: at length, peace was effected at the intervention of the priests and the Sheikhs of the city. Muḥammad Sālāri and Kanjān secretly went over to the side of the Sulṭān, and one night, they assembled in front of the royal pavilion with a view to seize Malik Janī,\(^3\) Malik Kuji\(^4\) and Niżām-ul-Mulk. When the aforesaid amirs were apprised of this, they dared not oppose (the Sulṭān) any further, and being disunited amongst themselves made a stampede. The Sulṭān being informed of this state of things, sent an army in pursuit of the fugitives. Malik Kuji was seized; Malik Janī attained martyrdom near Pāyal;\(^5\) and Malik Niżām-ul-Mulk went away towards the Bardār hills.\(^6\) The imperialists then wheeled round. When order was restored in the country, Rażia appointed other officials, and sent Malik Kuṭūb-ud-din Ḥusen\(^7\) against Rantambor\(^8\) to put down the insurrection that had broken out on the death of Sulṭān Shams-ud-din.

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1 Tab-i- Naṣ. Malik ‘Izz-ud-din Muḥammad Sālāri.  
2 Tab-i-Akb. writes Malik ‘Izz-ud-din Hānsi: Tab-i-Naṣ. reads Malik Nuṣrat- 
ud-din Tāyasa‘ī, the Mu‘izzī.  
3 MBM ملک خانی:  
4 MBM کچی: Tab-i-Naṣ.  
5 MBL and MBM حد بابل: Elliot and Briggs call Bābal, Bābul and Babool.  
6 Tab-i-Akb. and Ferishta read Sarmur hills.  
7 MBL قطب حسن  
8 MBM ڑنہبیر: MBL رنہبیر. Rantambor is situated in the province of Ajmi, 75 miles S.E. of Jaipur.
Malik Jamāl-ud-din Yākūt, the Abyssinian, was made lord of the stables, and the constant companion of the Sulṭān, for this he became the object of jealousy of the nobles and the amīrs.

It so happened that Sulṭān Rażia wore the high cap, the coat and the male dress; at length, she would come out with veils on. She never rode but on elephants.

Meanwhile, the news regarding the hostility of Malik ‘Izz-ud-din Kanjān, the amīr of Lahore, reaching her, Rażia marched against him, and defeated and compelled him to sue for peace. On the 19th Shab‘bān, 637 H. (Thursday, 15th March, 1240 A.D.), she returned to Dehli.

Subsequently, Malik Altunia, the feoffee of Tabarhindah revolting, the Queen despatched a force against him on the 9th Ramţān (Tuesday, 10th April, 1240 A.D.). Some of the amīrs, maliks, and the Shamsī slaves joined with him, and having rebelled, put Jamāl-ud-din Yākūt, the Abyssinian, to death.

Verse.
Away turned Fortune her reins from her (Rażia) environs,
When she discerned a scar on the hem of her garment!
They, then, imprisoned Rażia and put her in the fort of Tabarhindah: having sent letters to the amīrs of Dehli asking them to enthrone Mu‘izz-ud-din, the son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-din, they dispersed in haste.

Verse.
Every head that the Heaven has raised,
Likewise, throws a halter round their neck!

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1 Ferishta calls him Malik Kabir Khān.
2 MBM: JNS gives the name as Malik Ikhtīār-ud-din Altunia.
3 MBL: JNS omits: ملك جبال الدين.
4 The subsequent events up to the death of Rażia have been narrated in detail in ‘Tab-i-‘Aṣr, Tab-i-Akb. and Ferishta.
The period of Sulṭān Razia's rule in the Dar-ul Mulk Dehli extended to three years, five months and twenty-one days. *God knows the truth!*

**An account of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn.**

Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn was the youngest son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn. After the imprisonment of Sulṭān Razia in the citadel of Tabarhindah,¹ the prominent amīrs, and mālikṣ placed Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn on the imperial throne in the royal palace, on Monday,² the 28th Ramzān, 637 H. (Apr. 22, 1240 A.D.). The amīrs and mālikṣ, who were the partisans of Razia, reached the capital on Sunday,³ the 13th Shawwāl of the aforesaid year (May 13), and made their homage to Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn, on condition that Ikhtiār-ud-dīn Aitkin would be appointed as the naib. When Malik Ikhtiār-ud-dīn became the vizir, he in conjunction with Malik Muḥazzab-ud-dīn Niẓām-ul Mulk took up the control of the entire government of the realm into his hand, and married the sister of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-dīn who had been married to the son of the Kāzi Naṣīr-ud-dīn, and had been repudiated by him. He assumed the triple naubah, and stationed an elephant at the entrance of his own residence.⁴ Such an increasing dignity and obedience to his authority produced a great dislike in the mind of the Sulṭān. On Monday, the 8th Muḥarram, 638 H. (30th July, 1240 A.D.), by command of the Sulṭān, two intoxicated Turks⁵ martyred Malik Aitkin by the wound of a knife at the White castle. They inflicted on Niẓām-ul Mulk two wounds in the side, but as his life still remained he got away from the assassins, and continued carrying on the affairs of the State as of old.⁶

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¹ Ferishta writes Bitunnda.
² It is Sunday and not Monday. Cf. An Indian Ephemeris, by L. D. S. Pillai, vol. iv, p. 82.
³ It is Monday acc. to Indian Ephemeris.
⁴ Tab-i-Akb. writes that at this period none but the Sulṭān could keep an elephant.
⁵ MSS. read نبرة بهبه: Tab-i-Akb. reads Fidā-i. This name was applied to the agents of the chief of the Assassins, or Sheikḥ-ul-Jībal. A Fidā-i was one who was ready to sacrifice himself in order to carry out the task assigned to him.
⁶ Badaoni makes the mistake by killing Ait-kin and Muḥazzab-ud-dīn both at
In the month of Safar (Aug.-Sep.) of the same year, Malik Altunia\textsuperscript{1} espoused Sulṭān Razia in the \textit{nikah} form, and set out for Dehli. Muḥammad Salārī and Malik Kāra Ḳash deserted the Sulṭān and went over to their side. Sulṭān Mu‘izz-ud-dīn led a force against them, and fell in with them near the city. Sulṭān Razia and Malik Altunia were defeated, and later seized near Kaithal by the Hindus who despatched them in fetters to the Sulṭān.\textsuperscript{2} Both were put to death on the 25th Rabī‘-ul-auwal (Sunday, 14th Oct., 1240 A.D.).

Badr-ud-dīn Sunḳar had been appointed \textit{Amir-i-Hajīb}; but he disobeyed the orders of Nizām-ul-Mulk and sought to acquire superiority over him; for all these Nizām-ul-Mulk cherished unfriendly feeling with him. When Badr-ud-dīn learnt this, out of dread, he tried to bring about a revolution. On Monday,\textsuperscript{3} the 17th Safar, 639 H. (27th Aug., 1241 A.D.), Badr-ud-dīn Sunḳar convened some of the rich and powerful nobles at the residence of Ṣadr-ul Mulk,\textsuperscript{4} the grandson of ‘Ali Musi, the \textit{mushrīf-i-mamālik}, in order that they could deliberate upon bringing a change in the Government. The Ṣadr-ul-Mulk was despatched to summon Nizām-ul-Mulk. When Nizām-ul-Mulk heard the announcement of the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk’s coming, there was at that time with him one of the Sulṭān’s confidants.\textsuperscript{5} He kept him concealed in a place where he

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\textsuperscript{1} MBL: MBM agrees with MBM.

\textsuperscript{2} Tab-i-Akb. writes that the Sulṭān twice sent Malik Tīgin against Razia and Altunia. In both the campaigns Tīgin was successful. In the last expedition Tīgin met his adversaries near Kaithal.

\textsuperscript{3} It should be Tuesday.

\textsuperscript{4} Tab-i-Akb. writes that the amīrs met together at the house of Ṣadr-ul-Mulk: Firishta says that they met at the house of Tāj-ud-dīn Kotwal. Tab-i-Naṣ. reads “at the residence of the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk, the Seyyid, Tāj-ud-dīn, ‘Ali Mūsāwī who was the Muḥri’ī-i-Mamālik.

\textsuperscript{5} Firishta relates that a faithful servant of the king, assuming the character of a mad man, was allowed to overhear the conversation that took place at the meeting.
might hear their conversation. Nizām-ul-Mulk, then, called upon the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk to appear, in order that he might relate to him all about the (proposed) change in the empire, and win over to their side the enemies and those that had made a common cause in that movement. Nizām-ul-Mulk made (suitable) answer and bade him (Ṣadr-ul-Mulk) farewell. He then despatched the confidential person of the Sulṭān to the Emperor asking him to represent all that he had heard from the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk and requesting the Sulṭān, on his behalf, that he should mount and come upon that party, so that, by the prosperity of the Emperor, the rebels would be defeated and driven away. When the person apprised the monarch of the state of affairs, the Sulṭān, at once, set out. Badr-ud-dīn Sunḵar, on being informed of this, went over to the Sulṭān, who conferred the akṭār of Ḍādān upon him and asked him to proceed there: the rest of the amīrs who had been on his side, out of fear, fled away.

Four months later, Badr-ud-dīn Sunḵar returned from Ḍādān, and, as the Sulṭān was incensed against him he ordered him to be imprisoned along with Ṣadr-ul-Mulk Mūsā and both of them died in captivity. Nizām-ul-Mulk, nursed malevolence for the wounds that he had received from the knife, attempted to create a bad blood between the amīrs, maliks, and the Sulṭān. He continued to raise the Sulṭān’s apprehensions against them.

Afterwards, it so happened that the Mughal armies having reached Lahore carried on hostilities. Malik Karā-Ḵash, the feudatory of Lahore, was an experienced and a clever warrior; but the inhabitants of Lahore did not act as the conditions of union demanded, and in fighting and in keeping guard, showed much neglect. When the disposition of the people became evident to Malik Karā-Ḵash, he left the city at night with all his retainers and set out towards Dehli. The infidel Mughals gave him a chase, but the Most High God, took the Malik and his men out of their clutches.

The vizir, although he secretly favoured the conspiracy excused himself from attending the consultations.

2 Tab-i-Akb. writes that the Sulṭān ordered Badr-ud-dīn to be executed.
3 MBL : بداناهم مارد بالى : JNS, MBM : او بداناهم مارد دلوار
As no ruler remained in Lahore, on Monday,¹ the 16th Jamāḍi-ul-Ākhir, 639 H. (22 Dec., 1241 A.D.), the infidel Mughals obtained possession of the city, martyred the Musalmans, and made captive their dependants. When this bad news reached Sultān Mu'izz-ud-din, he made the amīrs, maliks, and every other renowned chiefs swear allegiance to him anew, and despatched Kuṭub-ud-din Ḥusen and Niẓām-ul-Mulk with a big force to coerce the Mughals. Reaching the banks of the Bēah,¹ Niẓām-ul-Mulk sent a secret representation to the Sultān to the effect that those amīrs and maliks would never become obedient, and that it was advisable that an edict should be issued by His Majesty authorizing him and Malik Kuṭub-ud-din to destroy the amīrs by such means as might be attainable. When that representation reached the Sultān, he, according to the way of inadvertence and haste issued a farman in conformity to the object for which the petition was made and despatched it to Niẓām-ul-Mulk.

When the edict reached him, Niẓām-ul-Mulk showed the very edict itself to the amīrs and maliks saying that the Sultān had issued that mandate respecting them. All of them became incensed against the Sultān, and paying Niẓām-ul-Mulk homage pledged themselves to effect the expulsion and dethronement of the Sultān. When the news of this disaffection on the part of the amīrs reached the Sultān, he despatched Sa'īyid Kuṭub-ud-din, the Sheikh-ul-Islam² of Dehli, for the purpose of pacifying them. On his reaching the destination, much opposition under the instigation of the amīrs, was exhibited, and, (so) he returned back.³ Niẓām-ul-Mulk and Malik Kuṭub-ud-din followed after him to Dehli and laid the foundation of hostility. The Sultān was invested in the fortress, and the attempt made by several men of eminence of the

¹ “Where the town of Sultānpur now stands.” Ferishta.
² Badaoni, Tab-i-Akb. and Ferishta writes that the Sultān sent Sheikh Kuṭub-ud-din Baḵtiar Ushī in order to pacify the nobles. But the venerable saint in question, after whom the Kuṭub Minar at Dehli is named, died six years previous to this time—(Tab-i-Akb. A.S.B., B. De, p. 80, f.n. 2).
³ Tab-i-Akb. says that the rebellious nobles could not in any way be satisfied and so the Sheikh returned to Dehli.
city to bring about a reconciliation proved a failure. The siege was carried on for four months—from the 19th Sha‘bān 639 H. (Sat., 22 Feb., 1242 A.D.) until the month of Zil-Kā‘da\(^1\) (May-June). There was casualty on both sides, and all the environs of the city was desolated. This prolongation of the disturbance was caused by Fakhr-ud-din Mubārak Shāh, the head Farrāsh,\(^2\) who wielded influence over the Sultān refused to assent to any accommodation. On the night of Saturday, the 8th Zil-Kā‘da, 639 H.\(^3\) (10 May, 1242 A.D.), Nizām-ul-Mulk in company with his soldiers found access into the fortress, killed Mubārak Shāh, the root of all trouble, and threw the Sultān in prison, where he died.

Verse.

This old universe is a palace of double gates,\(^4\)
Lay not the foundation of permanent abode on this transitory world!

The period of his reign was two years, one month and fifteen days. God knows the truth!

An account of Sultān ‘Alā’-ud-din Mas‘ūd Shāh.

Sultān ‘Alā’-ud-din Mas‘ūd Shāh was the son of Sultān Rukn-ud-din Firoz Shāh. When Mu’izz-ud-din Bah-rām Shāh was imprisoned Malik ‘Izz-ud-din Balban\(^5\) ascended the throne at the imperial palace, and had the proclamation once read in the city by the proclaimer. The greater part of the amirs and maliks, who did not approve of this, drove him out, and presently bringing out Nāṣir-ud-din, Jalāl-ud-din and ‘Alā’-ud-din,\(^6\) who were under im-

\(^1\) Tab-i-Akb. and Ferishta give 8th Zil-Kā‘da, (Sat., 10 May).
\(^2\) The servant who spreads carpets, makes bed, and pitch the tents on journeys.
\(^3\) Tab-i-Naṣ. reads فخر الدين مبارك شاه فرخی.
\(^4\) Tab-i-Naṣ. reads Tuesday, 18th Zil Kā‘da.
\(^5\) JNS and MBM: کم خانه هر جمعه MBL: کم خانه دو در است.
\(^6\) Nāṣir-ud-din and Jalāl-ud-din were the sons of Iyāl-timish. ‘Alā’-ud-din was this son of Rukn-ud-din, MBM adds Sultān before ‘Alā’-ud-din. The texts read “Sultān” before Nāṣir-ud-din.
prisonment in the white castle, placed ‘Alā’-ud-dīn on the throne in the metropolis, Dehli, on Saturday, the 8th Zil-Ka‘da, 639 H. (10 May, 1242 A.D.). The people administered a pledge of fealty to the Sultān. Malik Kuṭub-ud-dīn Ḥusen,¹ became the Deputy of the kingdom, and Muḥazzāb-ud-dīn Nizām-ul-Mulk² was made the vizir. Malik Karā-Kašh became Amir-i-Ḥājib (Lord Chamberlain). Muḥazzāb-ud-dīn Nizām-ul-Mulk took all the functions out of the hands of the Turkish Amīrs and brought them under his control. So, the amīrs conspired against him, and on Wednesday,³ the 2nd Jamāḍi-ul-auwal, 640 H. (Oct. 28, 1242 A.D.) they assassinated him in the plain of Ḥauzr-ānī. The office of vizir then passed to Sadr-ul-Mulk Najm-ud-dīn Abu Bakr.⁴

Some time afterwards, when the aḳṭā’s of the empire and the affairs of the kingdom were put in order, the news relating to the army of Mughals, whose leader was the execrable Mangutah,⁵ arrived from Uchch. Having collected his forces from all quarters the Sultān marched against them. When he reached the banks of Beah, the Mughals were informed that an immense Muslim army, the like of which had never been collected by any of the previous sovereigns was advancing against them. Panic-stricken, they made their way to Khorāsān, and the Sultān returned to Dār-ul-Mulk Dehli.

In the meantime, a number of Abyssinians and worthless persons had gained access to the presence of the Sultān, and used to influence him in the committal of unworthy acts and habits, so much so that (the practise

¹ Tab-i-Nasr reads Ḥasīn in place of Ḥusen.
² MBL reads ملک مهیغبل الملک و الدین و نظام الملک وزیر مبالک.
³ It is “Tuesday” according to the Ephemeris by L. D. S. Pillai; iv, 87.
⁴ JNS مصیر الدين ابو يك: ملکویہ JNS ملکویہ.
⁵ MBM ملکویہ: JNS ملکویہ.

Most writers such as Nizām-ud-dīn, Badaoni, and Ferishta here make mention of the Mughal invasion of Lakhnauti. In fact, no invasion of the kind ever occurred. The author of Tab-i-Nasr, who was living at the time and even staying in the Lakhnauti territory, refer to the appearance of the infidels of Jājnagar before the gate of Lakhnauti in the year 642 H.
of) killing the amirs and seizing their chattels was gaining place in his nature, and he was steadfast in resolve (in that habit). All his good qualities turned away from the laudable path and inclined towards sensuality, pleasure and the chase, to such a degree of excess, that the affairs of the kingdom began to be neglected. The amirs and the maliks agreed together and secretly despatched letter of invitation to Sultān Nāṣir-ud-din, the then Governor of Bahraich. When Sultān Nāṣir-ud-din reached Dehli, ‘Alā’-ud-din Mās‘ūd Shāh was seized and cast into prison on Sunday, the 23rd Muḥarram, 644 H. (June 10, 1246 A.D.) and during that confinement he was received into the Almighty’s mercy.

Verse.

This world is the bank of the river Death, that disturbs the mind, Take heed, be afraid of the river surges, and place not thy feet on the coast!

The period of his rule was four years, one month and one day. God is more aware of the real facts.1

The account of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-din Maḥmud, son of Sultān Saʿiyid Shams-ud-din Iyāl-timīsh.

Sultān Nāṣir-ud-din was the son of Sultān Saʿiyid Shams-ud-din Iyāl-timīsh. Out of affection for Malik Nāṣir-ud-din Maḥmud, who breathed his last at Lakhnauti, (this sovereign) was distinguished by the name of Nāṣir-ud-din Maḥmud.

When Sultān ‘Alā’-ud-din was imprisoned, Nāṣir-ud-din ascended the imperial throne in the White Palace at the capital, Dehli, on Sunday, the 23rd Muḥarram, 644 H. (10 June, 1246 A.D.). Three days after the event he granted public audience. The people rendered him homage on the day of his accession to the throne2 and were rewarded with dignities.

The post of vizir was conferred on Malik Balban, the Shamsī slave; he was given the title of Ulugh Khān, a canopy and a durbash two branched and

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1 MBL omits this line.
2 MBL
ornamented baton; the whole administration of the empire was vested in him, and he brought them under his control.

In the first year of his accession, the Sultān marched towards Banian,¹ laid waste the Jud hills ² and Nandanaah.³ He then encamped himself for some time on the bank of Sudrāh,⁴ but owing to the scarcity of fodder in his army, he made his way back to the capital Dehli.⁵

In the year 645 H.⁶ (1247-48 A.D.), the Sultān set out for Hindustan via Doab;⁷ reaching Kanauj, he conquered the district of Balsandah ⁸ which was situated in the heart of the country and was the stronghold of the unbelievers. The Rāis Dalki and Malki were taken prisoners.⁹ The Sultān, then, returned to Dehli richly laden with booty.¹⁰

¹ Banian is the name of a hilly tract west of the upper part of the Sind-Sāgar Doabah. Tab-i-Akb. (A.S.B., p. 86) and Tab-i-Naṣ. (A.S.B., 208) read Mūltān. Raverty, 677, f.n. 6.
² Jud is the part of the Salt range. Lat. 32°, Long. 71°: JNS خود .
³ Nandanaah, between Jhelum and Peshawar. (Ranking 128, f.n. 3.) MBL, MBM, and JNS read Bādāni: Tab-i-Akb. and Badaoni read Nandanaah.
⁴ A name of a part of the Chinab; (Tab-i-Akb., B. De, 86, f.n. 2): cf. Raverty, 678, f.n. 1: Bādāni, “on the banks of Indus”. Tab-i-Akb., “bank of the Sind”. Ferishta, Sodra ;
⁵ Tab-i-Naṣ., Tab-i-Akb. and Badaoni agree in saying that the Emperor made Ulugh Khān, the commander of the forces and sent him to the Jud hills and Nandanaah, and that it was Ulugh Khān who had to return owing to the difficulty of obtaining subsistence.
⁶ Tab-i-Akb., 2nd Sha'bān, 645 (Mon., 2 Dec., 1247 A.D.).
⁷ MBL, MBM and JNS در طرف میان در آب .
⁸ JNS بلندی: MBL بلندی: Tab-i-Akb. (86, f.n. 5), Talsandah: Ferishta, Bitunda: Tab-i-Naṣ. Talsandah. Raverty identifies it with Tilsurra, 12 miles S.S.W. of Kanauj. (See Raverty, p. 679, f.n. 6.)
⁹ The text of Tab-i-Naṣ. (A.S.B. 211) and Raverty show that Dalki and Malki is a tract of country. Tab-i-Akb. (A.S.B. 86, B. De). Badaoni makes no reference: Ferishta says that the Ranas Dalki and Malki resided at Kalinjār. All that can be definitely said is that this Rānah's territory was in the vicinity of the River Jasūn or Jumna, which is between Kālanjar and Karah. See B. De, 86, f.n. 7, and Raverty, 682, f.n. 5.
¹⁰ Tab-i-Naṣ. writes, “of one description of horses alone, 1,500 head fell into the hands of the Musalman forces, and, from this, one may infer the extent of other booty”.

3
In the year 646 H.¹ (1248-49 A.D.), the forces of Islam pushed on towards the skirts of the hills of Mewāt.² The place was sacked and a large booty collected. Having chastised the contumacious people of the neighbourhood, they retired to Dehli.

Meanwhile, intelligence arrived that Malik ‘Izz-ud-dīn Balban had raised the standard of rebellion at Nāgor. The Sultān proceeded to Nāgor in 649 H. (1251-52 A.D.), and when he neared the place Malik ‘Izz-ud-dīn made his submission. His rebellion was put down. Thence the Sultān moved towards Gwalior,³ Chanderi, and Mālwah.⁴ The accursed Chāhar Deo, who was the greatest of all the infidels of that tract of country, advanced to Mālwah with 5,000 horse and 200,000 foot, and he was at length routed. After the conquest the Sultān returned to Dehli.

In the year 650 H. (1252-53 A.D.), the Sultān marched against Lahore, Multān, and Uchch.⁵ After suppressing the rebellions in those quarters he turned back (to Dehli).

Next year (651 H.⁶), the Sultān led his army to the skirt of the mountains of Bardar and Bijnor,⁷ and plundered the rebels. Entering Santur along the foot of the hills, he proceeded by the banks of the Rahab and laid waste Katehar in revenge for the blood of Malik Mu‘izz-ud-dīn Darakhshe,⁸ and having imprisoned the inhabitants he moved to Badāān; thence, he took his way to Oudh, and after putting down the rebels of that country he returned to Dehli.

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² Tab-i-Naṣ. adds Rantambor also. JNS جانپ کوہیمان بیرات.
³ MBL کوہیمان: Raverty (690) and Elliot, Gwalior.
⁴ Tab-i-Naṣ. and Ferishta add also Nurwul (Nurwar) which is situated 40 m. east of Bhopal, in Lat. 23° 18'. Long. 78°.
⁵ Tab-i-Naṣ. gives 22 Shawwāl 650 H. (26 Dec. 1252 A.D.)
⁶ Tab-i-Naṣ. gives 652 H.: Tab-i-Akb. and Badaoni agree with Tab-i-Naṣ.
⁷ MBL بدر و بحر: JNS بدر و بحر: Tab-i-Akb., Tab-i-Naṣ., and Badaoni write Bijnor.
⁸ Raverty writes “Durmashi”, which signifies that he was a native of Darmash, or that his family, originally came from a place so called. The word “Durmashi”
In 654 H. (1256-57 A.D.), the Sultān marched against Kutlugh Khān, who having deserted Malik ‘Izz-ud-din had befriended the Hindus. In company of a group of infidels and those Amirās, who in dread of the Sultān had joined him, the Khān rallied to the defence. With the assistance of the Most High Allah the army of Islam came off victorious, while their opponents got perplexed and were put to rout. The Sultān gave them a chase so far as the Sirmor hills, and then retired to Dehli.

In 655 H., news came that Kutlugh Khān and the other Amirās had combined themselves with Malik ‘Izz-ud-din Kāshlu Khān, the Amir of Multān and Uchch. Ulugh Khān was sent against them with a large army. When Ulugh Khān marched against the insurgents, a number of people of the city (Dehli), viz., Sā’iyd Kūṭub-ud-din, the Sheikh-ul-Islām and Kāzī Shams-ud-din Bahraiiji, sent letters to Kutlugh Khān and Kāshlu Khān inviting them to come to the capital and to seize it; the citizens, too, secretly promised them their homage. When the couriers from Dehli carried this piece of news to Ulugh, he represented the true state of affairs to the Sultān urging him to issue mandates ordering the Amirās to return to their own aktā’s, so that the rebellion might not grow further. The Sultān did accordingly. But the letters of the Amirās had already reached Kutlugh Khān and Kāshlu Khān. Traversing a hundred Kuroh in two days, they left Sāmāna and reached the vicinity of Dehli: but being informed of the fact that the aforesaid Amirās having left the city (Dehli) had returned to their fiefs, they became worried and contemplative. The Sultān fortified the gates of the city, and sent out the Amirās of Dehli against them. Bereft of all strength for opposition, (the rebels) were defeated. Kāshlu Khān retired to his own country, and, later on, presented himself before the Sultān with most of his attendants.

was wrongly read by Nizām-ud-din, the author of Tab-i-Akb. as در وسطن “in a state of intoxication”, and so he has committed an error in saying that Malik ‘Izz-ud-din was murdered “while in a state of intoxication”. See Raverty, p. 697, f.n. 6.

1 MBM and JNS read خايف شده بودند پيش آمدنه.

2 Tab-i-Nas. reads 2 days and a half.
The rebellion was (thus) put down. This news reaching him, Ulugh Khān returned to Dehli, laden with booty, on Tuesday, the 11th Jamādi-ul-Ākhar, 655 H. (26th June, 1257 A.D.).

Towards the end of this year, there came from Khorāsān, the accursed Mughal armies in the neighbourhood of Uchch and Multān.1 Kashlu Khān Balban made a common cause with them and joined the invaders. The Sultān raised an army for their suppression; when they learnt that the Sultān was advancing towards them with a large army, they retired towards Khorāsān.

Next year, in 656 H. (1258 A.D.), embassies2 from Turkestān reached (the court of) the Sultān; and, in accordance with the condition of honour and respect, the ambassadors were rewarded with rich presents and valuable gifts: they, then, took their adieu with souvenir from the Court.

The same year, on Sunday, the 6th Muḥarram (13th Jan., 1258 A.D.), the Sultān led his army for the suppression of the infidel Mughals, and drew up his army in the vicinity of Dehli. Then, were enrolled from all sides the Amīrs and the Malikis with their armies and equipage. The Sultān returned to the capital.

In 657 H.,3 two elephants and a large amount of cash arrived at the court of the Sultān from Lakhnauti.

Towards the end of Shawwāl of the same year (Oct., 1259 A.D.), in conformity to the royal mandate, Malik Kazlal Khān4 Sanjar came to the court with a large army.5

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1 Tab-i-Naṣ. writes that 'ulā (or Hulākū), the head of the Mughal infidels, fled discomfitted before the troops of the Lord of the Faithful, Musta’sim Billah, from the gate of Baghdād.

2 There is no mention of this embassy either in Tab-i-Naṣ. or Tab-i-Akb., but Badaoni makes reference to this embassy in his work (A.S B. 93).

3 Tab-i-Naṣ. gives Wednesday, the 4th Jamādi-ul-Ākhar, 657 H.; but it is Thursday (not Wednesday), 29th May, 1259 A.D., according to Pillai’s Ephemeris, IV. 120. Forisha places this event in 664 H.

4 MBM: کرلخان: Zāmīr Khān Snubī; RAverty (714) Malik Tāj-ud-din Sanjar-i-Tez Khān.

5 He came from Oudh in order to accompany Ulugh Khān in his expedition into the Koh-payah.
On the 13th Safar, 658 H. (Thursday, 29th January, 1260 A.D.),

Ulugh Khān was sent out to coerce the rebels of Mewāt,1 with 10,000 horsemen, and numerous brave and experienced footmen. When the Imperialists reached the Koh-payah Mewāt, a huge booty and a large number of cattle fell into their hands: after chastising the miscreants, they returned to Dār-ul-Mulk, Dehli.

Meanwhile, the Sultān fell sick, and by the decree of the Most High Allah, he breathed his last on the 11th Jamādi-ul-auwal, 664 H. (Thursday, 18th Feb., 1266 A.D.).

Verse.

Come, and take a lesson from the dust,
It is the place of repose of honourable kings!
His reign lasted for nineteen years, three months and sixteen days. God knows the truth!

An account of Sultān Ghiaś-ud-dīn Balban.2

Three days after the observance of funeral rites consequent on the death of Sultān Naṣir-ud-dīn, the Amīrs and Malik placed Sultān Ghiaś-ud-dīn Balban on the imperial throne in the White Castle, on the 13th Jamādi-ul-auwal, 664 H. (Saturday, the 20th Feb., 1266 A.D.). The pillars of State, the Vizirs, Amīrs and Malik all paid him homage.3 In those days when Balban held the rank of a Khān4 and the reins of sovereignty were in his hands, there prevailed a serene atmosphere in the country. In those days he led his forces to Koeldakir,5 and having punished the rebels of that country returned (to Dehli). Later on, he ravaged the Koh-payah Santur,6 and made the chiefs

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1 Tab-i-Naṣr. Mew, Mewrā, or Mewrāh, or Mewārīs all refer to a most contumacious race. The territory they inhabited includes the British Dists. of Mathura, Gurgāon, part of Ulwar and Bharatpur.
2 Tab-i-Akb. and Badaoni call him Sultān Ghiaś-ud-dīn Balban-i-Khurd.
3 MBM ارگان وزراء و امراء ملوك بینت MBL: دوكان نقذ را امرا و صلوك بینت. JNS omits it.
4 MBM and JNS در ایام ایام: MBL همدراeen ایام.
5 MBL, MBM, and JNS read کوئند کیر.
6 The Kumāon Hills.
of those places food for the sword. He laid the foundation of a fortress at *Makar-khachuri*,¹ and giving it a new name returned to the capital. Afterwards he went out to the environs of the city and built a fort there. Thence he proceeded with successive marches to the Jud hills.² His two sons joined the Sultān and were kindly received.

Some time afterwards, the Sultān marched against Hindustān. Reaching the banks of the Ganges, he ordered fortresses to be erected at Battiālī³ and Bhojpur.⁴ In the meantime, there came to the Sultān the report relating to the death of Sher Khān, the feoffee of Lakhnauti. Lakhnauti was conferred upon Amin Khān; Tughral was appointed as the Deputy; the Sultān, then, took his way to Dehli.

Later on, the Sultān led his army to Lahore, and there reconstructed the fort that had been pulled down by the accursed Mughals in the reign of late Mu'izz-ud-din Bahram Shāh. Having sent out the people of the villages, judges, prelates, chiefs, citizens and merchants, the Sultān made them live in that city (Lahore).

Meanwhile, the Sultān laboured under a fit of sickness, and as he remained unseen by anybody for days together, the people became suspicious; this news was spread abroad. When this information reached Lakhnauti, there had at that time sprung out an enmity between Tughral and Amin Khān, and both were engaged in hostilities against the other. Tughral gained success, and Amin Khān was made a prisoner in his hands. The former assumed the royal canopy and adopted the title of Mu'izz-ud-din.

After some time, four royal mandates were issued to Amin Khān, Tughral, Jamāl-ud-din Ḥandazi⁶ and Abtakin Musa⁶ to the

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¹ MBL, MBM كُل كُهْجَرِي JNS مَكَار كُهْجَرِي
² MBM, JNS کَوَه خُوَد
³ Tab-i-Akb. (B. De, 100) Patiaîlī: In Aliganj tahsîl, 22 miles north of Etah.
⁴ West of Arrah and north of Sasserām.
⁵ MBL قَنْدْرِي JNS قَنْدْرِي
⁶ MBL: JNS اِبْنِكَينِ مَرْسِي Tab-i-Akb. Malik Aitakin Mude-darāz
effect that his (Sultân’s) enemies had caused him affliction for a few days, and the Most High God had granted him a speedy cure; that the drum of joy be beaten, cupolas erected, amusements held, prisoners liberated and theologians rewarded; that if anybody had been justly suspended by the Tribunal of Fate, he should be presented with cash from the royal treasury and provided with an asylum. When this royal mandate was issued, and it reached Tughral, he advanced with his army to Bihar, and imprisoned Abtakin, Jamâl-ud-dîn Kandazi, and Amin Khan at Nârkilâh.¹

When the news of Tughral’s rebellion reached the Sultân, he sent out Malik Turmatî² to put down Tughral. The latter having made his retreat from Turmati lay in ambush. Turmati imprudently gave him a chase. Suddenly, Tughral drew up his forces in battle array and falling upon the central column of his enemy gave him an overthrow at the first onset. Turmati made good his escape to Oudh.

Subsequently, the Sultân put Malik Shahâb-ud-dîn, the Amir of Oudh, at the head of the army, and placing Kajru Tamar Khan³ under the Malik, ordered the latter to send Turmati on the gibbet on the bank of Saryu and then despatch the body to Tughral. The order of the Sultân was carried into effect. When they reached the vicinity of Lakhnauti, Tughral came and met them, and in the battle which ensued, he vanquished his opponents.

On receiving this information, the Sultân was much annoyed, and he resolved upon leading the army himself. Learning that the king was personally taking the field, Tughral retired to Nârkilâh on a boat. The Sultân sent out Malik Ikhtîâr-ud-dîn Nék Tars⁴ with a strong force to seize Tughral. Meanwhile, Râi Danuji⁵ sent a letter informing the Sultân of his intending visit for the purpose of paying him respect, and requesting him that he would stand

¹ MBL: مار كيلم JNS: نار كيلم
² Tab-i-Akb. (B. De, 108) Tamar Khan Şamsî: Ferishta, Malik Tirmany Toorck.
³ MBL: ملك كعور حاتم خان JNS agrees with MBL.
⁴ Badaoni reads Malik Ikhtîâr-ud-dîn Beg Birlâs. Tab-i-Akb. Malik Barbak Beg Tars: Ferishta, Malik Yar Beg Birlass.
⁵ Tab-i-Akb. Bhojrai; Badaoni, Dhanuj.
up on the Rāi’s arrival. The fact that a Muslim king ought not to show proper respect to an infidel made the Sultān pensive. Malik Nēk Tars, who was present, forbade the Sultān to be thoughtful, and advised him that, prior to the Rāi’s arrival (at the court), the Sultān should take his seat on the throne with a falcon on his hand: and that, with the approach of the Rāi and on his having rendered him homage, the Sultān should stand up and let the falcon go. At this, the people would surmise that the Sultān had left his seat to set the bird in motion: the petition of the Rāi would, thereby, be complied with. The Sultān expressed warm approbation of the Malik’s advice, and acted accordingly. He rewarded the Malik with valuable presents. The Rāi promised, by every possible means, to bring Tughral before the Sultān. The Sultān, then, set out with successive marches, and on his reaching Lakhnauti, Tughral, out of dread, retired to the forest, and was followed by the Imperialists. Malik Nēk Tars fell upon Tughral and imprisoned him alive. Later, he flayed Tughral, and sent the body to the Sultān.¹ Bestowing Lakhnauti upon the younger prince, Bughā Khan, who was formerly the Amīr of Sāmāna, the Sultān returned to Dehli.

After the Sultān’s arrival at Dehli, Khan-i-Buzurg, i.e., Muḥammad Sultān, the eldest son of Sultān Ghīās-ud-din, came to the court from Multān. The prince was in charge of a fief, situated on the west and a dependency of Multān, from Malim to Junati; it was situated mostly on the sea-coast, at a distance of 60 kuroh from Thatha. Amir Khusru and Amir Ḥasan, the two poets, were the attendants and the companions of the Prince, who was adorned with laudable and praiseworthy accomplishments. He remained with his father for some time and then returned (to his fief). Two years later, he entered into a conflict against the accused Mughals² at the garden

¹ According to Tab-i-Akb., Tughral fell off from his horse by the shot of an arrow from Tughral Kush; and his head was cut off by Malik Muḥkaddar and sent to the Sultān. Ferishta says that Malik Muḥkaddar, brother of Malik Yar Beg, shot Tughral with an arrow, and later cut off his head.
² Badaoni says that their leader was Samar. Žīr-ud-dīn Barni calls him Samar. Ferishta writes Timur Khan: Tab-i-Akb., Tamur.
• of Nayyir, on the bank of the river Lahore, and attained martyrdom. The account of the advent of the detested Mughals, and the attainment of martyrdom by Khan-i-Buzurg, has been written in an elegy by Amir Hasan 'Ala' Sanjari, May God be pleased with him. Thus runs the elegy on Khan-i-Shahid.

It is an old story that the tyrannical sphere, although for a while it makes a bond of agreement and gives a promise of security, turns, and inconstant destiny, although for a time it proposes to show acquiescence and gives promise of faith, changes.

The treacherous-eyed Heaven, the pupil of whose generosity is sullied by the defect of the mote of meanness, although, at first like a drunken man without any reason for liberality, it gives away a thing, yet at the end, like a child although a sense of shame would forbid it, takes it back. The well-known custom of the oppressive times is this, as experience and hearsay, what we see, and what we hear, that equally teach, that whomsoever it finds coming to perfection like the moon, it wants to blacken his face of perfect beauty with the stain of loss; and whenever any one rises over our heads like a cloud, it scatters his gem (of greatness) in little

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1 Badaoni, Bāgh-i-Subz.
2 Badaoni (Ranking, 188) writes that this event took place in Zil-hijjah, 683 H.
3 (Mar.-Apr. 1282 A.D.). Zia- Barni gives 684 H.
4 Badaoni writes Mir Hasan of Dehli. Zia-ud-din Barni attributes this lament to Amir Khusrū. Ferishta is of similar opinion. "It seems probable therefore that the lament should be attributed to Amir Khusrū. The "Hasan" may have had its origin in a copyist's error." Tab-i-Akb., Khwaja Hasan:
5 Like our author, the other writers, such as, Nizam-ud-din, the author of Tab-i-Akb. and Badaoni have also made use of this elegy in a similar connection. I am indebted to Raverty and Mr. B. De for the translation of the elegy.
6 P. 113) "these words do not make sense."
7 The three MSS. read Nāsāžgar.
8 MBL: JNS "باعت uthnā: بنا.
9 MBL: JNS "باعت uthnā: بنا.
10 MBL: JNS حاث "بنا.
11 Three MSS. read حاث "بنا.
12 MBL: JNS "بنا.
13 MBL: JNS "بنا.
particles on all sides of the horizon.¹ In this parterre of perplexity, and in this garden of regrets,² no flower has bloomed without a thorn and no heart has escaped the thorn of anguish. Alas! how many young plants are there, which from the effects of the autumn of calamity show a pale and withered face instead of a fresh beauty; and how many flowers lie trampled in the dust (blown down) by the rough blast of time.

Verse.

Look! how hath autumn spread cold!³

Look! how the young cypress⁴ hath it turned old!

One of the examples of this allegory⁵ is the departed Emperor, Kaan⁶-i-Mulk Ghāzi. May God make manifest his demonstrations, and make His scales heavy with His Mercies! On Friday,⁷ the last day of the month⁸ of Zil-ḥijjah, 683 H.⁹ (8 Mar., 1285 A.D.), when,

Verse.

The moon like kindness in the hearts of infidels,
Nowhere in the world¹⁰ could be seen!
and the Sun with the company of the army of Islam came forth with uplifted sword: the great prince who was the Sun in the sky of the state, with the light of holy war¹¹ shining on his noble brow,

¹ MBL and JNS اطراف آفاق پر آگندہ: MBM omits آفاق.
² MBL and MBM باغ حبیت و بستگ حبیت: JNS omits حبیت.
³ In Tab-i-Akb. (A.S.B. 98), this line is somewhat different: it reads در باغ خزان به بین که چچ حب سربوری کرد (See! how hath autumn shown its power in the garden): but the three MSS. of Tārīkh-i-Mubārakahāhi reads در باد خزان بین که چچ حب سربوری کرد: MBL writes سربوری instead of سردار: Badaoni's text agrees with Yahiya.
⁴ MBL and JNS read سربوری: MBL.†
⁵ MBL and JNS تیمبل واقعہ: MBL adds حبیر after واقعہ.
⁶ JNS پائان MBL, MBM قائن.
⁷ Acc. to Indian Ephemeris, vol. IV, 172, it is Thursday.
⁸ Tab-i-Akb. reads سوم مارس. Badaoni agrees with Yahiya.
⁹ Tab-i-Akb. gives 693 H.: Badaoni has 683 H.
¹⁰ MBL, JNS, MBM omit در جهان.
¹¹ MBL نور نبیت عذر MBL: JNS نور نبیت عذر.
and whose excessive zeal in the splendid heart for holy warfare was firm, put his auspicious foot in the stirrup.

They explained to his intellect which solved all difficulties, that the accursed Tamar had arrived with all his forces within three farsangs. When morning broke, he started from the camp on his march, and halted at a distance of one farsang from the accursed ones.

He chose as his battle-field a place within the boundaries of Bāgh-i-Nayyīr on the bank of the river Lahore, so that he had in his neighbourhood the water of the Dehandhī. He fortified the place strongly, and made such dispositions that when the infidels came against him, both rivers should be in the rear of his army, so that no part of his troops would be able to take to flight, nor would any danger befall any part of his army from the infidels. In very truth, these precautionary measures showed how great the prudence and how wonderful the strategy of that world-conquering Khān was. But when evil destiny overtakes one, the strings of all plans get entangled, and no skill is of any avail.

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1 MBL: تابت و لاسخ. MBM and JNS omit لاسخ.
2 MBM and JNS: بد رای مشکل کشایش. MBL, etc., بد آن بد رای.
3 MBL: تمر ملیا. MBM: تمر خاقان. JNS: تمر بادشاه.
4 MBM: بفرشکی. JNS agrees with MBM.
5 MBL: لاهور. MBM: لاهرا. JNS: باداونی.
6 The three MSS. read دهندی: Badaoni: Dihandah, the name of a river near Ajodhan, S.W. of Dopalpur.
7 The Ravi and Satlaj. The battle was fought close to Multan. (Raverty, 190, f.n. 2).
8 The MSS. and Badaoni read در عقب لشکر. MBM: غابت جرم. JNS: غایب جریم.
9 MBM: در غابت حذف. JNS: خال جهانست آن بوته است.
10 MBM and JNS: ابن خان جهان ستان بوته است.
11 JNS: مصالح از تاب برود. MBL and MBM: مصالح از تاب برود.
12 JNS, MBM adds از before انظام. مالک هده تدبیرها از نظام نشود.
Verse.

Him whom doth evil fortune meet,
His affairs to his enemy's wishes fall;
When fortune like a mad man goes astray,
Wisdom like a night-blind into a well doth fall.

By chance that day¹ the Moon and the Sun who are connect-
ed² with kings³; were suspended in the sign of the Fish; and Mars, the redness of whose face is caused by the blood of the nobles of the State, drew out the arrows of destruction⁴ and the bolts of ruin from the quiver of that sign against that Orion girdled Khān, who was like Leo coming forth⁵ from a watery sign; the house of fear and calamity and the proofs of sedition and signs of harm thus became evidently manifest, while the hint and indication⁶ of the proverb "In Face of Fate wide becomes straight" became written on the consecutive pages. In short, at midday, when the horseman of the sky was in the region of the noon, the life of the world-illuminating Emperor drew near the hour of destruction. Suddenly dust appeared from the direction of those infidels; and the Khān-i-Ghāzi mounted his horse that same hour, and ordered that all his soldiers, adherents, officers and men should act according to the text, "kill the infidels all of them,"⁷ drew them up in a line hundred times stronger than the wall of Alexander,⁸ and after arranging the right and left wings, stationed his own highly accomplished person in the centre, like the moon among all the stars for a holy war.⁹ The heathen Tātārs, on whom be loss and ruin, crossed the

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1 MBL: آن روز، JNS and MBM: آن روز.
2 MBL: صنفت، MBM and JNS: نسبت.
3 MBL: ملک، JNS and MBM: ملک.
4 JNS: خذلانه، MBL and MBM: خذلانه.
5 MBL: از برج، JNS and MBM: از برج.
6 MBL: امین و اشارت، JNS and MBM: امین و اشارت.
7 Korān, IX. 5.
8 It is commonly known as the wall of Gog and Magog; It had been built by Alexander to restrain the wild natives of Northern Asia.
9 MBL: قلب گاه چون صف دو شاه و در جمع کوکاب ماه با انفعال کفار تبار علیهم MBM: و در جمع کوکاب ماه با ميعاد کفار تبار MBM. JNS agrees with MBM.
river of Lahore, and confronted the ranks of the Muslims. These barbarians, born in deserts, and friends of desolation, placed owl's feathers on their accursed heads. The Ghazis of Islam, consisting of Turk and Khalji Maliks, and the notables of Hindustan, and the entire body of soldiers, lifted up their hands in the prayer-ground of battle, crying "God is Great"; for the reason that the Holy Prophet, may the blessings and peace of God be upon him, has identified holy war with prayer, saying "we betake ourselves to holy war against the greatest from holy war against the smallest." In their first onset they put to the sword some of the strongest men of the Mughal cavalry; and the lances of the Maliks in attendance on the prince so struck in the bodies of the foes that the blood spurted out from every one of them like the spears, and the arrows of the sixty Turks, who were in attendance on the prince, so struck the persons of the Tatars that the garments worn by them were torn to shreds.

Verse.

At the first onset, the Prince's arrow sprung;
The Tatars, all at once, inert became!

The great lord, the lion-hearted prince struck with his sword, which like his faith was stainless, and rushed out each time from the line of battle, the sword as it were trembled, in the battle-field, at the excellencies of the monarch, and becoming all tongue addressed to him, "For this day leave the work of destruction of these accursed ones to the slaves of thy greatness, and do not move out in thy own gracious person; for the sword hath two faces, and the scimitar of Fate is pitiless in its wounding—no one can say what will happen to whom, through the decree of the Almighty. I blink my eyes at the fatal eye!"
Verse.

Go not! for I place thy dust on my eyes,
Act not, for I am afraid of the evil eyes,
The sky hath not such a bright face seen!
I throw myself on that fire as a sacrifice.

As long as he strenuously performed the duties of fighting and warfare, each of the weapons spoke as follows with a tongue suited to its condition. Said the lance, "Withdraw, Oh Prince! thy hand from me, for the tongue of my blade has become blunt with much smiting and slaying; and I have no power left now to strike thy enemy in the face. God forbid that when I strike I make a futile stroke." Said the arrow, "oh! thou! whose true aim has untied the knot of the nodes, do not go to attack these wicked men; for I myself in my flight may throw dust on my head. God forbid that the narrow-eyed Turk of the sky, who is in the fifth mansion, should shoot an arrow of destruction at you, in the way of tyranny and ruin, from the bow of hostility and malevolence, from his place of ambush at the door of the eighth mansion." The lasso said, "you should not allow the string of deliberation to escape from the hand of thought to-day, for I am contorted with anxiety at this hasty conflict and ill-considered battle; wait a while! in the place of deliberation, for Islām and the Muslims are like the tent ropes connected with the tent of your favours. Oh God! in dealing with this people, do not so long delay putting the halter round their necks.

Verse.

I have with gladness put my head in a noose before thee,
Thou art my lassoer, who takest me with the noose of thy locks!

In short, that Prince, the defender of the faith, the destroyer of infidelity, carried on the battle with great energy and vigour against that band of heathens, with the whole main body of his troops, from noon till sunset. The shouts of the victorious and the cries of those eager for the fray, deafened the ears of the earth, and the hearing of the sky, and the fiery tongues which flew up from the

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1 MBM: بیهم قلب و سیه‌ای با بایین کروه. JNS: سیهم قلب سیه‌ای که فرگل بایین قلب و سیه‌ای. MBL: بیهم قلب سیه‌ای با بایین کروه کروه.
heads of the lances, and the tongues of the swords, which did not err by a single letter in delivering the messages of death, all uttered this text, "that it was the day on which men fled from their brethren."

The surface of the earth, like the eyes of old men, who had lost their sons, overflowed with blood; and the face of the sky, like the heads of sons, who had lost their fathers, was covered with dust.

Verse.

Why does the steel of the sword glow like fire, oh father! That it may place the mark of orphanage on my heart.

In the very midst of this trouble, the very heart of this danger and confusion, an arrow from the aim of fate suddenly reached the wing of that falcon of that field of foray, and the bird of his life took its flight from the cage of the body to the gardens of the compassionate and the meadows of Rizwân.²

Verily we belong to God, and verily to Him do we return.³

At the same moment, the backbone of the religion of Muḥammad—may the peace and blessing of God be upon him—broke like the hearts of sorrowful orphans, and the structure of the faith of Aḥmad fell down like the tombs of the poor. Strength passed away from the arm of the State, and radiance from the Sun of Islam! Exactly at the hour of sunset, the moon of the life of the prince, whose fortune had become pale, set in the west of death. The sky, like a mourner, put on a blue robe, and black tears began to flow over its cheeks. Saturn, like the faithful mourner, put on a black robe, and shouted lamentations for the Prince's death to the people of Hindustan. Jupiter, grieving for that corpse, covered with dust, threw down his blood-stained robe and his torn garments and turban in the dust.

And Mars, may the hand of his power become narrow like the eyes of the Turks, and (may) the face of his life become tight and black like the curls of Negroes; and owing to this grief, a thorn pierced the heart of blood; and was trembling like the Fish before the Sun, and like the ram in the hands of the butcher. The Sun

¹ Korān, LXXX. 34.
² Rizwân is the name of the door-keeper of the garden of Paradise.
³ Korān II. 180, 181.
did not rise for shame, as it had not prevented such a catastrophe, and sank in the earth. When Venus saw what misery had been caused to all existences by this war, she changed the tone of her tambourine, and began singing in a different tone. Instead of playing on her instruments, she wept over the death of that magnanimous Prince, who had ever been so generous to all his servants. Mercury, who like a secretary used to write the records of his victories in his wars and excursions, blackened his face, after this calamity, with the ink of his ink-stand, and made a robe of paper for himself with the leaves of his own records. The bright moon in the shape of a very thin crescent on the horizon, on that day of world-upheaval, was striking its head on the wall and performing all the customary mourning duties.

Verse.
Thou placest thy face in the dust, alas! I do not wish thee thus
Oh moon of my life! I do not wish thee to be under the ground;
If thou goest a-hunting thy dust is my life:
Thy companionship is pleasant for me. I do not wish thee thus.

May the Great and Holy God, raise the pure and saintly soul of that victorious Prince to a higher position, and a more elevated place, and make him taste the full cup of his own beauty, greatness and glory! May every grace, kindness and favour, which he evinced towards this broken down worthless one, be the cause of his attaining a higher rank and the obliteration of errors. Amen, Oh Lord of the worlds!

In short, when this intelligence reached the ears of the Sulṭān, he observed funeral ceremonies for three days and having conferred the designation of Khusru Khān, and the akṭār of Multān upon the eldest son of the martyred prince, appointed Malik Kajr, his locum-tenens. Some time after, malady overcoming the Sulṭān's constitution, he appointed Khusru Khān his heir-designate, made the nobles offer their homage to him,

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1 Tanbūr is a kind of mandolin with chords of brass wire.
2 Mercury is called Dabīr-i-Palak, the scribe of the sky.
3 MBL: MBM and JNS
and also ordered for the despatch of Kaiḳubād, the son of Bughra Khān near his father to Lakhnauti.

After the Sultān had passed to his rest, Kajr, the deputy, addressed to the Malik and Amirās, ‘‘The disposition of Khusru Khān is violent, if he sits on the throne he would keep alive none.’’ Malik-ul Umra Malik,¹ the Kotwāl of Dehli, sided with him; the other Amirās, too, co-operated with them: Malik Beg Sāoḵ,² Hasan Baṣra,³ and ‘Alā’ Dabir, who had been hostile to them, were removed from the country.⁴ The aḵtā of Multān was conferred upon Khusru Khān, and he started towards his fief with his attendants and equipage. Kaiḳubād, the son of Bughra Khān, was raised to the throne in the year 686 H. (1287 A.D.).

Verse.

Oh heart! this worldly mansion has no permanency and stability, Keep your hands off from the world, that has no consistency!

The period of Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn’s rule extended to twenty-two years, and a few months. God knows more the real facts!

Account of Sultān Muʿizz-ud-dīn Kaiḳubād.

Sultān Muʿizz-ud-dīn Kaiḳubād was the son of Bughra Khān and the grandson of Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Balban. The observance of funeral rites having been come to a close, Muʿizz-ud-dīn ascended the imperial throne in the royal palace, in conformity to the wishes of the Amirās, Malikās, Imāms, and Kāẓims in 686 H. (1287 A.D.). Every section of the people of the city made fealty to him. The new Sultān permitted the old officers of the State to continue in their offices, and he also appointed some new hands. Thus Malik Turki⁵ became the royal chamberlain; Malik Nizām-ud-dīn was appointed the chief justice: Malik Jaorji⁶

¹ MBM کونولیک حضرت: Tab-i-Akb., Malik-ul Umra Fakhr-ud-dīn Kotwal.
² MBM حضرت خراجه حسین بصری (121).
³ JNS makes no mention of this event.
⁴ Zia Barni calls him Malik Ikhtiar-ud-dīn Turki: Tab-i-Akb., Malik Barbak Beg Tars: Badaoni, Malik Shahak.
⁵ MBM  جاورجي: Tab-i-Akb., Khāroji.
received the post of the chief sword-bearer; Khwāja Khaṣir-ud-dīn obtained the designation of Khwāja-i-Jahān.

After the expiry of six months, Sultān Mu‘izz-ud-dīn granted public audience at Kilokhari, on a Friday.

With the object of imprisoning some of the Amīrs of the Neo-Muslims, a stratagem was devised. The Amir of Multān was ordered to send a representation stating that, owing to the advent of the accursed (Mughals) with a large army to the vicinity of Multān, he had drawn up the royal forces, and having attacked the enemies had, by the prosperity of the Emperor, driven them away. In short, after the tidings of victory was read to the people, the royal farmān emanated summoning every Amīr and Malik for offering their congratulations. With all his entourage ready for action, Malik Niẓām-ul Mulk posted himself on the top of the Kiosk. When the Maliks and Amīrs came (before the Sultān) for offering their felicitations (the following notables, such as), Malik Beg Sarak, the Amir-i-Hājib (Lord Chamberlain), Malik Ghāzi, the Vakildar, Malik Karim-ud-dīn, the Naib-i-Barbak, Malik Bahrām, the Akhur-beg, Malik Jaorji, the chief sword-bearer, Malik Mughlāti, the Musallā-dār were taken prisoners. Mughlāti and Jaorji were forced to leave the country; the other Amīrs were martyred.

Subsequently, Malik Shāhik was appointed Amir-i-Hājib, and bestowed with the title of Ajbar Khān. Amir ‘Ali became the chief sword-bearer; Ahmad Fakhr was made the Vakildar; Malik Tāmāchī received the office of the Deputy Chamberlain; Malik Turki

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1 MBM suggests دس اوردن بعضي امروي نو مسلمانان خييل كرده... JNS agrees with MBM.

Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad (Tab-i-Akb. 120) states that the Chief Justice, in pursuance of the foolish thought of acquiring power and empire, devised means for the extirpation of the Balban dynasty: he deceived the young Sultān and obtained permission for the massacre of the Mughal Amīrs, who were all seized and slaughtered for their staunch adherence to the cause of the Sultān.

2 MBM: ملک پیچ مارق... JNS agrees with MBM. Tab-i-Akb., (121), Malik Shāhībak, the feudatory of Multān.

3 The Vakildar was the officer who superintended the ceremonies of presentation.

4 Musallā means a pulpit or a carpet for praying upon. Musallā-dār, then, was the keeper of the royal carpet.

5 Badaoni, Wazīr Khān.

6 Badaoni قیام الملك.
became the ‘Ariz. ‘Ali Shāh Koh Judī and Khuram, his brother, obtained situations at the court and kindred dignity. Malik Jha-
ju ¹ obtained Samānā in fief, and his daughter entered the royal harem. Malik Kabki became the head sword-bearer, and Malik Sha-
bān Sablik, the Shaḥnah-i-Bārgāh.

When order was restored in the country, the Sultan bent upon marching against Hindustan, halted his forces at the vicinity of Dehli on Sunday, the last day ² of Zil-ḥijjah, of the aforesaid year (Feb., 1288
A.D.). Meanwhile, there came the report of the advent of a large army of the infidel Tatār ³ under their leader Tamar,⁴ and of their having ravaged Lahore and Multān and imprisoning a large number of inhabitants. The Sultan appointed Khān-i-Jahān Shāhīk Bār-
bak ⁵ at the head of three thousand cavalry to coerce the accused insurgents. When the army of Islam (i.e., the Imperialists) reached near Lahore, the accused tribe took to their heels without any con-
test, and were hotly pursued so far as the hill-skirts of Jamun.⁶ A great many was made food for the sword, and a large number was taken captive and despatched to the Sultan.

In the meantime, there came the report that, Bughrā Khān, the father of the Sultan, who had ascended the throne of Bengal under the title of Naṣir-ud-
dīn, was advancing against Dehli with a huge force. Sultan Mu‘izz-ud-dīn too, having mobilized his forces from all sides of the country, made for Oudh, with the object of encountering him. As the river Saryu intervened be-
tween them, the father and the son remained encamped on either banks and none could ford the river. The Ghiāsi Amirs and Maliks came between the father and the son, and brought about a reconcilia-
tion between the two. Sultan Naṣir-ud-dīn crossed the Saryu with his attendants and came to Oudh. Both the father and the son sat side by side, very near each other, on the same throne at

¹ Tab-i-Akb., Malik Jhaju: Badaoni, Malik Chhajū.
² The 30th of Zil-ḥijjah fell on Thursday and not on Sunday. See Int. Ephemeris, IV, 178.
³ MBL: JNS agrees with MBL. ⁴ Badaoni, Itīmar.
⁵ According to Tab-i-Akb. and Fereishta Shāhīk Barbak and Khān-i-Jahān were two different personages: but Badaoni agrees with Yahiya.
⁶ Badaoni, Jud hills.
Chabutra Tābsī. Afterwards, Sulṭān Nāsir-ud-dīn bade farewell to his son and returned to his camp. At length, Sulṭān Muʿizz-ud-dīn made a presentation of Arabian horses, and valuable gifts to his father, and Sulṭān Nāsir-ud-dīn, on his part, having sent in return huge elephants with litters and delicacies to his son, turned his way towards Lakhnautī. Amir Khusru, upon him be mercy and forgiveness, gives a complete account of the (above) incident (meeting between the father and the son) in his Kirān-us-Saʿdān. Sulṭān Muʿizz-ud-dīn returned and took up his residence at Kilokhari.

In the year 687 H. (1288-1289 A.D.), Ajbar Khān finding that he had lost the favour of the Sulṭān took his way to the Kohpayah, out of fear, and was joined by Malik Šalāh-ud-dīn, Malik Daulat Shāh, and Malik Hoshang. Malik Aitmarr Kujhan received the post of Barbak (master of ceremonies). Some time after, Ajbar Khān joined the Sulṭān at maidān-i-Sair-gāh, where Muʿizz-ud-dīn had granted public audience. In conformity to the royal order, (when the Khān approached the royal presence) he was not greeted with "Bismillah", at which he was upset. A farman was issued to Malik Kotwal ordering him to address Ajbar Khān with the following words, that he had broken the sanctity of contract and had failed to work according to the stipulation, and as such what was the proper punishment for him. The Khān remained silent. Malik Kotwal put Ajbar Khān, his sons and brothers into confinement in his (Kotwal’s) house. They breathed their last in the prison. Then Malik Turki was put in chains and done away with. Firoz Baghrash Khilji became the ‘Arij-i-Mamalik and obtained the title of Shāist Khān.

The Sulṭān indulged mostly in amusements and pleasures. From extreme dissipation, extreme lasciviousness, and constant drinking he was attacked with illness.
Malik Aitmar Kujhan with the other Amiris and Malikis, resolved upon imprisoning Shaist Khan, who was a man of experience and incapable of performing any wrong action. Malik Ahmad Chap, the Amir-i-Hajib of Malik Aitmar Kujhan, and a former attendant of Shaist Khan’s son, revealed the conspiracy of Aitmar Kujhan to Shaist Khan forbidding him to go to the house of the Amiris when called for it. The Khan sent out, as his courier, his paternal uncle named Hajah Hussain to Baran; and set on foot a story to the effect that the Mughal army had found their way to Samana, in view of which it was imperative that the Khiljis should set out with their cash, effects and necessary things at night and crossing the Jaun opposite Ghiaspur should pitch their camp there. It was his intention to secede from Dehli with all his entourage and to proceed elsewhere. He called for the presence of Malik Khumush and Malik Izz-ud-din, his brother and nephew respectively, and told them that as he was unwell they should remain with him that night. They agreed to what he said. At daybreak, Shaist Khan struck his camp at Firoz-koh, also called Bhukalpahari, and began to muster the army of Kanauj. Malik Darpi, the grantee of Kanauj, had also encamped near Shaist Khan: at this time, the aforesaid Aitmar deputed a messenger near them, so that they might be induced to come on the pretext that they had been invited by the king; but Shaist Khan drove him off. A second individual was despatched; in a like manner Aitmar would send persons near Shaist Khan, and the latter would refuse him admittance. Finding that Shaist Khan was not coming, and with a view to dispel his apprehension, Aitmar mounted on a horse and rode towards the Khan. The latter, too, was mounted: both made obeisance to the other. Malik Aitmar, then, enquired, “You have been summoned so many times! Why didn’t you turn up?” Replied the Khan, “Some of the mounted attendants of the army

1 Badaoni, Malik Himar Kachhian.
2 The Mughal Omrahs headed by Aitmar Kujhan and Aitam Surkha, jealous of the power of the Khiljis, issued a proclamation proscribing the name of all the principal Khiljian officers. They conspired together to remove out of the way those nobles who were not Turks.
3 Ferishta, Bahadoorpoor; Badaoni, Bahaspur.
of Ḽanauj are worn out: Malik Saʿati intends presenting himself to the Sulṭān and accompanying his stirrups to Dehli.” Down came Āitmar from his horse, when Ṣhaʿist Khān caught hold of his hands and said, “Thou art a person of such a nature that thou dost want to kill men as thou would a sheep, and throw him into the river. Thou mayest do with me whatever pleaseth you.” Then, he decapitated Āitmar, and placing his severed head on a spear, put it in front of the palace at Kilokhari. Malik Darpi, the chief of Ḽanauj, joined Ṣhaʿist Khān. Meanwhile, there came Fakhr-ud-din, the Kotwal, and his sons for offering felicitations to the Sulṭān, on the advent of the new month. Catching sight of him, Ṣhaʿist Khān had the Kotwal called and retained near him, and sent the sons to the cutcherry. Then, all the Amīrs and Maliks befriended Ṣhaʿist Khān. The day following, he drew up his kindred and prepared them for action; he made Ḥisām-ud-din, his second son, the vanguard of the forces, and drew up his men at Kilokhari in expectation of an engagement. The Ghiāsi and Muʿīzzi Amīrs and Maliks, on their part, made themselves ready for action with elephants and a big army. Malik Naṣīr-ud-din, the keeper of the elephants, took the beasts out, and drove them towards Kilokhari. Sulṭān Muʿizz-ud-din, whose illness was due to drinking, could not ride on a horse: seated under the royal canopy, he was carried to the top of the palace at Kilokhari by some of the attendants, such as, Kāzi ‘Alam, Amir ‘Ali, and two eunuch slaves of the palace. Arjini Paik, one of the royal servants, with his men had taken his stand among the elephants, when Malik Jhaju advancing towards him, yelled out, “We wish to place him (Sulṭān Muʿizz-ud-din) upon a boat, and take him to Sulṭān Naṣīr-ud-din at Lakhnauti, and to place Prince Kaikāʾūs on the imperial throne.”

As the Ghiāsi line had come to an end, and the government and family of Balban had become extinct, Malik Naṣīr-ud-din, Arjini  

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1 MBM omits و در آب می اندازید این چنین بر ص می خواهد بکنید.
2 MBM پسر میانگی: MBL, JNS پسر ما یکی میانگی.
3 MBM مستعد جنگ برون: MBL: جنگ برون امتداد JNS مستعد جنگ آمادگی.
4 MBM agrees with MBM: MBL: برداشته.
5 MBL: بانک.
Paik and the other Amirs withdrew the elephants and the forces from the court. Finding an opportunity, Shâist Khân put his son Hisâm-ud-din at the head of five hundred horsemen and despatched him to the palace. He (Shâist Khân) placed Prince Kaikâ'ûs, the son of Sultân Mu‘izz-ud-din, on his lap and brought him outside (the palace); he then took this Prince to Chabutra Sijâni\(^1\) and placed him on the throne. Further, he appointed Malik Ḥasan, his own cousin, to keep a watch over the (new) Sultân in the palace at Kilokhari. Shâist Khân, then, turned towards Malik Jhaju, and addressed him thus, “This Prince is like a son to you; he has become the Sultân, be you his representative: let me have the districts from Multân and Tabarhindah to Dibalpur,\(^2\) so that I may depart this very moment.” Jhaju answered thus, “The vizirate and the vice-regency will suit you best; let me have the fief of Karah so that I may go there”.

Fakhr-ud-din, the Kotwal, turned himself to Shâist Khân and said, “The Just and Great God has created you for abundant wealth. Do what Malik Jhaju says”. Afterwards\(^3\) Shâist Khân presented Jhaju with a robe of honour and sent him to Karah.\(^4\) The royal court was, by the Khân’s order, established at Siri.\(^5\) The Prince was seated in the court, while Shâist Khân took his position at the parties. The imperial army was encamped there. Next day, Sultân Mu‘izz-ud-din, who had taken his seat in the court, was made a prisoner.\(^6\) Dying out of thirst and hunger, Sultân Mu‘izz-ud-din wrote the following lines on the occasion:

**Verse.**

The horse of my excellence\(^7\) is standing on the plain,  
The hand of my generosity is under an anvil,

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1. MBL: مطلق
   MBM, JNS: مطلق
   سبعینی: Tab-i-Akb., “Nasiri Chabutra”.
2. MBL: دیبالپر
   MBM and JNS: دیبالپر
   سختی: دیبالپر
3. MBL omits بدعه.
4. MBL: کتر
   JNS, MBM: کتر.
5. MBM: مساوی: JNS
   در: در سیر
   سیری: MBM
6. Nizâm-ud-din Ahmad, Badaoni and Ferishta opine that the Sultân was done to death by the hired assassins.
7. MBM: اسپ هنر
   MBL and JNS: اسپ هنر.
My eyes that never beheld less than gold mines and jewels,\(^1\)
Come, and see, how much is it perplexed to-day!\(^5\)

This event took place on the 19th Muharram, 689 H.\(^3\) (Wednesday, 1st Feb., 1290 A.D.). Sultan Mu’izz-ud-din’s rule lasted for three years and a few months!

God knows more the real facts!

An account of Sultan Shams-ud-din Kaikâ’ūs.

Sultan Shams-ud-din Kaikâ’ūs was the son of Sultan Mu’izz-ud-din Kaikubad. When Sultan Mu’izz-ud-din attained martyrdom in the palace at Kilokhari, Sultan Shams-ud-din, his son, was raised to the throne in the year 689 H. (1290 A.D.) at the Chabutra Sijâni.\(^4\) Shâist Khân became his deputy, and it was during the period of deputyship that the country acquired stability\(^5\) in course of three months.

On the expiry of three months, Malik Aïtam Surkha and some of the Ghiâşi slaves made an attempt to liberate Sultan Shams-ud-din from the control of Shâist Khân, and also to assassinate the latter. With this object in view, they sent a manifesto to Malik Baktab,\(^6\) the Deputy Amîr-i-Hajib; the latter held out insincere hopes,\(^7\) and asked them to wait till he was ready. In the interim he mounted a horse, and going near Shâist Khân, informed him of their treacherous plots;\(^8\) immediately, the Khân sent out his son Hisâm-ud-din with a few horse, in all haste, to the court of the Sultan in order to carry him over. When the Sultan was brought near Shâist Khân, Aïtam Surkha and the other attend-

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\(^1\) MBL: کان گهر کمر دیدی، JNS and MBM: کان گهر کمر دیدی.
\(^2\) JNS: امروز بناان، MBL: امروز بناان.
\(^3\) Ferishta gives 687 H. Badaoni agrees with Yahiya: MBL omits Muharram:
\(^4\) MBM: سبجایی، JNS agrees with MBL.
\(^5\) MBL reads نامدہ instead of: JNS agrees with MBL.
\(^6\) JNS: بکتر.
\(^7\) MBM: برسان فریب: JNS agrees with MBL.
\(^8\) MBM omits و از مرکز ایشان: JNS and MBM retain it.
ants, getting scent of this, set out in pursuit of the Sultan with their arms concealed. Approaching Shaist Khan, they drew out their weapons and entered into a conflict; they did not allow Shaist Khan and the Khiljis to take to their horses. Malik Ikhthiār-ud-din, the eldest son of Shaist Khan, fell from his horse, when Malik Aitam Surkha dealt upon him two or three blows of the sword, none of which was effective. Malik Ikhthiār-ud-din drew out his bow and discharged a fatal shot at Aitam. The deceased’s head was placed on a spear. The following lines have been written in this connection:

Verse.

The prince who set the country in order by his wisdom,
Discharged an arrow, and put an end to the enemy:
In the dynasty of Malik Shāh there was danger that day,
That very house did he save that day with a single arrow!

When Aitam Surkha was killed, there appeared disunanimity in the rank. Meanwhile, Shaist Khan placed Sultan Shams-ud-din on a horse, and having taken him to the palace at Kilokhari, confined him there. He, then, ascended the throne; Sultan Shams-ud-din died while a prisoner.

Verse.

The drink of the heaven is tasteless,
The work of the world is jugglery!

Sultan Shams-ud-din Kaikā’ūs’ rule extended for three months and a few days. God knows more the real facts!

THE HOUSE OF KHILJI.

The account of Sultan Jalāl-ud-din Firoz Shāh.

Sultan Jalāl-ud-din Firoz Shāh was the son of Baghrash Khilji. When the rebellion of Aitam Surkha was put down, and Sultan Shams-ud-din was confined

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1 JNS: من خانه ملك شاه خلف برد آن روز خلف برد

2 Nizām-ud-din Ahmad following other authoritative histories, such as, Tabakaṭ-i-Maḥmud ǧahān of Ḥakim Kirmānī Jaunpuri, is of opinion that the tribe of Khalj were the descendants of Kalij Khān, son-in-law of Chingiz Khan. Kalij became Khalj by a change of letter, and by frequency of use became Khalj. But Badaoni
in prison, Sultan Jalal-ud-din seated himself 1 on the throne in the palace at Kilokhari with the acquiescence of the Amirs and Maliks, in the month of Rabi-ul-Akhir, of the same year (689 H., April-May, 1290 A.D.). 8

He entrusted to his own relatives most of the affairs and business of the State. His eldest son received the title of Khān-i-Khānān, and the districts near about (Dehli) in fief: his second and third sons were designated Arkal Khān 3 and Kadr Khān respectively. Malik Hasin, the Sultan’s uncle, received the title of Tāj-ul-Mulk: Malik Khamaush obtained the post of ‘Ariż-i-Mamalik; Malik Naṣīr-ud-din Baḳbaḳ became Amir-i-Ḥajib; Malik Khurram, the Vakildar: Malik Baktat, 4 the Deputy 5 Amir-i-Ḥajib; Malik Iḥtiār-ud-din Hindu Khān Ghiaṣi, the Deputy Vakildar; Malik Naṣīr-ud-din Kohrāmī, the Khāṣ Ḥājib; Malik ‘Az-ud-din, the (Sultan’s) nephew (brother’s son), the Kurbeg-i-Maimnā; Malik ‘Aziz Kurbeg-i-Maisrā; Malik Aḥmad Chap, 7 the Sar-i-Jāndār-i-Maimnā; Malik Hurnamār, the Sar-i-jāndār-i-Maisrā: Malik ‘Ala’-ud-din, the son of Sultan’s brother, the Akhūrbeg-i-Maimnā; Malik Ataji, 8 the Akhūrbeg-i-Maisrā; Khwāja Khaṭūr-ud-din became Khwāja-i-Jahān; Kamāl-ud-din Kafuri, the Naib-i-‘āriż; Fakhr-ud-din Kuji received the office of Dad-beg: Asad-ud-din 9 Wakim, 10 became the Sahm-ul-Ḥashm and Shamlah Ḥashm. 11

says that “this ancestry has no real authority” and as a matter of fact there is no connection whatever between Kālij and Khalj. “In some histories it is said that Khalj is the name of one of the sons of Yāfī (Japhet), the son of Noah, and that Khiljīs descended from him.”

1 Firishta writes that he was 70 years old when he came to the throne. He changed the colour of the royal umbrella from red to white: built a new town opposite to the Mur’izza palace, and called it “the Rocky citadel,” and Shahr-i-naū (new town).

2 Acc. to Tab-i-Akh. Firoz ascended the throne in 688 H. Firishta, 687 H.; Badaoni, 689 H.; Zia Barni, 689 H. Amir Khusru, 689 H.

3 MBM: از کلی خان: MBL and JNS Arkali Khān.

4 MBM: بکنت: JNS.

5 MBM omits Naib: JNS omits “Deputy”.

6 JNS: قربیک

7 JNS: احمد جب.

8 MBM: ملك اجاجی: JNS. اماجی.

9 MBM: اماجی.

10 MBM: وقم: JNS agrees with MBM.

11 MBM omits وشلَة حشم.
In the month of Sha'bān of the above year (689 H. Aug.-Sep. 1290 A.D.), Malik Jhaju raised the standard of insurrection at Karāh. Amir 'Ali, the Sar-i-Jāndār and the grantee of Oudh, and the Amīrs of Hindustan sided with him. Some of the Jalāli Amīrs, who held fiefs towards the Hindustan, such as, Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Kuji, Malik Muḥammad Kutluğ Khan, Malik Naṣrat, the Saḥnah-i-Bārgāh, Malik 'Ali Beg and Malik Ḳibrān, all assembled at Karāk. When the aforesaid Amīrs marched against Dehli, Malik Alb Ǧhāẓi the feoffee of Karāk, and Malik Bahadur remained at Karāk. The above Amīrs deputed Malik Silik near those two nobles for enquiring of them the reason of their delay in co-operating with the rebels. Malik Alb Ǧhāẓi and Bahadur caught hold of Silik and struck off his head. They, then, addressed the (recalcitrant) Amīrs in the following terms, “Being Ǧhāẓi slaves, we intend marching against Jhaju.” They left Karāk for Badaān, and from thence having forded the Ganges, they reached Bījlānā where they drew up their forces, and awaited in hourly expectation of Jhaju’s arrival.

When this intelligence reached the Sulṭān, he left Dehli in charge of Khān-i-Khānān, and dividing his forces into two halves, he placed the one under his son Arkali Khān, whom he sent towards Amroha, while the other, he personally led to Kol and Badaān. Malik Jhaju came from Kābar; and Arkali Khān marched towards Jobād.

The two forces faced each other on the bank of Rahab, and the fight commenced. After the fight had continued for some days, there appeared before Jhaju a certain individual, Piram Deo Kotla by name, who having related to him (Jhaju)
how the Sultan Jalal-ud-din Firoz was advancing in the rear, advised him to take recourse to flight; (whereupon), Malik Jhaju lost all powers of resisting the enemy, and made a precipitate retreat during the night. At day break, Arkali Khan having crossed the river, ran after him and sent Bhim Deo\(^1\) to hell: Alab Ghazi, was slain; and Malik Mas'ud Akhurbeg and Malik Muhammad\(^2\) Balban were put in chains. Arkali Khan received in fief the vicinity of Anhari Kithor,\(^3\) and Malik 'Ala'-ud-din obtained Karah. Almas Beg became Akhurbeg: The Sultan turned his way to the capital.

Subsequently, the Sultan directed his forces towards Sannam, against 'Abdullah Bachcha, the prince of Khorasân,\(^4\) who had, with a large army made his appearance there. In the conflict that took place between the two forces, there was a heavy death roll on both sides, but the fight continued without any cessation. At length, peace was effected, and both sent enormous presents to the other. 'Abdullah made his way towards Khorasân, and the Sultan to the capital.

Meanwhile, Khān-i-Khānān fell victim to a disease and breathed his last. Arkali Khan came to Dehli from Multān, and the Sultan having left the Khan at the capital,\(^5\) proceeded to Mandwar. It was the evening prayer-time when His Majesty reached his destination.

Malik Fakhr-ud-din Kuji informed the Sultan that Malik Mughlati, his (Fakhr-ud-din's) brother Taj-ud-din Kuji, Harnumar, Malik Mubarak, the Shikâr-beg-i-Ghiâsi, had thought of rebellion. The Sultan was vigilant that night: at day-break, he granted public audience, when every Amir and Malik came to pay their respects to him. Turning towards Mughlati, the Sultan addressed him thus, "The Great and Holy God has not conferred upon me

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\(^1\) JNS, MBM: بھیم دیو

\(^2\) MBM omits Muḥammad: JNS, MBM retain it.

\(^3\) MBM: احمدی کسی نہیں

\(^4\) MBM omits خراسان: JNS and MBM retain it.

\(^5\) MBM: در دہلی: JNS agrees with MBM.
the territory through your help: however dost thou try, it would not go away from me. What wrong have I done to thee that thou hast rebelled in this way?" Then, the Sultan bestowed upon him Badāon in fief, and rewarding him with a robe of honour, bade him farewell. Malik Mubarak received Tabarhindah; the office of Sar-i-jandar was taken away from Harnumar and given over to Malik Bughra Kandali.\(^1\) Afterwards, the fortress of Mandwar was conquered: and the Sultan, with successive marches, reached the capital. Reaching the palace at Kilokhari, he arranged for merry-making for a day, and having taken his seat among some of his slaves he caused the following two quatrains to be composed:—

**Verse.**

I wish not thy afflicted ringlets to be entangled,  
I like not that pomegranate-face\(^2\) of thine be dried up:  
For a night I like to have thee bereft of skirts on my lap,  
Yea, I utter this in voice loud, and wish it not be concealed!\(^4\)

Some time after, on another occasion, Malik Algho made a slanderous report (to the Sultan) against Sidi Moulah\(^5\) stating that every Amir and Malik had joined with him (the Moulah), and advising His Majesty to put in

\(^1\) MBM: كندائي, JNS: كنداني.  
\(^2\) MBM: گلنارSignIn, JNS: گلنارین, MBL: گلنار.  
\(^3\) JNS: تفسیره, MBM: تفسیره, MBL: تفسیره.  
\(^4\) MBM: پرسیده, JNS: پرسیده.  
\(^5\) Nizām-ud-dīn, Badaoni and Ferishta give the following introductory account of the Moulah: Sidi Moulah, a darwesh, appeared in Dehli and settled down there. He opened the doors of charity and alms-giving to the poor. His lavish doles and unrestrained expenses caused no small wonder among the people, who attributed their source to the Darwesh's familiarity with alchemy and natural magic. Most of the Amirs and Malikis became his disciples and close friends. People began to apprehend that he wanted to seize the country by the help and assistance of these people.

Ferishta relates how one Kāgi Jalal-ud-dīn Kāshānī, who was in confidence of the Moulah, began to inspire the latter with views of ambition. The Darwesh, to his misfortune, assumed a tone and manner indicative of his design on the throne. The Moulah engaged Mir Mohsun Kotwal and Nutty Pyhlwan two of his persons to join the king's retinue on Friday, as he went to the public mosque, and to assassinate him.
chains, Sidi Moulah, Ḵāzī Sheikh Jalāl-ud-dīn Kāshānī,1 his sons, Malik Tatār, Malik Lanki,2 Malik Hindu, the son of Tari’y,3 Malik ‘Az-ud-dīn Bughān Ḵhān and Ḥāthia Babak.4 They were captured and placed in confinement.

Subsequently, on the third day, during the Friday prayers, the prominent people of Delhi were summoned before the Sultān. A sitting accommodation was provided in the palace, and the Emperor was seated on a raised platform.5 Sidi Moulah, and the other Amīrs appeared before the Sultān, when the latter turned towards the Moulah and accosted him thus, “Why should a dawrshesh make himself busy6 with the affairs of the empire, or the business of the realm?” The Sheikh replied that the charge had been maliciously attributed to him.

The Sultān, then, turned towards Ḵāzī Jalāl-ud-dīn,7 and said, “One who is intelligent and a man of eminence is raised to the rank of a Ḵāzī; how could you think of rising to a greater dignity than this?”8 Replied the Ḵāzī, “This is a false accusation; by God! this is a false indictment that is being made against me by Malik Yaʿūm-ud-dīn: I am innocent!”

The Sultān flew into rage and commanded Sahm-ul-Ḥashm to make an end of Ḥāthia Babak with a mace. The son of Tari’y was thrown at the feet of an elephant. Then, Amir Hindu was called upon to appear before the Sultān, who interrogated him thus, “I had once excused thee for thy insurrection. What dost thou say now?” Thus answered Amir, “What your Majesty observeth is quite true: when I once thought of rebellion your Highness was pleased to pardon me.”

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1 MBM: کلبیساتی. JNS agrees with MBM.
2 MBM: کنکر. JNS agrees with MBM.
3 MBM: ترکی: بسر نومی. JNS: بسر نومی.
4 JNS: بک.
5 MBL: در سرای معصر ساختند سلطان در منظر نشسته بود. MBM: ساختند... JNS agrees with MBM.
6 MBL: چه سرد. JNS: چه سرد.
7 MBM: Kāzī Jalāl.
Verse.\(^1\)

"So that, kings who bestow gold and silver in charity might learn, It's the custom of Firoz Shâh, the refuge of the Sulţâns, to bestow life!"

"In the name of the Most High Allah, now, for no sin, I am going to be sentenced to death. If your Majesty condescends, I might defend my cause."

The Sulţân, then, turned to the Darweshes\(^2\) and exclaimed, "Why dost thou not avenge me on Sidi Moulah!" Two Kalandar slaves and one Haidari jumped forward and whipped out their razors; then, having shaved off the pure-souled Siddi's whiskers up to the chin, stabbed him in the side with the sack-maker's needles. When Sidi Moulah fell down, they struck his head with stony beads that lay scattered. Then, Arkali Khân signed to his elephant-driver to drive the elephant over the Moulah. The elephant ran over him and tore him to pieces.\(^3\) Tradition goes, that a month prior to this incident, that pure-souled and generous dispositioned Sheikh, on whom be mercy and forgiveness, used to hum the following verses, day and night:—

Verse.

None but the excellent are slaughtered in the kitchen of love;
The lean, the old and the ugly they kill not.
Flee not, Oh! sincere lover! from slaughter,
He whom they slay not is no better than a corpse!\(^4\)

The others, by the royal order, were removed.

Three days after the occurrence narrated above, a pit,—in length about 10 gaz and in width 3,—was dug out: in it a great fire was kindled for throwing into it the remaining adherents of the Moulah. Placing the turban round his neck, Arkali Khân interposed on their behalf, and caught hold of the Sulţân's legs. His Majesty showed compassion on them.

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\(^1\) Excepting MBL, MBM, and JNS have no mention of this verse.

\(^2\) Tab-i-Akb. writes, "The Sulţân then turned to Sheikh Abu Bakr Tusi Hâidari, the chief of the Haidari Kalandars." Badaoni supports Tab-i-Akb.

\(^3\) MBL adds after this, رضي الله عنه: استغفار مي گورد JNS and MBM omit it.

\(^4\) MBL: مرد مردار مرد JNS: مرد مردار مرد MBM: مرد مرد.
Subsequently, the Sultan marched his troops towards Rantambor. Arkali Khan left for Multan without taking leave of the king. For the reason that Malik Ala’-ud-din, the feoffee of Karah, had gone to his abode, the Sultan became excessively discomposed and uneasy. He encamped himself at Kulpur and built a platform and a lofty cupola with the following verse, a composition of his own, inscribed on it:

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1 Tab-i-Akb. writes 689 H., Ferishta, 690 H., Tab-i-Akb. relates, in detail, the incidents of the expedition: The Sultan seized Jhain (Ujjein), destroyed the temples and carried away much booty. Being unwilling to entail the curse of widows and the orphans upon him, he gave up the siege.

Tab-i-Akb., Badaoni, and Ferishta make reference to the following incidents:

(a) In the year 691 H. (1292 A.D.) the Mughals invaded Hindustan with a large army. The Sultan set out to repel them. After several skirmishes, the Mughals commenced negotiations. Gifts and presents were exchanged between the parties. Alghu, the grandson of Chengiz Khan, with some Mughal noblemen, became Musalmans. Ghiaspur (later changed to Mughalpur) was assigned to them for their residence. The Mughals got the name of the Neo-Muslims: Alghu was honoured with the hand of one of the Sultan’s daughters.

(b) At the end of the year 691 H. (Acc. to Ferishta, 692 H.) the Sultan marched against Mandu (Badaoni, Mandwar), and having devastated the country returned to Delhi.

(c) About the same time, Malik Ala’-ud-din, the nephew of the Sultan, having obtained leave, marched against Bhilsah, pillaged the country and returned with much spoil. Two brass idols brought from those parts, were cast down in front of the Badāūn gate to be trampled upon by the people. For this glorious achievement the Sultan raised Ala’-ud-din to a higher rank, and gave him Oudh as an additional sief. Ala’-ud-din then submitted a representation asking for permission to enlist fresh troops, so that he might invade Chanderi, a land full of riches. The object of Ala’-ud-din had been to establish an independent power. Accordingly, after taking leave of the Sultan at Dehli, Ala’-ud-din went to Karah, where leaving Malik Ala’ul-Mulk as his deputy in Karah and Oudh he marched towards Deogir on pretence of going to Chanderi. He marched through Elichpur. Ramdeo, the ruler of Deogir, with a large force opposed Ala’-ud-din, who routed him and conquered Deogir.

2 He had been left at Kilokhari to manage the affairs of the kingdom in the Sultan’s absence.

3 MBM جانبي رفته برد رفته .
4 MBM کالپور JNS کالپور .
5 JNS and MBM خود خاص before انشعای خود .
Verse.

I whose foot-steps rub \(^1\) the head of heaven,  
How can a heap of stone and earth augment my dignity? \(^2\)  
Those broken stones with water I have thus arranged,\(^3\)  
Some broken heart may find repose there.

The Sultan summoned Malik Sa’iyyid Muntakib and Raja ‘Ali and enquired, “Is there any defect in the quatrain?” With one voice they replied in the negative adding that it was quite agreeable. Answered His Majesty, “You say all this in order to humour me; but, I shall show you its defect by the following two couplets;” then, he composed the following Rubai’\(^4\):—

Perchance some traveller may pass by this spot\(^5\)  
Whose tattered garment is the satin mantle\(^6\) of the sky;  
Perchance from the felicity of his breath or auspicious footsteps  
One atom may fall to my lot: this will suffice me.

Subsequently, intelligence arrived that Malik ‘Ala’-ud-din had gone to Deogir, and having sacked the place and securing a rich booty, numerous elephants and horses had marched back to Karah. The Sultan found his way back to Dehli,\(^7\) and deputed Malik ‘Imad-ul-Mulk and Zia-ud-din, the Mushrif, to Malik ‘Ala’-ud-din. Malik ‘Ala’-ud-din confined them, and spread a false

:\(\text{Ala’-ud-din marched against Deogir and sacked it.}\)

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\(^1\) MBL: \(\text{ما بسط} \) MBM and JNS: \(\text{ما بسط} \).
\(^2\) JNS, MBL: \(\text{قل فدر انوارا} \) MBM: \(\text{قل فدر انوارا} \).
\(^3\) MBM and JNS: \(\text{بنهايد درست} \) MBL: \(\text{بنهايد درست} \).
\(^4\) A verse of four hemistiches.
\(^5\) MBL: \(\text{درین خاکدرس شد كس} \) MBM and JNS: \(\text{درین خاکدرس شد كس} \).
\(^6\) اطليس: \(\text{فرخ اطليس} \).
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1: The highest of all the heavens is called because it has no stars. The literal meaning of is “worn out”. Its secondary meaning is “satin”.

7: Tab i-Akbb., Baghaoni, and Firishta relate that the king having one day assembled his council requested their advice what would be prudent for him to do under the circumstances. Malik Ahmad Chapi advised the king to advance with his army towards Chanderi, and encamp on the road along which lay ‘Ala’-ud-din’s route to Karah. Fakhr-ud-din Kuki, perceiving that the Sultan was opposed to this advice, advised him to wait till ‘Ala’-ud-din should arrive at Karah, and if it should then appear that he cherished treasonable views one assault of the king’s forces would put an end to his ambition. The king adopted the advice of Kuki, and marched back to Dehli.
report to the effect that he was fleeing away from the Sultān, and making his way towards Lakhnauti. Malik Rihān sent a memorial to the Sultān stating that Malik ‘Alā’-ud-din was panic-stricken, and that he had implored help from him. Muḥammad Khīṭāb, who having fled from Malik ‘Alā’-ud-din had joined with Kadr Khān, should be imprisoned and be handed over to ‘Alā’-ud-din, unless he (Khīṭāb) solicits help from the latter.

When this representation reached the Sultān, he proceeded by river and ordered his army to proceed along the banks. When the Sultān reached Karah, Malik ‘Alā’-ud-din sent Almās Beg to attend on His Majesty with a large amount of jewels that had been secured during the sack of Deogir. Thus enquired the Sultān, “Why is it that Malik ‘Alā’-ud-din is not coming?” Almās represented, “He is afraid and intends proceeding to Lakhnauti. If your Majesty wills that the Malik should have no apprehension you should personally proceed and bring him.” The Amirs and Malik withheld their consent to this proposal. Paying no heed to their advice, His Majesty accompanied by some of his select attendants, such as Khuram, the Vakildar, Malik Fakhr-ud-din Kuji, Malik ‘Auğ Kurbek, Malik Jamāl-ud-din Abu-l Māli, Naṣīr-ud-din Kuhrami, Ightiār-ud-din, the Deputy Vakildar and Turmati, the ṭasht-dār, crossed the Ganges during the afternoon prayers. It was here, on the bank of the river, that arrangements had been made for the Sultān’s halt; and the Sultān took up his quarters there. Malik ‘Alā’-ud-din went near him with a large following, and fell at the feet of the Sultān, of pure morals. Out of excessive affection, the Sultān placed his hands on the beards of ‘Alā’-ud-din and kissing him addressed, “I am like a father to thee; have I reared thee up for so many years in order that thou should’st flee away from me in fear.” Malik ‘Alā’-ud-din held the hands of the Sultān.

Maḥmud Sālim, the silāḥdār, whipped out his dagger and

1 MBL مكر : JNS agrees with MBL.
2 Nigām-ud-din, and Badaoni relate how Almās had strict orders to use all the means he could devise and all the craft he could command to separate the Sultān from his army and bring him to ‘Alā’-ud-din.
3 MBL سالم بلید مدرار : JNS, MBM سلام سلحدار :
stabbed the Sultān, who died after a few strokes. They placed the head of the murdered king on a lance; the other Amīrs having received wounds, ran towards the boats. Malik ‘Alā’-ud-dīn hastened forward and got hold of the bow strings; most (of the royal attendants) threw themselves into the river and got themselves drowned. Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn Kūjī was taken prisoner. Malik ‘Alā’-ud-dīn proclaimed himself Emperor. Malik Aḥmad Chap led the imperial forces to Dehli near Kadr Khān. As Arkali Khān, the second son of the deceased Sultān, who was worthy of the sovereignty, committed delay in setting out from Multān, (the Amīrs) placed Rukn-ud-dīn Kadr Khān on the throne with the title of Sultān Rukn-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh. Most of the Amīrs and Malik’s of Dehli paid him their homage.

Subsequently, Malik ‘Alā’-ud-dīn advanced towards Dehli with successive marches. At every stage of his journey he scattered gold over the soldiery: accordingly, the people joined him from all sides. Reaching the banks of the Jaūn, he placed a ballista and a sling there and hurled gold out of it. The Amīrs of Dehli sent him their promise (of co-operation) and made fealty, and almost every day two or more Malik’s deserted their side for ‘Alā’-ud-dīn.

Being informed of this, Sultān Rukn-ud-dīn lost all power of opposition and took the road to Multān near Arkali Khān, in company with Malik ʿUṯūb-ud-dīn, Malik Aḥmad Chap and Bughrā Gilānī.

1 Acc. to Badaoni the massacre of the Sultān took place on the 17th Ramgān, 594 H. (Sunday, 31st July, 1295 A.D.).
2 Badaoni writes that on receiving the wound from Salīm, the Sultān made for the boat, but Iḥṭīār-ud-dīn inflicted a second wound which killed the Sultān.
3 The head of the Sultān was carried round Karah and Manickpur, and taken to Oudh.
4 MBM: زيا بارني relates that at every stage that they marched, five mans of gold stars were discharged among the spectators from the front of the royal tent.
Next day, Malik 'Alā'-'ud-din went across the Jaūn, and took up his quarters at Siri, ascending the throne, three days later, on the 19th Zil-hijjah, 695 H. (Thursday, the 18th Oct. 1296 A.D.).

Verse.

Hast thou seen the acts of the tyrant-heaven and its star,
Mention it not: what is the heaven, its revolution, or its arched vaults.
How has it cast the sun of the kingdom into the dust!
Let dust be on the head of its sun of glory!

The deceased Sulṭān Jalāl-'ud-din ruled for seven years and a few months. God knows more the real facts!

An account of Sulṭān 'Alā'-'ud-din 8 Muḥammad Shāh.

Sulṭān 'Alā'-'ud-din Muḥammad Shāh was the son of Malik Shahāb-'ud-din Khilji. When Sulṭān Rukn-'ud-din had left for Multān, ('Alā'-'ud-din) ascended the throne at the imperial palace, with the consent of the Amirs and Malik, on the 22nd Zil-hijjah, of the aforesaid year (695 H.).

The Sulṭān went to the Ruby Kiosk, and bestowed suitable titles and posts upon every one, e.g., Almās Beg, the Sulṭān's brother, was raised to the dignity of Amir-i-Hajib-i-Barbak, and he received the designation of Ulugh Khān; Malik Harnumār became the vakildar; Amīn Khān and Malik Suneḥ became Naksh Khān; and Malik Amāji became Arslān Khān. The aktā' of Sāmāna was conferred upon Arslān Khān; Yusuf, the sister's son (of the Sulṭān) became

1 MBL adds: ابن رباعي مي گفت JNS and MBL omit it.
2 MBL and JNS omit this line. It simply writes— علاء الدين علاء الدولة كمرادر زادة— علاء الدين علاء الدولة كمرادر زادة— سلطان جلال الدين خلجي بود.
3 JNS omits this line. It simply writes.
4 JNS omits this line. It simply writes.
5 Ferishta says "in the latter end of the year 696 H." Badaoni gives 29th Zil-hijjah 695 H. Amir Khusru, in his Tarikh-i-'Alāi, states that the accession took place on 16th Ramgān 696 H. Zia Barni gives no date, but mentions the year only (695 H.).
Zafar Khan; Sanjar Harbul received the title of Alab Khan; 1 Sulaiman Shah, the brother's son (of the Sultan) became Alab Khan; the Sultan's second nephew (brother's son) was honoured with the title of Kutlug Khan: Malik Khamaus became Baghrash Khan; 2 Malik Naṣrat became Naṣrat Khan; 3 Malik Tāj-ud-din Kuji received the title of Tāmghāj Khan; Fakhr-ud-din Kuji was honoured with the honorific, Bughra Khan; Moulana Tāj-ud-din obtained the office of Sar-i-pardah-dar. 4

In the month of Muḥarram, 696 H. (Oct.-Nov. 1296 A.D.), Sultan 'Ala'-ud-din sent out Ulugh Khan and Alb Khan to Multan 5 against Arkali Khan and Sultan Rukn-ud-din. When they reached Multan, Arkali Khan and Rukn-ud-din dared not oppose them, but shut themselves up in the citadel. The people and the inhabitants of Multan begged for protection and made overtures for peace. They caught hold of Arkali Khan and Sultan Rukn-ud-din and brought them over to Ulugh Khan, who took them with him to the Sultan. When the party arrived at Abhuhar 6 there reached a farman asking to draw the pencil over the eyes of the two captives, and to consign them to the Kotwāl of Hansi. The order was obeyed. Likewise, pencils were drawn over the eyes of Ahmad Chap and Algho, and despatched to Gwalior. 7 Malik Harunmār received the akṭā' of Multan. Ulugh Khan joined with His Majesty. The others who had befriended Arkali Khan were sent to Kuhrām having their eyes put out. Arkali Khan 8 and Arslān Khan were removed under fetters from Sāmāna to Bahraiha, where they were hanged with a bow-string round their neck. Harunmār was summoned from Multān, blinded and then sent to Uchch. The sief of Multān was bestowed upon Alb Khan.

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1 JNS and MBM سنجد خسر بوره البغبان.
2 JNS and MBL فغر بغرشان MBM.
3 JNS and MBM نصرت خان.
4 JNS میرر ئدادر.
5 JNS and MBM در ملتان.
6 Badaoni writes "Bhuhar, a place in the vicinity of Hansi."
7 MBM در گوالیار فرستادند JNS.
8 MBM and JNS omit Arkali Khan.
The same year\(^1\) the accursed armies ravaged the vicinity of Manjahur.\(^2\) The Sultan detached Ulugh Khan and Malik Tughluq, the Amir of Dibalpur, with a big force to march against them. Reaching the destination, they learnt that the Mughals having sacked the place were advancing with a large booty. Ulugh Khan lay in ambush, and then attacked them. Accordingly, the accursed were defeated at the first onslaught; a large number of them took recourse to flight, and a great many taken prisoners.\(^3\)

On another occasion, Kutlugh Khwajah, the king of Turkistan,\(^4\) led his forces against Hindustan. As the Mughals approached Kili, the Sultan deputed Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan with a large army against them. In the conflict that took place at Kili, Zafar Khan received martyrdom: the Mughals were put to the worst. Kutlugh Khwajah retired with his men to Turkistan, and went to hell.\(^5\)

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\(^1\) Zia Barni, Tab-i-Akb., and Ferishta makes reference to this invasion. Zia Barni places it in 696 H. and says that Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan were sent against the Mughals. Tab-i-Akb., and Ferishta place it “in the second year of Alâ’-ud-din’s reign”. Tab-i-Akb. says that Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan were sent. Ferishta writes Alif Khan was sent by Alâ’-ud-din against Amir Dâûd, the king of Mawar-ul-Nahr, and the leader of the Mughals.


\(^3\) Zia Barni (ibid., 251) writes that in the third year of his accession the Sultan sent Ulugh Khan and Nasyr Khan to invade Gujrat. Tab-i-Akb., and Ferishta are of similar opinion. But there is no mention of it in this work and Badaoni.

\(^4\) MBM, JNS خراسان.

\(^5\) Our author has omitted to mention another Mughal invasion that took place prior to the Khwajah’s. Zia Barni, Badaoni, Tab-i-Akb., and Ferishta refer to this invasion: we may look upon this invasion as the second, and the Khwajah’s as the third, that took place in ‘Alâ’-ud-din’s reign. The leader of the second invasion, acc. to the authors, was Saldi, which Briggs translates as Choldy. Badaoni places the 2nd invasion in 698 H.: Ferishta in 697 H. Tab-i-Akb. in “third year of ‘Alâ’-ud-din’s reign: Badaoni makes a confusion between the first and the 2nd invasions of the Mughals, and says that Saldi was defeated at Jarin Manjhir.

According to Zia Barni, Kutlugh was the son of Naud (Ferishta, Amîr Dâûd).

Zafar Khan commanded the right wing and Ulugh Khan the left wing of the Imperial army.
On the third occasion, Targhi, one of the Margans of that country, with about one lakh foot and 20,000 horse, brave and warlike, proceeded to Baran along the skirts of the hills. Malik Fakhr-ud-din, the Amir-dād, and the holder of Baran, shut himself up in the fortress. The Sultan ordered off Malik Tughluq with a big detachment to Baran. On the arrival of the imperial army Malik Fakhr-ud-din, the Amir-dād, having emerged out of the citadel and joining hands with Malik Tughluq made a night-attack on the accursed (Mughals). By the help of Allah, the ill-fated army (Mughals) was put to rout and driven back. Targhi was made captive and taken to Dehli by Malik Tughluq.

On the fourth occasion, Muḥammad Tartaḵ and 'Ali Beg, the princes of Khorāsān, beat up innumerable brave and intrepid recruits and divided their forces into two halves: one of these proceeded along the foot of the Sirmor hills to the bank of the Beah, and ravaged (the places); the other harried Nāgor. The Sultan nominated Malik Naib, his personal slave, and Malik

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1 MBM and JNS نزعي .
2 MBL مرکان: MBM and JNS: Badaoni, "Margans": he explains the word as "an expert archer". It is a Turki word. See Ranking, 250, f.n. 5.
4 JNS ملک فخر الدين امير زاده: حصاری شد.
5 JNS ملک فخر الدين امير زاده.
6 Tab-i-Akb., and Ferishta give a different version. According to them, Targhi made his return to his native country for no appreciable cause. Tab-i-Akb., suggests the two following reasons for Targhi’s return: (1) the intervention of Sheikh Nigam-ud-din, and (2) Targhi was seized with panic. Ferishta, following Tab-i-Akb., suggests the intervention of the Sheikh to be the cause of Targhi’s return. Badaoni, on the other hand, supports Yahiya and says that Targhi was taken prisoner.
7 MBM تختش: Ferishta, Khwāja Tash: Žia Barni, Taryāk and Ziyāk: Tab-i-Akb., Tartaḵ: Badaoni, Turtak.
8 Tab-i-Akb. writes 'Ali Bog was the grandson of Chengiz Khān.
10 MBL ملک نايب کت : JNS ملک نايب خور: Badaoni, Malik Mānic, Nāih Kāfur Hāzārdināri. Žia Barni and Tab-i-Akb., Malik Nayak Akburbeg.
Tūghlak, the Amir of Dibalpur, and ordered them off to Amrohā. 1 It so transpiring that the Mughals having secured a rich spoil 2 were advancing along the Rahab, Malik Nāib hastened forward. 3 The opposing forces met each other, when the army of Islam came off victorious. Both the princes were taken prisoners; 4 the chains and fetters that had a longing for the necks of the accursed embraced them in accordance with the (phrase), "catch them and put them under chains." The army of Islam put fetters round their necks and carried them off to Dehli: the booty and the beasts of burden which the Mughals had seized fell in the hands of the victors. A great many of the execrable army was made food for the remorseless 6 sword, while a large number took to their heels, defeated and perplexed.

On the fifth occasion, Ikbalmandāh 8 and Kik 7 raised an army in order to revenge the death of Muhammad Tartak and 'Ali Beg, and ravaged the frontiers of Multān. On this occasion, the Mughal army was innumerable: but, as they had witnessed the victories of Sulṭān 'Alā'-ud-din 8 and had on previous occasions been defeated and worsted, they dared not advance any further. The Sulṭān sent Malik Nāib and Malik Tūghlak against them with a large army, and before they reached their destination, the Mughals

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1 JNS
2 MBM
3
4 Badaoni writes: Badaoni writes: بسابر غلام پي شمار.
5 MBL
6 MBL
7 JNS and MBM omit these lines.
8 JNS and MBM omit.
9 Zia Barni, Badaoni, and Tab-i-Akb. agree with our author. Fersihta calls him Eibuk Khan, an officer of Amir Daud Khan, ruler of Mawar-ul-Nahr; and places the invasion in 705 H.
10 Zia Barni, Kank: Badaoni, Kapak: Tab-i-Akb., Kabek: Zia Barni and Badaoni do not say that Ikbalmandah was the joint leader of this expedition. According to them the leader of this invasion was Kank (Zia Barni) or Kabek (Tab-i-Akb.). These two writers refer to a separate invasion of the Mughals under the sole leadership of Ikbalmandah. This invasion (Ikbalmandah's) was the last or the eighth invasion, that took place in 'Ala'-ud-din's reign.
11 JNS: جن از نوزی: MBL: جن از لشکر فبروزی سلطان علاء الدين معنيه كرده. فبروزی سلطان: MBL.
retired after harrying the country and laying their hands on a rich booty. The two Maliks ran in their pursuit and fell upon them, taking the accursed Kik prisoner and seizing the plunder acquired by the Mughals. Triumphant and laden with spoils of war, the army of Islam pursued its way to the capital. Ultimately, the Mughals conceived such a dread of the army of Islam that they dared not turn their faces towards Hindustan again.\(^1\)

It is said that the Sultān quaffed copious draughts\(^2\) of wine, and that he would drink in company of his intimate friends. (Once) some of the assembled guests perceiving that it was getting late, made signs to each other that it was time to break up. The Sultān happened to perceive it, and he cried out, "Mutiny! Mutiny!!"\(^3\) Kāzi Baha was done to death, and the rest fled away. Next morning, when the Sultān sent for the Kāzi, he was informed that the latter had been assassinated the previous night.

On that instant, the Sultān ordered that all the wine-vessels should be broken (to pieces) before his presence. He vowed never again to drink wine, and ordered it to be proclaimed that the sale of liquor was banned, and those who would drink wine would be incarcerated.\(^4\)

In the year 697 H. (1297-98 A.D.), the Sultān became anxious to root out the newly converted Mughals.\(^5\) At that time,\(^6\) it so happened that some of these Neo-Muslims, who were living in the city, betrayed trust, as the Sultān had been suspicious of them, and were

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1 Zia Barni and Nigām-ud-din (Tab-i-Akb.) refer to another advent of the Mughals, thirty to forty thousand strong, in the Sivalik hills. They were all imprisoned at Narainah (Barni) or Tarainah (Tab-i-Akb.). This invasion may be looked upon as the seventh of its kind.

2 MBL: شربى.

3 MBM: كفت غدر قاضي.

4 JNS and MBM: در زندان ابرکندن MBL: در زندان کند.

5 JNS and MBM: مغل و نوعسلمانان MBL: مغل نوعسلمانان.

6 JNS, MBM: اثنا آن MBL: در اثنا آن.

7 JNS, MBL: نوعسلمانان نم، جند.
kept in close confinement. Their manners gave signs of malevolence, and it was so arranged by them that when His Majesty would proceed un-armed to Sair-gāh for hawking, and his attendants would be engaged in the sport, the Neo-Muslims would come upon the party and kill the Sultan and his followers. The spies carried this piece of news to the Auspicious King, who secretly directed the feoffees of the cities and the provinces and exacted from them a sincere promise to make an end of the Neo-Muslims living in the empire, so that not a single individual speaking the Mughal language was left alive.

Afterwards, the Sultan having marched out against Hindustan, and fitted out an expedition, for the second time, against Deogir; in those days, when he enjoyed the rank of an Amir, he had conquered it and secured from the place rich booty and heavy spoils of war. He (now) established his authority in that part of the country.

When the Holy and Great God restored order in the empire, and granted respite to the Sultan after the defeat of the ill-fated army (Mughals), the Emperor nominated Ulugh Khan with a large army against Gujrat, with instructions for its annihilation, in the year 698 H. (1298-99 A.D.). In those days Karan Rāi Gujratī possessed 30,000 horse, 80,000 foot and 30 elephants. At the ap-

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1 Badaoni writes that these Neo-Muslims were goaded by the extortion of the revenue collectors. Ferishta says that although no particular cause is assigned for it, the Sultan suddenly took into his head to discharge all Neo-Muslim soldiers. Some daring fellows entered into a conspiracy to murder him. The plot being discovered, some 15,000 of these unhappy wretches were killed in the streets of Dehli.

2 JNS, MBM خندر نسم سلطان : MBL این خبر شنعت سلطان.

3 JNS بر متعلقان : MBM بر متعلقان بداد ممالک بلاد ممالک.

4 MBL مغلفه گویان : JNS, MBM مغلفه گویان.

5 Tab-i-Akb. says that Malik Naib Kafur Hāzār-dinārī, along with the other Amirs and Malik was sent against Deogir : Ram-deo, the Deogir Raja, and his sons, who were taken prisoners to Dehli were treated with generosity and the title of Rāy-i-Rāyān was conferred upon the Rāi.

6 Tab-i-Akb. says that Nasrat Khān was also sent with Ulugh.

7 JNS, MBL تا دمار از آن دیار بر اردو : MBM تا دمار از آن دیار بر اردو.

8 Ferishta gives 697 H. : Badaoni 698 H.

9 JNS and MBL سی هزار سوار و پشتاد هزار پیاده و سی زنجیر پیل.
proach of Ulugh Khân, the Râi, who failed to take courage in both hands, was defeated and the country sacked: the Khân captured twenty elephants,\(^1\) and ran in pursuit of the Râi so far as Somnâth; “owing to his ill-omened advent the temple of Somnâth was put to destruction. This temple which had been the chief centre of worship of the Hindus and the Râi-Râyânâs”\(^2\) was levelled to dust and a Masjid was constructed in its place.

Thence Ulugh Khân made his way to Dehli: reaching the vicinity of Jalwar,\(^3\) he occupied himself with verifying the amount of property,\(^4\) which had fallen into the hands of his people during the sack of Gujrat and of the temple. He put his soldiers under the bellows\(^5\) and made them drink saline water. Some of the Mughals, who had accompanied Alb Khân\(^6\) and Ulugh Khân, e.g., Yaljak,\(^7\) Kasri, Begi,\(^8\) Tamghân, Muhammad Shâh, Tamarbagha,\(^9\) Shâdi Bagha, Kutlugh Bagha,\(^10\) had neither the power of opposing him, nor were they willing to give up the treasure: they receded\(^11\) from the Khân and attempted to put him to death. Having failed in their attempt, some of them fled over to Râi Hamir Deo of Jhâban,\(^12\) while others fled perplexed hither and thither. Ulugh Khân then set out with successive marches to Dehli.

سي هوار سوار جرّار و هشتاد هرار باداء نامدار و سي زنجبيل پيچ سرخ و و كوه

\(^1\) Badaoni and Ferishta write that among the ladies of Râi Karan’s harem that fell into the hands of the Muslims, was one Dewal Râni, of whom Khîr Khân, the son of Sultan ‘Alî’-ud-dîn became enamoured. Mir Khusru wrote in verse—‘Ashîqa—a book on Khîr Khân and Dewal Râni.

\(^2\) The portion within the inverted commas is to be found in MBL, and not in JNS or MBM.

\(^3\) JNS الرر: MBL, MBM جالور: Badaoni, Alwar.

\(^4\) JNS اموئي: MBL, MBM لالي ها.

\(^5\) JNS, MBM دمهد: MBL.

\(^6\) JNS, MBM omit Alb Khân.

\(^7\) JNS بلبلچ: MBL.

\(^8\) JNS بيکي: MBL دربه: MBL تيكه.

\(^9\) JNS تنمر تيكه: MBM agrees with JNS, MBL تنمر بده.

\(^10\) JNS کتلت بده: MBM قتلمبې: MBM قتلمبې.

\(^11\) JNS بر گشتند: MBL, MBM باز گشتند.

\(^12\) JNS جهالي: MBL, MBM جهاین.
In the year 699 h. (1299-1300 A.D.), Ulugh Khan proceeded with a large army against Rantambor and Jahaban. There lived a Rai, Hamir Deo by name, who took shelter in the fortress. "This citadel with entrenchments all round, was situated on the summit of the hills where even the eagles could not fly". The Rai had under him 12,000 cavalry, innumerable foot and famous elephants. Reaching his destination, Ulugh drew up his forces in battle array. Both the forces made their return from those places and encamped themselves. The couriers were despatched from the place to the Sultan in order to inform him about the invulnerability of the fortress and the skill and capacity of its occupants, and to invite the august stirrups on the scene of action for laying waste that territory. When the couriers conveyed the news of the actual state of affairs, the Sultan drew up his forces, and with forced marches set out for Rantambor, which he conquered; he sent the accursed Hamir Deo to hell. Further, he laid his hands on the elephants, baggage and the treasures (of the vanquished Rai): he established a police-outpost at the fortress, and put the akta of Jahaban under the supervision of Ulugh Khan.

From thence (the Sultan) marched towards Chitor, and conquered it also. Here Khizr Khan received a ruby-canopy. Chitor was designated Khizr-abad and conferred upon Khizr Khan. The Sultan, then, marched back to Dehli.

1 MBM رنھور. 2 MBM همہیر دیو. 3 The portion under the inverted commas is not to be found in JNS or in MBM, but in MBL. 4 MBM دے ہزار. 5 Nizam-ud-din, Badhaoni and Ferishta refer to the following incidents that took place while the siege of Rantambor was going on:
(a) rebellion of Akat Khan, the nephew of the Sultan and his failure,
(b) revolts of Umar Khan and Mangu Khan, the two other nephews of the Sultan,
(c) the foundation of disturbance by Haji Moula.
6 Badhaoni places this expedition in 699 h., Ferishta in 703 h.
7 MBL reads رابیہ اعلی بہروردی و بہروردی بجانب بفیرورزی. Nizam-ud-din and Ferishta relate how when the Sultan was engaged in the siege of Chitor, Targhi, the Mughal, invaded Hindustan.
In the year 700 H. (1300-1301 A.D.), the Sultan appointed Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk Şahāb Mullānī with a big force against Malwah for the extirpation and destruction of the rebels of that country, and putting an end to their wickedness; the Malik had also orders from the Sultan to confer the robes of safety and the presents of protection on those who would agree to put on the collars of obedience.

There lived in those days at Malwah, a chief, Koka by name, who had under him 40,000 horse and one lakh foot. When the Imperialists reached Malwah, Koka, not being able to stand against them, made good his retreat, and his territory was put to spoliation.

There was a rebel at Siwanah named Satal Deo, who fortified himself in the fortress with a big force. The imperial army in spite of their best efforts failed to take it.

The Sultan left the capital by way of hunting and marched towards Siwanah; on the very day that he arrived, His Majesty conquered the fortress; "How wonderful! Allah, the Great and the Glorious had conferred prosperity and victory on that just Emperor, the cherisher of his subjects and attendants!" The Sultan sent the accursed Satal Deo to hell.

The same year, the fortress of Jalor capitulated to Kamal-ud-din Kark, and the rebel Kastmar Deo was sent to hell. The Sultan, then, made his way to the capital.

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1 MBM omits Sultan.
2 MBM: Mafsdan am diba ia Qula w Qam Kdn; MBL: Mafsdan am diba ia Qula Kdn.
3 Badaoni writes: Ferishta says "Koka, the Raja of Malwah," and he places this expedition in 704 H.
4 Ranking (264), "Sorath."
5 MBM: Qula'a Mzhk Zhr w Zhr Kdn; MBL: Qula'a Mzhk Kdn w Zhr Kdn. JNS agrees with MBM.
6 The portion under the inverted commas is omitted in JNS, but not in MBL and MBM.
7 JNS: "Kshn Ddr," MBM agrees with JNS. MBL: Badaoni, Kanhar Deo.
In the year 702 H. (1302-1303 A.D.), the Imperial army marched against Tilang.\(^1\) When they reached their destination, the Rāi of Tilang, who had under him innumerable elephants, horse and foot, dared not oppose the Imperialists, and took shelter in the fort. The royal forces besieged the fort and laid waste and plundered the surrounding country.\(^2\) The Rāi of Tilang sought for quarters, and having sent elephants and treasure as a present, made his homage. The imperial army then returned to Dehli.

Subsequently, Malik Nāīb Barbak,\(^3\) was sent against Ma‘bar with a large army. Reaching Ma‘bar, the Royalists ravaged and plundered the country and secured much treasure along with other things. They took possession of hundred elephants, and despatched to hell thousands of valiant infidels. The country of Ma‘bar came under the control of the imperialists. Laden with victory, Malik Nāīb wheeled round towards Dehli.

When Sulṭān ‘Alā’-ud-din obtained some leisure from the work of conquering kingdoms, he set himself to celebrate the marriage of his son.\(^4\) He ordered that those who were in charge of (preparing) the almanac and those who calculated the events by the aspect of the stars should specify an auspicious date for the marriage celebration of the Prince. The astrologers, in conformity to the royal mandate,\(^5\) ascertained a day of good omen in accordance with the computation of the calendar and the aspect of the stars. In con-

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1 Telingana or Telingana was one of the principal kingdoms of Southern India. Badaoni writes Tilang and Marhat. JNS is here erroneous: there seems to be a big gap here: MBL and MBM seem to be correct: JNS reads سنہ اثنی و سبعماہے کشکوہا بگایت متتید شد و از هتینابز در آمرہ رفت نیز فرمانی دیگر رسید کہ خیر دور باش و انتہہ علائم بدشتی باشد در حضرت فرستاد خضر خان اعماعت کر رہیہ علائم بدشتی بود بحضرت فرستاد

2 MBL: ولائت نہب

3 MBM omits باریک:

4 MBL: گار خیر شاهرادگان بنیاد نباد MBM: منجمان بر حکم فرمائ اعلی

5 MBM: نبیک توین حکم
junction with an auspicious day big\(^1\) domes were raised, and they were decorated with folds. The Muslim and Hindu musicians played on the musical instruments: the heaven was made\(^2\) to revolve in an orbit. A few days after the Sultan fell victim to hectic fever.\(^3\) Khizr Khan, the eldest son of the Sultan, made a vow that on the restoration of the Sultan's health by the grace of the Most High God, he would set out on foot to Hathnäpur upon a pilgrimage to the holy men. God the Most High\(^4\) restored the Sultan's health after a few days. In fulfilment of the vow he had made, Khizr Khan set out upon a pilgrimage to Hathnäpur.\(^5\)

Malik Naib informed the Sultan that Alb Khan (the maternal uncle of Khizr Khan), wanted to instal Khizr Khan on the throne and to become Naib himself, and he had even this in his mind to do away with the Prince\(^6\) afterwards. He had a desire of making himself all-in-all in the State.

The Sultan, whose health was upset, lacked in discrimination: he regarded this assertion as the truth and instantly gave orders for the execution of Alb Khan.

When Alb Khan entered the royal palace, Malik Kamal-ud-din Kark and Malik Naib seized him and put him to death. Malik Naib informed the Sultan of the murder of Alb Khan\(^7\) and induced him, on the ground that Khizr Khan had taken alarm, to issue instructions to the effect that the Prince should proceed to Amroha, which would be conferred upon him in fief; and that he might engage in hunting in the skirts of the hills, and that, until a command was issued summoning him to the presence he was not to return to the court.\(^8\) The imperial

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1 MBM: ذلك سابه : MBL: ذلك سابه 
2 MBL: در جرح اورند. : MBM: فلك را جرح اورند. 
3 MBL: زحمت تپ. : MBM omits تپ: 
4 MBM: حق سیباهام تعالی: MBL: حق تعالی. 
5 MBL: بردارت پیران. : MBM omits پیران. 
6 MBL: اورا نیز تام کند. : MBM: کار اورا نیز تام کند. 
7 MBL: البغا را پرداتخت. : MBM: کار البغایا پرداتخت. 
8 MBM: تا فرمان طلب مادر تگردید اصلا در حضرت اعلی نیابید. : MBM: نگردید در حضرت نیابید.
order reaching him, Khizr Khān became sad and distracted. He left Hathnāpur for Amrohā. At Amrohā, a second firmān reached him asking him to return to the court his canopy and staff of office, and all the other insignia of royalty. Khizr Khān obeyed the order, and returned whatever insignia of royalty he possessed. A few days after this incident, (Khizr Khān) thought within himself that he had never committed any breach of trust for which he could apprehend chastisement and reprehension, that if he had gone to His Majesty without his firmān, out of paternal affection he could not be wroth with him, and would forgive him even if he had committed any wrong. Mounted on a horse, he left Amrohā and reached near the Sultān on the second day. He made an obeisance to his father, who out of filial affection embraced him and kissed the head and the face of the Prince, in qualities Yusuf-like, and in disposition angelic; he then bade the Prince see his mother. When Khizr Khān went to meet his mother, the treacherous Malik Nāib entered into the private apartment of the Sultān and represented that the Prince had come to the palace with evil intentions without orders. The Sultān, who had been bereft of all perception and understanding, gave orders to arrest Khizr Khān and Shādi Khān and to send them to the fortress of Gwalior. The two innocent brothers were put in chains and sent to Gwalior on the third day.

A few days after, the Sultān’s disease underwent an increase and he finally succumbed to it.

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1 MBM ممتاز و متصل. MBL omits متصل.
2 MBL در حضرت فرستند. MBL: بعضت اعلی فرستند.
3 MBM: بیگذاشته. MBL: بیگذاشته.
4 MBM: بوسه بر روی آن شاهزاده، مسلم صفت فرستند منش داد. MBL: بوسه بر روی او داد فرمود.
5 Joseph, the patriarch.
6 MBL ملک نابی حرام خوار قواش قدر و در دیدری پیش برده متعلق پادشاه. MBM and JNS حرام خوار متعلق قهرمان داد. مسلم نماده بود و خوف نماده بود فرمود. JNS agrees with MBM.
7 MBM نماده بود و خوف: MBL سلطان را چندان ضبط و هری: نماده بود فرمود: گشته فرمود.
8 JNS و MBM: گالپیر. MBL: گالپیر.
9 Badaoni gives 715 H. (1316 A.D.). Ferishta writes, 6 Shawwāl, 716 H.
On the 7th Shawwāl, 715 H. (Sunday, 9th Jany. 1316 A.D.), Malik Naib placed the Sultān’s son, surnamed Shihāb-ud-din, on the throne and bestowed on him the designation of Sultān Shihāb-ud-din; he himself acted as the regent. He sent Malik Ikhtiār-ud-din Sambal to Gwalior to put out the eyes of Khizr Khān and Shādi Khān. On being informed of this, Khizr Khān wept bitter tears, and awaited death. Sambal, the traitor, carried out the commission and returned.

Malik Naib, then, deliberated upon seizing the ‘Alā’i Amīrs and Malik’s and putting them to death. While Malik Naib was devising means for carrying out his nefarious plans, Mubāshshīr and Bashīr, the attendants of Sultān ‘Alā’-ud-din’s bed-chamber, became anxious and they wanted to kill that wicked fellow. One night an opportunity awaited them; with drawn poniards and their countenances concealed from one ear to the other, they secretly crept out, and dealt blows upon that traitor with their sharp daggers. He slipped out into the harem, but was brought out of it by force and had his head severed from the body. Subsequently, Mubārak Khān, who had taken refuge in the sacred harem came outside and made homage to Sultān Shihāb-ud-din; he became Naib to Sultān Shihāb-ud-din, and served in this capacity for four months. As Sultān Shihāb-ud-din was a minor and inexperienced, the Amīrs and Malik’s placed Mubārak Khān under their observation and did not allow him to stir out (of the palace).

1 Zia Barni says that the Naib sent his barber to blind the princes.
2 MBL: دل بر قضا مرگ نهان: JNS: MBL: بر کشیدن و سیرا در بنگوش بسته: MBM agrees with MBL.
3 MBL: بر بنگوش بسته: JNS agrees with MBM.
4 JNS and MBM omit بران:
5 Nigām-ud-din (Tab-i-Akb.) states that this event took place exactly 35 days after Sultān ‘Alā’-ud-din’s death.
6 MBL: مبارک خان کہ درون پہان کو بود از حرم معتمبر بیرون امد: JNS: ماندہ بود بنرند مبارک خان کو از حرم: MBM agrees with MBM.
7 MBL: بر مبارک خان ان نظر: JNS agrees with MBM.
Later on, Mubarak Khan sent Shihab-ud-din to an exile, and seated himself upon the throne with the title of Sultan. This event took place in the year 716 H. (1316-17 A.D.).

Verse.

Till the world exists, such things happen and will happen again, Such things will happen to everyone at the end!

Sultan 'Ala'-ud-din's reign lasted for twenty years and one month. Allah knows the truth!

An account of Sultan Kutub-ud-din Mubarak Shah.

Sultan Kutub-ud-din Mubarak Shah was the son of 'Ala'-ud-din. Having sent Sultan Shihab-ud-din into exile, he ascended the throne in the palace at Dehli, on Sunday, the 20th Muharram of the aforesaid year (716 H., 14th Apr., 1316 A.D.). He distributed titles and apportioned appointments among his men; e.g., Khusru, the Sultan's body-guard, became Khusru Khan, Mahmud Muhammed Moula became Mir Khan, Malik Dinar became Zafar Khan, Malik Fakhr-ud-din Junna, the son of Ghazi Malik, became Amir-i-Akbar; Malik Kishar became Khaz-Hajib; Asbaha, Kurbeg-i-Maisra; Malik Lakhi Maho, Kurbeg-i-Maimna; Bashir Mua'zi, Naiib-i-Khaz Hajib; Beg Rozmani, Sar-i-Jandar-i-Maimnà; Hasan Beg, Sar-i-Jandar-i-Maisra; Khwaja Haj Shab Nawis, Naiib-i-'Ariz-i-mamaliik.

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1 JNS and MBL: جلای کردن: MBM: جلا کردن.

Zia Barni and Nigam-ud-din state that Sultan Shihab-ud-din was sent to Gwalior. Acc. to Badaoni, he ruled for three months and a few days.

2 MBL: و خود را سلطان خطاب کرد و بر تخت سلطنت جلاوی فرمود: MBM: و خود را سلطان خطاب کرد و بر تخت: JNS agrees with MBL.

3 Zia Barni, Nigam-ud-din, Badaoni, and Ferishta give 717 H.: Amir Khusru, 716 H.

4 Ferishta writes 20 years and some months.

5 Acc. to Indian Ephemeris, p. 234, it is Wednesday.

6 Zia Barni, Badaoni, Nigam-ud-din, and Ferishta (7 Muharram) give 717 H.

7 JNS: شمر خان.

8 Master of the Horse. Akhur, a Turki word, means stable.

9 JNS: كل كلمي نوعيه.

10 MBM: معندي.
In the year of his accession to the throne, the Sultan made up his mind to proceed against Deogir; but the Amirs and the Maliks disapproved of the idea. It was not advisable that the Emperor who had recently ascended the throne and had lately taken possession of the country, should go far away from it in quest of expedition.

Verse.

Not commendable is it, from either prudence or wisdom, That the world’s king should move from his place; Who knows what are the evil designs of evil wishers, What black treachery lies inside sincerity? That shrub \(^1\) is best that takes hold of a wide space, first, And extends, then, its roots and branches \(^2\) in every direction.

Afterwards, the Sultan addressed them thus, “Is there any one among you who can fancy, how in spite of my many brothers living the country devolved upon me?” All replying in the negative, the Emperor continued, “When the Righteous and the Most High God conferred the country on me not with the intervention or favour of any one else no power can snatch it away; \(^3\) but when the time for its confiscation arrives none can, likewise, put it off. It has been said \(^4\):—

Verse.

With sword and wisdom God has bestowed on me,\(^5\) None but God will seize it back.”

Then, the Sultan marched against Deogir,\(^6\) and having taken up his residence there for some time, left Yak Lakhī at the place and returned to Dehli.

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\(^1\) JNS: بنه به كا مBL: ننه آن كا جا MBL: ننه آن به منبع. 

\(^2\) JNS, MBL: بیغ شاخ MBL: بیغ شاخ. 

\(^3\) MBL: مقدور که JNS: مقدور باشد که از من بستند منبع. 

\(^4\) JNS and MBL omit خدا داد ما را منبع. 

\(^5\) JNS and MBL omits خدا داد ما را منبع. 

\(^6\) This expedition took place in 718 H. (1318 A.D.). Acc. to Zia Barmi, “upon the death of Malik Nāīb Kafur, Deogir threw off his submission, and was taken possession of by Harpāl Deo and Rām Deo. Acc. to Nīgām-ud-dīn, Harpāl Deo was the son-in-law of Rām Deo.”
When the Sultan reached Khi Sakunah, Asad-ud-din, the son of Malik Khamūsh, entered into a conspiracy against the Sultan, and a few of the royal attendants joined hands with him. Āram Shāh, the son of Khuram Khajuri, the Vakildar-i-Jalāli, gave this information to the Sultan at midnight. At day-break, Asad-ud-din and Malik Maṣrī were arrested and put to death. From thence, the Sultan with forced marches proceeded to Dehlī.

Later on, Yak Lakhī raised the standard of hostility at Deogir, and assumed the paraphernalia of royalty. The Sultan ordered off Khusru Khān with a big army to quell the insurrection of Yak Lakhī. On the arrival of the Khān, the soldiery of Deogir, who had assembled at the place, brought Yak Lakhī a prisoner with fetters round his neck (like the saying), “catch hold of him and put him under chains”;

Khusru Khān despatched him off to His Majesty.

Khusru Khān marched from Deogir, and having ravaged the country of the Rākho, took possession of a rich booty. Later on, he took his way to Tilang, whose Rai instead of meeting the invader shut himself up in the fort. Khusru Khān laid siege to the fort, and a few days after, the besieged, in a state of helplessness, offered a hundred and odd elephants, cash and valuables, as a token of servitude, and made a promise of alle-

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1 JNS and MBM بالا کہی ساکونہ: Zia Barni, Ghāṭ-i-Sākūn: Badaoni, Badra-i-Sākūn.
2 No mention of his name in Zia Barni and Niẓām-ud-dīn.
3 Zia Barni, Niẓām-ud-dīn and other historians relate how the Sultan, on his arrival in Dehlī began to do things, which were calculated to cause the destruction of his power, and to bring about the downfall of his empire. He put to death Khīzr Khān, Shādi Khān, and Malik Shīhāb-ud-dīn; his violent and vindictive spirit which possessed him led him to kill Zafar Khān, the Governor of Gujrat.
4 MB, JNS بالا کہی ساکونہ.
5 JNS راکھو: MB, JNS, MB.
6 JNS Sāmat and Nātīq: MB, JNS and MBM omit.
7 MBM حصار را مصیعر کرد: JNS, MB, MB.
giance to the Emperor receiving in return a khila‘at from Khusru Khân.

From thence, Khusru Khân marched against Malik,¹ and hav-
ing laid his hands on twenty elephants, and a diamond weighing six dîrm proceeded to Ma‘bar. Here, too, he seized elephants and valuables.

With innumerable treasure and unnumbered elephants under his possession, Khusru Khân wanted to hoist the insignia of rebellion, so that he might remain there. The following Amîrs and Maliks of the court, who bore him company during the expedition, such as, Talabgha Baghd, Malik Talabgha Nagori, Malik Häjî, the Nâib-i-‘arîz, Malik Tamar, Malik Tigin, Malik Mal, and others, being in concert with one another, took him by force to Dehli and made a report on the state of affairs to the Sultân. The latter did not believe the accusers, rather, he awarded Khusru with rich and valu-
able presents, and killed the Amîrs.

Some time afterwards, that traitor Khusru Khân, the offspring of rebellion, took resort to treachery, and co-
operating himself with a few Barâo² slaves, his own kinsmen, lay in wait for the Sultân in the palace. It was the time for Nemâz-i-

Khuftîn when that traitor of evil-destiny, and his brothers and relations went in hiding. The Sultân was intoxicated that night, when he was seized and wounded:³ by the force of his physical strength, due to his youth and intoxication, the Sultân freed him-
self from that traitor and fled towards the palace that was under guard; but the traitor pursued him and caught hold of his ringlet; he then felled the Sultân on the ground and stabbed him on the breast with his dagger, so that the martyred Sultân came out of the transitory abode and marched towards the everlasting dwelling-


1 JNS مّلک: MBM: ملتی: MBL: ملتی
2 MBL, MBM: چند نفر برادر و اقرا بار خوش: JNS: چند نفر برادر اقرا بار خوش
Barâo is the name of a caste of the menial class, who are found in large number in Gujrat. Zia Barni, Badaoni and Nîgâm-ud-din read Purwâri.
3 The portion under the asterisk has been omitted in JNS.
Having done to death that emperor of pure faith, the traitor ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn. He brought the widow of the late Sultān in his own harem. This event took place on the 5th Rabī‘-ul-awwal, 720 H. (Tuesday, the 15th April, 1320 A.D.).

Verse.

The bed of the delicate one became thorny,
There appeared trouble from his bed of brocade.

The rule of Sultān Kūṭub-ud-dīn lasted for four years and a few months. God knows the real facts!

An account of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khusru Khān.

Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khusru Khān was one of the slaves of ‘Alā-ud-dīn. In their younger days, Khusru Khān and his brother fell into the hands of the Muslim army and became incorporated with the body of Sultān’s personal slaves. During the rule of the late Sultān Kūṭub-ud-dīn they remained near his Majesty’s person and were included in his retinue. Khusru Khān was appointed as the Nāib: of faulty origin and improper judgment, he thought it reasonable for his own interest to adopt unwholesome means and took recourse to ungratefulness in return for the benefits done to him.

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1 MBM and JNS omit this line.
2 JNS and MBL omit 5th Rabī‘-ul-awwal.
3 MBL: زدبا وششترین: JNS: زدبا وششترین—We have adopted Badaoni who writes:
4 MBM: چهار سال و چند روز: JNS and MBL: چهار سال و دو ماه و بیانه روژ بوید
5 Badaoni says that at first his name was Ḥasan Barwābāchā.
6 JNS, MBM: لشکر شیخ: MBL omits:
7 MBL: احتشام و اختصاص گرفت: JNS: احتشام و اختصاص گرفت
8 MBL: کار خوشش: JNS and MBM: کار خوشش درون کار نا صواب دید دربن دید.
9 MBL: گمال کفران نعمت: JNS and MBM: گمال کفران نعمت.
Verse.
It is its nature that a tree is bitter;\(^1\)
Either thou dost plant\(^2\) it in the Garden of Eden,
Or, dost water it from the River of Paradise,
Or sprinkle honey or pure milk in its root,\(^3\)
The species that it brings forth at the end,
Or the fruits—are all bitter!

To sum up, after the assassination of the late Kuṭub-ud-dīn and the princes, Khusru Kān engaged himself in uprooting the ‘Alā’ī family. Some of the princes, the sons of the late Sultān ‘Alā’-ud-dīn, those who, owing to the misfortunes of Time, the cruel mother, were left, in the course of past events, in the laps of their mother in the harem, such as, Farid Kān, Abu Bakr Kān, ‘Ali Kān and Bahādur Khan, were dragged out and had their eyes blinded in 721 H. (1321-22 A.D.). Those ‘Alā’ī Amīrs and Maliks who were hostile to him he executed;\(^4\) while others, viz., ‘Ain-ul-Mulk Shihāb Taj Multānī, and sundry others,\(^5\) he set at variance. Most of the Hindus became prosperous\(^6\) and they gained the upper hand. The Hindus, confident of their position as the relations of Nāsir-ud-din Khusru Kān, subjected the Muslims to cruelty and outrage, carried away the ladies of the harem, and put to plunder the treasure that had been accumulated in the days of ‘Alā’-ud-dīn.

Verse.
All those hidden treasures of times past,\(^7\)
Whose number none could fancy;
To Hindus he entrusted with the keys of their doors,\(^8\)
So that, each carried away the required quantity!\(^9\)

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\(^1\) MBL: تَلَغَ اَسْتَ.
\(^2\) MBL: بِرَنَشَانِي.
\(^3\) MBL: يَهَبُ بيْنَ.
\(^4\) MBL: دَسْتَ اَوْرَدَهُ بِجُوَارِي وَزَادَي تَاَمَّ نَابْوُد وَ نَيْسَتْ گَرَّدَانِيِّ.
\(^5\) MBL and MBM: چَندَ نَفْرِ دِیگِر.
\(^6\) JNS: هُنِیْرِ رُوْزِ مَانِدَهُ.
\(^7\) MBL: صَنَا زَاسْبِانِیِّهَا دِیْرِنِهَا سَالِ.
\(^8\) MBL and MBM: گَلِید درَش.
\(^9\) MBL and MBM: بِمَقْدَرِ بَابِیْسَتِهِ بِمَقْدَرِ بَابِیْسَتِهِ JNS.
And some of those Amīrs and Malikṣ, who enjoyed freedom from restraint, were bewildered and perplexed.

Nāsīr-ud-dīn Khusru Khān sent firmāns in every direction demanding supplication from the people. On each of his attendants he conferred titles and surnames; Ḥisām-ud-dīn, his own brother, became Khān-i-Khānān; Yusuf Sufī became Sufi Khān; ‘Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī was styled ‘Alm Khān; Ikhtiār-ud-dīn Sambal was bestowed with the title of Ḥātim Khān; Kamāl-ud-dīn Sufi became the Vakildar; Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn Junā, the son of Ghāzī Malik, the Akhūr-beg-i-kuṭbī, became the Akhūr-beg.

Now, Khusru Khān demanded that the Amīrs and Malikṣ in the surrounding countries should come to Dehlī. Some came, while others revolted. One day, he asked Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn Akhūr-beg, to come to the court with some Arabian horses.1 The latter, who had been sorrow-stricken at the disorder in the house of Sultān ‘Alā’-ud-dīn, made excuses, and secretly wrote epistles to Ghāzī Malik2 warning him against any reliance he might make on the traitor3 or against coming to the court,4 and assuring him that, God willing, he would join with him. A few days after, finding an opportunity, he mounted on a horse and rode off towards Dibalpur; he took along with him the son of Bahrām Āynah.5

Verse.

Seated on the Arab horse, fast as lightning6
Together they rode in one direction!

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1 MBL: گفت که چند از سر اسب نازی برق کند.
2 MBM: ملك عازی.
3 MBL: سخن این کافر نعمت استوار ندارد.
4 MBL: اتفاق باین بد عهد نکنی.
5 JNS: اتفاق با این نکنی.
6 MBM: بهرام آنده.
Being informed of the flight of Fakhr-ud-din, Naṣir-ud-din sent a battalion of horse in pursuit of the fugitives, who though being chased for three nights and days could not be overtaken. Malik Fakhr-ud-din, in company with the son of Malik Bahrām set off with great precipitancy near Ghāzi Malik, and related to him, how a sedition had broken out, and how the people had shown their contempt for Islam. Ghāzi Malik sent epistles seeking aid from the ‘Alā’i Amīrs and Maliks, such as, Malik Bahrām Aynah, Malik Mughlaṭī, the Amīr of Multān, Malik ‘Ain-ul-Mulk Shihāb Multānī, Muhammad Shāh, the son of the Amīr of Siwistān, Malik Yaklakhi, the ‘Alā’i slave and the Amīr of Sāmāna, exhorting them to take revenge upon Khusru for the murder of Sultan Ḫūṭb-ud-din.1 As soon as the letter reached him, Malik Bahrām Aynah 2 went near Ghāzi Malik. Mughlaṭī,3 the Amīr of Multān, wrote in reply, “I am only an Amīr of Multān; I dare not rebel against Dehli with my few cavalry and infantry”.

‘Alī Al-Khaṣṣūṣ, the Amīr of Dībalpur, abandoned his vicious thought of rebelling, and rendered his submission. When the Amīr of Multān wrote Ghāzi Malik to the above effect, the latter secretly addressed the inhabitants and the Maḵṭā’āns of Multān. Bahrām Sirāj, one of the chiefs of Multān, came with a big following, and Mughlaṭī being informed of this, ran away and moved towards the canal which Ghāzi Malik had dug out. The people of Multān sent horse and foot in his pursuit, and he was taken out and killed. Previous to this, Muḥammad Shāh, the Amīr of Siwistān, had been confined by the people of that place, and when the letter of Ghāzi Malik reached them, they addressed Muḥammad Shāh thus, “If you render your assistance to Ghāzi Malik we shall let you free.” Muḥammad complying with their command was set

kātāl Māṣūbih (Mathews II, 651): “after this a white animal is brought for me to ride upon. Its size was between that of a mule and an ass, and it stretched as far as the eye could see. The name of the animal was Burāk”. Raverty, 292, fn. 6.

1 MBL MBM JNS agrees with MBM.
2 MBM
3 MBL JNS agrees with MBL, MBM مغلظی.
free. He thus wrote to Ghāzī Malik "Following this letter, I shall be going on a pilgrimage to you, and shall (then) relate everything concerning my captivity and the lack of assistance from my soldiers." But Yeklakhī, the Amir of Sāmāna, sent the very letter of Ghāzī Malik to Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khusru Khān, and explained to him the reason of Ghāzī Malik's animosity: then drawing up his forces he led them towards Dibalpur. When he reached its vicinity, Ghāzī Malik, too, became ready for action; at the first onset, Yeklakhī met with reverses, and he retired to Sāmāna, whence he wanted to proceed to Dehli near Nāṣir-ud-dīn. In the meantime, the people of Sāmāna assembled together and had him murdered. Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī wrote from Dehli the following answer in reply to the letter of Ghāzī Malik. "I cannot come, but I shall return to my own country. I shall not help any side; the one among you who would siege Dehli, to him I shall make my submission."

When all the replies to the letters reached Ghāzī Malik he flew into rage, and having called near him Malik Bahrām Aynah, he told him that the Hindus had seized the countries of the Muslims, and the family of 'Alā'-ud-dīn had been extinct; and that he intended assassinating them in retaliation: as he (Bahrām) had for years rendered him his obedience he should likewise do at that moment: so that with his help he could wield his scimitar like a trusty servant. They entered into covenant with each other and came out.

Meanwhile it was reported that the imperial revenue from Multān and Siwistān and innumerable horses were being taken to Dehli. Ghāzī Malik, the second Ḣaidar, ordered his forces to plunder the treasure and horses, and pay out the soldiery their salaries for two years in advance.

With all such prosperity in his favour, Ghāzī Malik set out from Dibalpur by forced marches and reached Sarsuti. Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khān had also despatched Khān-i-Khānān, his own brother and Sufi Khān with a big force against Ghāzī Malik. The two forces met each
other at Ḥauẓ-i-Bhāṭi,1 when the Almighty God conferred victory upon Ghāzī Malik, and the army of Nāṣir-ud-din met with defeat.

Losing their elephants and attendants, Khān-i-Khānān and Sufi Khān fled to Dehli. From thence, Ghāzī Malik led his troops towards Dehli by forced marches. Nāṣir-ud-din Khusrū Khān, too, having come out, collected his men from all sides and arranged his forces near Belkush,2 so that the one wing of his army remained at Ḥauẓ-i-Khāṣ, and the other at Andbantha.3 Having seized the treasure of Sulṭān ‘Alā’-ud-din, he (Nāṣir-ud-din) bestowed salaries and rewards of three and four years’ pay on his men. He then brought out of the harem the ‘Alā’i princes, whose eyes had been already put out, and killed them. Ghāzī Malik, too, encamped himself in at the compound of Razia’s tomb and drew out his forces. On Friday, Nāṣir-ud-din Khusrū Khān mounted on a horse, arranged his army and prepared himself for action. On the other side, Ghāzī Malik marshalled his forces; in the conflict which took place between the belligerents, Nāṣir-ud-din enjoyed a triumph at first, and worsted the Malik’s men. Ultimately, Ghāzī Malik led his own band of three hundred cavalry, men as firm as mountain, against his opponents who numbered thousands, so that at the first onset there was a breach in the line of Nāṣir-ud-din, who fled to Matark4 with some of his Amīrs; here he was put to plunder.

Triumphant and victorious, Ghāzī Malik returned to his camp, and passing the night there, he rode to Dehli in the morning and ascended the imperial throne under the title of Sulṭān Ghīās-ud-din.

On the second day, when it was so reported that Khān-i-Khānān, the brother of Khusrū Khān, had concealed himself in the garden,5 a farmān was issued to Malik Fakhr-ud-din to seize the rebel and to

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1 Badaoni reads Ḥauẓ-i-Thaneshwar: Tab-i-Akhb. Indarpeth.
2 Zia Barni, Ḥauẓ-i-‘Alā’i: Badaoni, Ḥauẓ-i-Khāṣ.
5 Zia Barni and Tab-i-Akhb. read the garden of Shādī Khān: Badaoni reads ‘tomb of Malik Shādī’.

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carry him to the bazar of Dehli. He was executed there on 721 H. (1321-22 A.D.).

Verse.

Whatever thou doest leaves a mark,
Whatever thou givest, receiveth back!

The sovereignty of Nāṣir-ud-din Khusru Ḫūn lasted for four months and a few days. God knows more the real facts and He is the place of refuge and the repository.

THE HOUSE OF TUGHLUK.

Account of Sulṭān Ghiasm-ud-din Tughluḳ Ṣhāh, Ghāzi Mulk.

Sulṭān Ghiasm-ud-din Tughluḳ Ṣhāh was a kind and just Emperor; chaste and pure, the Sulṭān had in him an innate attachment to accumulation (of everything), to the construction of edifices, to making places habitable, and to the protection (of the country). In ingenuity, thrift, knowledge, and adroitness he was unparalleled. He would always read the divine precepts for five times and would never enter into his harem without saying his nemāz-i-khuftan.

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1 Badaoni gives 720 H.
2 MBL adds after this أَهِبْ أَبْرَعُ وَأَلْيَبَ. JNS and MBM omit this.
3 Ferishta, in giving the origin of the Tughluḳ dynasty states that Tughluḳ was the father of Ghiasm-ud-din and that he was a Turki slave of Balban. Ibn Batuta writes that Tughluḳ was the stock of Karauna Turks, who live between Sind and Turkistan. Speaking of Karaunas, Marco Polo says that they are the sons of Indian mothers and Tartar father. Wāsaf calls the Karaunas “the most fearless of the Mongols”. Their name has been connected with Karaun Jidun, by which the Mongols knew the mountains separating the Gobi desert from China and Manchuria. H. H. Howorth (Hist. of the Mongols, 111) identifies them with Kara Tartars of Khurasan. Mr. Ishwari Prasad (Med. Ind., p. 229, f.n. 1) writes that Karaunas were of the tribe of the Mongols of Central Asia.

Ghiasm-ud-din Tughluḳ was the issue of the union between Tughluḳ and a woman of the Jat tribe, who were formerly the cultivators of Lahore.

Another historian opines that Tughluḳ is but a vulgarity of Kutlugh.

4 MBL and MBM read نادر شاه كريم و عادل بود صلطان غياث الدين تغلق شاه و در طبيعت او هميه فراهمي و عمارت. JNS begins with مбурول.

5 JNS is a error for مбурول.

6 هميه فراهمي.

7 خمس أوتاق نرابیش.

8 Of the “five hours of praying” punj wakt-i-nemaz, prescribed by Muham-
Upon the whole, after the defeat of Naṣir-ud-din, Sulṭān Ghīās-ud-din ascended the throne in Dehli, on Saturday, the 1st Shā‘bān, of the above-mentioned year (721 H.),¹ with the consent of the amirs, maliks, prelates, chiefs, kāzīs and the people.²

He honoured the ‘Alā‘i amirs and maliks by conferring upon them dignities, mansions, and aḵtā‘s.³ The old families which had come down he promoted: to some of his own relatives he gave surnames and titles, e.g., Malik Fākhr-ud-din, his eldest son, became Ulugh Khān, and was made his heir-apparent:⁴ to his other sons, he gave the titles of Bahrām Khān, Zafar Khān, Nuṣrāt Khān⁵ and Maḥmud Khān: Malik Asad-ud-din, his brother’s son, he made Naib-i-Barbak,⁶ and Malik Bahā‘-ud-din, his sister’s son, he made ‘Ariż-i-mamālīk (muster-master) and confirmed the aḵtā‘ of Samānā and the title of Gurshāsab Malik⁷ on him. Malik Shādi (another nephew) was made the Vizir, and the king’s son-in-law.⁸

The old officers and assistants of the state were favoured with suitable employments.

When the business of the state was brought into order, His Majesty sent out Ulugh Khān with a vast force against Tilang,¹⁰ and Ma‘bar in the same year. Attended by the royal train¹¹ Ulugh Khān set out, and was co-operated with the forces of

madān law, the nemāz-i-khustan is said before going to bed, two hours or more after sunset.

¹ Žia Barnı (Elliot III, 229), Tabākät-i-İkbarı (Bib. Ind., 208) and Al Badāoni (Bib. Ind., : 21) give 720 H.
² MBM omits سابد الأئام.
³ Assignments of lands on feudal or copyhold tenure.
⁴ JNS ωἰλι an error for ωἰλι.
⁵ In Žia Barnı (ibid) this name comes last.
⁶ The Deputy Grand-Usher.
⁷ MBL كرشابست: JNS كرشابست ملك.
⁸ JNS دیوان وزارت بعده شادی: MBL دیوان وزارت بعده شادی داد و دادمان خرد کرد.
⁹ MBL جنیب حال ارزانی داشت: MBM جنیب حال ارزانی داشت.
¹⁰ Žia Barnı writes Arangal and Tilang. JNS and MBM omit معبر.
¹¹ MBL: با کوکب و دندنگ داده‌ام.
Chânderi, Bâdâön, Oudh, Karah, Dalmu, Bangarmu ¹ and the other akhās. On his way, he entered Deogir and took its forces along with him and having arrived at Tilang ² invested Arangal, which for the last 700 years, since the days of his ancestors, had been the capital of Rai Ladar Mahādeo.³ With his entourage and his chiefs, the Rai shut himself up. At Arangal there were two forts, one constructed of stone and the other of clay, both being noted for excessive impregnability. Laying siege to the mud ⁴ fort, Ulugh ordered (his men) to spoil it,⁵ to collect booty and bring in forage for the army. The soldiery secured an ample supply of provisions, and they pushed on the siege whole-heartedly. The conflict was vehement, and there was casualty on both sides.

A few days after, no intelligence (of the Sultan) having been received at Dehli, 'Ubaid, the poet, spread a (false) report that the Emperor was dead;⁶ he employed the amirs and maliks ⁷ such as, Malik Takin⁸ and others for assassinating Ulugh Khān. Being informed of this, the latter came out with fifty horse, and the contumacious amirs left the place for their respective akhās. When Ulugh Khān reached near the Sultan by forced marches and narrated to him the whole incident, His Majesty issued farmāns ordering (his own officers) to put the (rebellious) amirs to death, wherever they were found out. Thus, ere the revolters could reach their destinations, they were put to destruction. Malik Hisām-ud-dīn Abū-Reja, mustaafi-i-mamālik, was ordered by the Emperor to proceed to

¹ MBM سكرمهرب ² MBM ملكان ³ Firishta (Briggs I, 403) and Zia Barni (Elliot 111, 231) have Laddar Deo: T.A. (213) reads Rāi Rudar Deo; Al Badaoni (222) has Rāi Ladar Mahadeo. The personage referred to is Pratap Rudra Deva II, the Kakatiya Rāja of Telingāna. ⁴ MBL اغلب: MBM اغلب: JNS اغلب. ⁵ MBL نهب وتاراج: MBM omits Tāراج: JNS omits ⁶ MBL برهمت سلطان غياث الدين ناماد و برهمت حتی پرست ⁷ جنماً موصل: JNS agrees with MBM. ⁸ T.A. 212. A secret meeting was held with Sheik Zāda-i-Damaski, Malik Tamar, Malik Tīgin, Malik Mak Afgan, and Malik Kafur (the keeper of the sea). ⁹ MBM ملك نكين: JNS agrees with MBM.
Oudh and bring on the followers of Malik Tīgīn. He went out to his destination and got hold of the men. Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Talkānī, the son-in-law of Malik Tīgīn, who had made good his escape from the prison, was seized on the banks of the Saryu and decapitated. The son of Malik Tīgīn, and his retinue, were taken to the Emperor, who ordered that every one, women and men, young and old, should be thrown under the feet of elephants in front of the dākhul and that ‘Ubaid the poet, should be placed in an inverted position on the gibbet.

The chroniclers narrate that ‘Ubaid, the poet, was one of the attendants and servants of the Sheikh-ul-Islām, Sheikh Nizām-ul-Huḵ-wa-ul-Shara’-wa-ud-dīn: ‘Ubaid nursed a spite against Amir Khusru, for which the generous-minded Sheikh ever remained anxious.

Meanwhile, a certain Hindu adopted the Muslim faith; Sheikh Nizām-ud-dīn used to train him up; once the Sheikh gave him two dentifrices; the newly converted Hindu enquired of the Muslim ‘Ubaid how would he use those dentifrices, on which the latter told him that he would put the one in his mouth, and the other in his buttocks. Every day he did the same, till his buttocks became swollen. One day, sorrow-stricken, he came near the Sheikh-ul-Mushāekh and reported, “Oh, Sheikh! of the two dentifrices that you had been pleased to give me, that one that I put into my mouth was quite good, while the other, that I put into my buttocks was quite bad”! The Sheikh-ul-Mushāekh became thoughtful and enquired, who had taught him to do that. The man told him that it was ‘Ubaid, the poet. Immediately, the Sheikh exclaimed by his pearl-scattering mouth, “Oh, ‘Ubaid! thou makest sport with sticks”! From this utterance, those present knew that ‘Ubaid would be impaled, for the words of the Sheikh cannot be false.

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1 JNS has Badaoni’s مأ، : مرصع شد نابه دراور برود

2 MBL and MBM: He was the Governor of Oudh. (T.A. 212.)

3 MBL: فریدی

4 MBL and JNS: T.A. ibid., “impaled alive”. Fehrista writes, “they were buried alive”.

4 JNS and MBM omit, “The chroniclers ..........false”.
In the year 724 H., Ulugh Khān was again sent against Tilang. Rāi Ladar Mahādeo 1 shut himself in the fort for the second time. After playing it for a few days with arrows, nāweke, 2 stones and maghrebī (†), 3 the Khān captured the interior and the exterior of the citadel, and conquered Arangal. The aforesaid Rāi and all the other Rāis with their wives, children, elephants, and treasures were imprisoned. A despatch of victory was sent to the Emperor; domes were constructed at Dehli, and the people made rejoicings. The whole of Tilang was brought under control, and muktia'as and managers were appointed. 4 The prince then wended his way to Jājnagar, and laid his hands on forty big elephants. Triumphant and victorious, he returned by the way he came, and some time after, retraced his steps to Dehli. 5

Again, in 724 H., the Sultān having resolved upon the invasion of Lakhnauti, 6 made Ulugh Khān his vice-regent at Tughlukābād, which had been made his capital for the last three years and a few months, and placed all the affairs of the kingdom under his management during his own absence. The Sultān

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1 MBL, MBM: رامی کوری مهادیو. JNS: رامی لدر مهادیو.
2 An arrow made of reed with a notch on the side.
3 Text has: برخم نرو ناونک و سنگ و مغریب. Zia Barni (Ell. 111, 233) writes, "after plying it for a few days with arrows from the nāwaks and stones from the maghrebīs".
4 Zia Barni and T.A. relate that the Rāi was sent to Dehli under the escort of Malik Bidār, and that Arangal was re-christened Sultānpur.
5 Zia Barni states (p. 234) that when Arangal was taken and the elephants arrived from Jājnagar, several Mughal armies attacked the frontiers but were repulsed.
6 The cause of this invasion has been given by Zia Barni. He says that certain nobleman came from Lakhnauti complaining to the Sultān of the oppressive laws, tyranny and distress under which they and the other Muhammadans laboured.

According to Nigām-ud-din, "some of his (Sultān's) well-wishers made representations to him of the tyranny, etc., of the rulers Bangalah".

Some say that Shihāb-ud-din, and Nasir-ud-din the princes of Lakhnauti, having been expelled by their usurping brother Bahadur went to Dehli and sought the intervention of Tughluq Shāh. (Ishwari Prasad, Medieval India, p. 232, f.n. 1).
personally led his army by forced marches to Lakhnauti and conquered it. Meanwhile, a despatch came announcing that Bahādur 
Shaḥ alias Nudah, the king of Lakhnauti, had been imprisoned by Haibat-ul-lāh of Kasur. His Majesty made his way to the capital, carrying with him Bahādur Shaḥ. Reaching in all haste 
 Afghanpur, where a pavilion had been hastily raised for the royal audience, the Emperor granted an interview (to the nobles of the court) and ordered, "Bring up those elephants that have been captured during the sack of Lakhnauti, and make them run together". The construction was newly made: the earth under the erection trembled, and by divine pre-ordination it gave way. The late Sultan Ghiās-ud-din Tughluq Shaḥ attended by one servant fell under it and was martyred in Rabi‘-ul-auwal, 725 H. (Feb.-Mar., 1325 A.D.).

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1 Zia Barni and T.A. have: when the Sultan reached Tirhut, Naṣir-ud-din, the ruler of Lakhnauti, and the other rūs and rūnās swore allegiance to him.  
2 JNS reads: Naṭūr d. 
3 JNS: Zia Barni (p. 234) states that Tatar Khān pisar-i-khanda (foster son) of the Sultan, put a chord round the neck of the Sultan of Lakhnauti and conducted him to the Emperor. T.A. (213), Badoni (224), Feirishta (400) are of the same opinion.  
4 MBL, JNS and MBM have: Zia Barni (p. 234) states that Sunār-gāṇw was absorbed into the empire: a canopy and a durbash were conferred on Sultan Naṣir-ud-din, the ruler of Lakhnauti.  
5 It was situated at a distance of 3 curoh (6 miles) from Tughluqshāh. T.A. (214) and Badoni (224).  
6 The building was built in course of three days. T.A. and Badoni.  
7 An error forBAR Jalayi.  
8 Nizām-ud-din writes (T.A. 214) that when the Sultan entered the pavilion, a table was spread: after the food had been taken away, the nobles came out, leaving the Sultan to wash his hands. At this moment the roof fell in. Badoni supports Nizām-ud-din and adds that after the arrival of the Sultan at Afghanpur, Ulugh Khān accompanied by the nobles went forward to meet him and spread the table. The Sultan ordered that the elephants which had been brought along with him from Bengal should be made to run. As the structure was fresh and weak, the elephants made the earth tremble and down came the edifice.  
9 Zia Barni (235), "Five or six other persons". Feirishta (407), "Five of his attendants".  
10 It is apparent how Yaḥiya, who must have laid under contribution Zia Barni, attributes the collapse of the structure to divine pre-ordination and exonerates Muḥammad Tughluq from the charge of patricide. Zia Barni, in his Tūrāk-i-Firos-
The story runs that it was at this place where lay the earthly remains of Sheikh-ul-Kitāb, Sheikh Muḥi-ud-dīn, Nizām-ul-Ḥuk-\-wa-ul-Ṣhara’-wa-ud-dīn. At the time when the Sultān had set out on his expedition, the Sheikh had exclaimed through his pearl-scattering mouth, “Dehli is distant from thee”! When the Sultān, triumphant and victorious, reached Afghanpur he said, “Having placed my foot on the breast of the enemy I have returned”. But, this news reaching the ears of Hazrat Sheikh-ul-Kitāb, he persisted, “Dehli is distant from thee”! This incident took place in the aforesaid month.¹

**Couplet.**

If thou dost place the world under thy feet,  
Eventually thou hast to lie in your place (grave)!

Malik Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Tughlūk Shāh, the deceased, reigned for four years and a few months.²

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¹ Badaoni writes that the Sultān, on account of the ill-will he bore to Sheikh ul-Muḥāsib, sent a message to the Sheikh while on the way to Lakhnauti to this effect, “After my arrival at Dehli, either the Sheikh will be there or I”. The Sheikh replied, “Dehli is still some way off”.

This well-known Persian proverb “Dehli is still some way off”, like the parallel passage—“It’s a far cry to Loch Awe”—express the futility of an incompetent person attempting any task.

² MBM reads : MBM omits乐意, etc., JNS omits the whole sentence.
Account of Sultan Muhammad Shāh, the eldest son of Sultan Ghiās-ud-dīn Tughluk Shāh.¹

Sultan Muhammad Shāh was the eldest son of Sultan Tughluk Shāh.² When Tughluk Shāh received martyrdom, and his funeral obsequies were performed in course of three days, he ascended the throne in the imperial palace in the month of Rabi‘-ul-awal of the aforesaid year (725 H.). Some forty days later³ he left Tughluqabad for Dehli.

Later on, domes were erected in the city, and the markets and the lanes were decorated with coloured and embroidered cloth. From the time that the Sultan set his foot in the city till he entered the imperial palace, gold and silver coins were rained from the back of the elephants among the populace, and gold was scattered in every street, lane, and house.⁴

Some time after, in the first year of his accession, when order was restored in the country, the Amirs and the Maliks, the chiefs and the grandees, who were friendly with the Sultan received suitable titles and surnames. For example, Malik Firoz,⁵ the Sultan’s cousin, was appointed Nā‘īb-i-Barbak; Malik Ahmad Ayaz,⁶ the officer-in-charge of the palace, received the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān; Malik Kābul became Malik Kabīr; Malik Sar-tez became ʿImād-ul-Mulk; Malik Maḥbul became Kāwām-ul-Mulk; Malik Khurram Munir obtained the title of Zahir-ul-jiush; Ḥamid Komli⁷ received eminence and became Rażi-ul-Mulk; Malik Pindār Khilji became Kadr Khān and he obtained the akṭār of Lakhnauti; Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn Abu-Rejā

¹ JNS ذكر سلطان محمد شاه خوئین بن سلطان غیاث الدین تغلق شاه غازی ملک
Badaoni calls him Sultan Muhammad ‘Ādil.
² This line is omitted in JNS.
³ The period here mentioned of, i.e., forty days is the same as that enjoined to the Israelites. The period of three days is enjoined on the Muslims, except in the case of widows, who must perform the special ceremony of mourning called Ḥudād for four months and 10 days.
⁴ JNS خانهها: ملک نیروز.
⁵ MBM ملک رازیه احمد عیاشی.
⁶ MBM ملک رازیه احمد عیاشی.
⁷ JNS and MBM حمیر لوکی.
became Niẓām-ud-dīn and the vizir of Lakhnauti; Malik 'Az-ud-dīn Yāḥiyā became 'Azam-i-Mulk and was rewarded with the aḵṭār of Sātgaon; Moulānā Kawām-ud-dīn became Kūṭlugh Khān and he received the office of Vakīldar; Muḥammad, Kawām-ud-dīn’s eldest son, became Alī Khān and he obtained the aḵṭār of Gujrat; Moulānā Kamāl-ud-dīn, the brother of Kūṭlugh Khān, became Sadr-i-Jahān; Moulānā Niẓām-ud-dīn, Kūṭlugh’s second brother, became Alīm-ul-Mulk; Niẓām-ud-dīn Kamāl-Surkh¹ became Mukhlīṣ-ul-Mulk; Shihāb Sultānī became Tāj-ul-Mulk; Moulānā Yusuf became Dāwār-ul-Mulk;² a royal princess was given in marriage to Moulānā Yusuf; Malik Kirān became Safdar-ul-Mulk; Malik Begī became Sar-i-dawāt-dār;³ Moulana Shahāb-ud-dīn Abu Rejā became Malik-ul-Tajār and he received the estate of Nowsary.

In the year 727 H.,⁴ the Sultān marched against Deogir, and he populated every Kuroh from Dehli to Deogir by Dhāwāh.⁵ To them lands were granted, so that their revenue might go towards the payment of their salaries. When any courier arrived at any post he was received and taken to the next Dhāwāh.

At every post, rest-houses and monasteries were set up with a venerable prelate (over those establishments), and proper arrangements are made for the supply of victuals, so that whenever any guest appeared there, he was ministered with food, water, betel-leaf,⁶ and lodging. On either sides

¹ MBL: سرح. ² MBM: دوار الملك. ³ MBL: سروند انداز. ⁴ Badoni gives 729 H., Ferishta, 739 H. ⁵ The fact that gold coins containing in the margin the inscription, “struck in the metropolis of the tribes of Iṣlām” were struck in the name of the Sultān in 727 H., falsify the date of Ferishta. ⁶ Ibn Batuta’s statement that the Sultān having taken offence at the inhabitants of Dehli because they threw into his audience hall abusive papers criticising his policy, decided to destroy their city, is based upon hearsay evidence and is not supported by Muhammadan writers. ⁷ Dhāwāh means “paiks” or “runners”. ⁸ The distribution of betel forms an important part on all ceremonial occasions, generally as a final act of hospitality before the guests depart. Here the text is not clear: it reads thus:...
of the road, continuous rows of trees were planted, the traces of which remained for many years. Deogir was called Daulatābād and made the imperial seat.

Maḥdūma-i-Jahān, the crown-mother, along with the entire family, the Amīrs and Maliks, notable and renowned persons, attendants, slaves, elephants, horses, the treasury, and the hidden wealth of the emperor were carried over to Daulatābād. After Maḥdūma-i-Jahān had reached Daulatābād, the princes, the prelates, and the chiefs of Dehli were ordered to proceed to the new capital. They carried out the royal fiat, and obtained the eminence of the Sultān’s interview. His Majesty doubled the quantity of the gifts and stipends paid to them; and made, in addition, a present of gold for defraying expenses in connection with the construction of their dwelling houses. Every one became contented.¹

Towards the end of the same year (727 H.) Malik Bahādur

Revolt of Bahādur Gurhashab,² the ‘Ariz-i-lashkar (Inspector General of Forces) raised the standard of hostility. Khwāja-i-Jahān was sent against him with a big force, and on his arrival at the destination, the aforesaid Bahādur, opposed him with his few attendants,³ but meeting with defeat at the end, was made a prisoner by the Hindus who despatched him to the court where he was executed.

Subsequently, ‘Ali Khaṭṭāṭī was deputed towards Multān with a view to bring the followers of Bahrām⁴ Aynah. Arriving at the place ‘Ali Khaṭṭāṭī exercised severity in the despatch of Bahram’s household: he made Bahrām sit in the court of justice and held out reproaches and strong expressions at him, so that the people became afraid.

¹ Badaoni writes that the desolation of Dehli and its desertion was a source of great discomfort to the inhabitants, large number of the feeble and widows, the helpless and indigent perished by the way, while even those who arrived in safety, could not settle there.

² MBL: که شباشب.

³ MBL: مقدار از جمعیت.

⁴ JNS, MBM and Ḥa Barmi. بهرام ابید.
One day, out came Luli, the son-in-law of Bahram from his house, when he was thus addressed to by ‘Ali Khatafi, “Why dost thou not despatch your dependants? Thou desireth that they should not go! Thou art acting villainously”! Luli enquired, “Whom dost thou call villain?” ‘Ali informed, “To him who is sitting within the house”. Luli questioned, “How dare you form such a hypothesis?” ‘Ali Khatafi ran after Luli and got hold of his ringlets, but the latter threw him down, and asked his sword-bearer to sever off his head from the trunk. ‘Ali was killed and his head was placed on a spear.

The following day Bahram Aynah broke out into rebellion.

When the Sultan was put abreast of the position of affairs, he left Deogir for Dehli, whence having collected a heavy contingent, he formed the design of proceeding to Multan. On his arrival, Bahram Aynah came upon him, and in the battle that took place between the forces, the latter, subsequently, met with reverses and was done to death. He was decapitated, and his head was brought before the Emperor, and most of his followers were made food for the sword.

The Sultan made up his mind to set the blood of the inhabitants of Multan flowing like rivers. Sheikh-ul-Islam, Kutub-ul-‘Alam Sheikh Rukn-ul-Hukwa-Shara‘-wa-ud-din made an intercession on behalf of the people of Multan; having bared his venerable head, he presented himself at the court of the Sultan: the Sultan accepted the intercession of the holy Sheikh, and granted clemency to the Multanis who had sided with Bahram. The akhla of Multan was situated on the frontiers of Sindh; it was bestowed upon Malik Kawam-ul-Mulk in fief.

A few years later, His Majesty sent out Bihzad (to Multan), and after the latter had been assassinated by Shahu Lodi, the Sultan pursued his march against Dibalpur, when Shahu fled towards the hills.

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1 Badaoni, Malik Kawam-ul-Mulk Maqbul.
2 Tab-i-Akb. Shahu Afghan: Badaoni, Shahu Lodi Afghan.
At this time Sheikh Kūṭub-ul-'Alam paid the debt of nature, and His Majesty conferred the akṭā' upon Imād-ul-Mulk Multānī. Some of the renowned Amir’s and Maliks, attended with 50,000 horse entered the country of Imād-ul-Mulk, and the Emperor took his way to the metropolis, Dehli.

In the year 729 h. (1328-29 A.D.), Tarma Shīrīn Mughal, the brother of Kutlugh Khwāja, the king of Khorāsān, marched against Dehli with a vast army, conquered most of the citadels, and put under confinement the people of Lahore, Sāmāna and Indari to the borders of Badāūn: when his army reached the banks of the Jaun, he retraced his way back.

Having collected his forces between Dehli and Hauz-i-Khāṣ, the Sulṭān encamped there, and when the defeated Tarma Shīrīn crossed the river Sindh, His Majesty ran after the fugitives with a heavy battalion to the borders of Kalāpur. The Emperor bestowed the ruined fortress of Kalāpur upon Malik Majir-ud-dīn Abu Rejā so that he might repair it. Having despatched some notable and brave chiefs against Tarmā, the Sulṭān paced his way to the capital, Dehli.

Subsequently, His Majesty was pleased to increase the taxes of the country twenty-fold. Khahri was produced and pasturage laid out. Cattle was branded, the houses of the people were computed, and the

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1 JNS and MBM
2 MBM and Badaoni read Kalānor.
3 MBM and Badaoni read Khorī and JNS and MBM read Khorī and Wadādī.
4 JNS and MBM read: مәүәي-الدین ابجا: خراج ولايت بکی به بیست کنل, JNS and MBM read: بکی به بیست کنل.
5 MBM and JNS read: کهوری وحراىی: کهوری وحراىی.
sown-fields were measured. The royal order promulgated the business laws, and fixed the price-current of grain. For these reasons, the people left off their cattle and betook themselves to the forests, and the malefactors gained in strength.

Later on, a royal mandate was issued enjoining upon the people of Dehli and its neighbourhood, to move off en masse to Daulatābād. The houses of the city people were purchased, and the owners were paid in cash from the treasury. In accordance with the royal fiat, all the inhabitants of the city and its suburbs, were despatched towards Daulatābād. The city was so evacuated, that the city-doors remained shut for days together: the dogs and cats made no noise in the city. The riff-raffs and the ruffians that remained in the city, carried off chattels from the houses and put those things to plunder. At length, the royal order emanated to the effect that the theologians and the prelates, the chiefs of the cities and the leaders of villages should come up and settle down in the city. The Sultān rewarded them with presents and gifts: the whole of Daulatābād was populated by the inhabitants of Dehli.

Owing to the bestowal of abundant presents and rewards upon the people, the Exchequer was bereft of money. All the sources of income and the means of import were closed. The copper tankas were

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1 MBL and JNS agree with MBM.
2 MBM omits.
3 JNS and MBM agree with MBL.
4 Zia Barni, who hailed from Baran, a district which was distressed from the effects of this enhancement, is vehement in his denunciations against the Sultān. This fiscal measure of the Sultān, he says, led to the impoverishment of the ryot, the ruination of the land, arrest of cultivation and all sorts of other evils.
5 MBL agrees with MBM.
6 JNS and MBL agree with MBM.
7 Zia Barni narrates that the importation of the people did not populate the city: the Sultān’s attempt did not reconcile the people and the old prosperity of Dehli did not return. The abandonment of the city, excessive misfortune, difficulty in travelling and the desolation of the city proved an impediment to the people. Those who returned were way-laid, and those who reached the city found no peace.
8 MBL agrees with MBM.
9 MBL agrees with MBM and JNS.
issued as tokens, and their value was enhanced to twenty-five times; they became current on an equal footing with the Tankā-i-kalīmāl.\(^1\) any one who showed reluctance to receive it used to be punished severely. In collusion with one another,\(^2\) the Hindus and the evil seekers established a mint in every village, struck copper coins, sent them to the city, and received in exchange gold, silver, horses, arms, and precious articles. It was for this reason that the contumacious gained in strength.\(^3\) Some time after, the people of the far off countries refused to accept the copper tokens, and one gold coin rose to the value of fifty or sixty copper coins. Owing to the cheapness of the copper tokens, His Majesty, perforce, called in those currency and proclaimed that whoever possessed copper coins should bring them to the treasury, and receive gold coins in exchange. The people profited greatly by this arrangement and they became wealthy.\(^4\) Gold was drained out of the treasury, and the copper tokens were rejected.\(^5\) For a long time they (copper coins) remained lying in heaps in the palace of Tughlukābād.

The Sulṭān issued orders for the conquest of Koh-i-Ḵarājal,\(^6\)

\textit{Conquest of Ḭarājal.}

which lay between the countries of India and China. He sent out 80,000 horse under leaders

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1 MBL: مهرمی مقدار بست گانی و ان را به یک تنکه حال نورح نهاد JNS agrees with MBL.

2 MBL: مسمان میلاد و موتالات JNS omits موتالات: JNS agrees with MBL.

3 MBL and JNS: قوت گردند MBL: قوت گردند JNS and MBL:

4 MBL: مبلغی مال خلق بردن و دین سبب غنی گشند JNS and MBL: مبلغی مال خلق بردن و دین سبب غنی گشند.

5 MBL, MBL: مهرمی‌نی مردود یاد JNS: مهرمی‌نی مردود یاد.

6 Badaoni and Ferishta give 738 n. Badaoni, Tab-i-Akīb, and Ferishta read Himachal. Briggs identifies Himachal with Nepal and the countries on both sides of the Himalayas. According to Ferishta the leader of this expedition was Khusru Malik, the sister's son of the Emperor. In the opinion of Zia Barni, the Sulṭān's conception was, that as he had undertaken the conquest of Khorāsān, he would first bring under the dominion of Islam this mountain, so that the passage for horses and soldiers and the march of the army might be rendered easy.

Ferishta writes that having heard of the great wealth of China, the Emperor conceived the idea of subduing that Empire; but in order to accomplish his design it was found necessary first to conquer Himachal. The nobles and councillors of the king tried to convince him of the futility of the scheme, but failed to do so. MBM: تراحل:
and ordered them that on their arrival at the Ghati, they should establish garrisons, so that their return-journey might not be arduous. Reaching the aforesaid place, the imperialists established posts, and when they entered the mountains of Karajal, the scarcity of provisions and the narrowness of the passes began to be severely felt. The hill-men took possession of the posts, and assassinated those who were placed in charge of the garrisons. The army that entered into those places were slain to a man, some of the commanders were taken prisoners and kept for some time near the Rai. Such a force was never collected afterwards. This event took place in 738 H. (1337-38 A.D.).

Later on, Bahrám Khan breathed his last at Sonargaroon, and on 739 H. Malik Fakhr-ud-din assumed the sword-bearer of the deceased, became rebellious and assumed the insignia of royalty under the designation of Sultan Fakhr-ud-din. Malik Pindar Khilji Kadr Khan, the ruler of Lakhnauti, Malik Hisam-ud-din Abu Reja, the Musta'fi-i-mamalik, 'Azam-i-Mulk, 'Az-ud-din Yahiya, the feoffee of Satgaroon and Firoz Khan, the son of Nasrat Khan and the Amir of Karah, marched to Sonargaroon against the rebel. The latter, also, came out with his men to meet them, and in the contest which followed, Fakhr-ud-din being worsted took to his heels. The elephants and horses of the fugitive were taken possession of; Kadr Khan remained at that place, while the other Amirs retired to their respective fiefs.

When the rainy season drew in, most of the horses in the army of Kadr Khan died. He had collected a vast amount of silver species, and had, after two or three months, stored it up in heaps in his own house saying that, in like manner would he stock the silver before the presence of His Majesty, so that the more the silver was stocked the more would it be serviceable to the Sultan. Malik

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1 MBL reads '739 H.: Ferishta, 741 H.

Zia Barni and Ferishta place Fakhr-ud-din's rebellion after that of Bahrám Aynah.

2 MBL omit Malik: JNS and MBM retain it.

3 MBL: JNS and MBM note: میرزب.
Hisam-ud-din advised him thus, “It is detrimental to amass a huge wealth in the remote akhba’s, for the people would covet it and would be suspicious as to why the money is not being sent to the Emperor. Whatever wealth and cash have been collected should be despatched to the treasury: nothing could be better than this.” Kadr Khan paid little attention to him, and neither did he give to the soldiers their due, nor did he send the wealth to the treasury. The soldiers coveted the wealth, and no sooner than Fakhr-ud-din arrived, Kadr’s men sided with him (Fakhr-ud-din) and assassinated the latter (Kadr).

Fakhr-ud-din took his seat at Sonargaan, and left his slave, Mukhlis at Lakhnauti. Ali Mubarak, the Inspector of Troops under Kadr Khan, put Mukhlis to death and possessed himself of Lakhnauti. But he showed no sign of sovereignty, and sent a petition to His Majesty to the effect that he had occupied Lakhnauti, and if His Honour would condescend to despatch one of his slaves there and instal him on the throne, he (Fakhr-ud-din) would pay his respects to the Emperor. The Sultan issued orders that Yusuf, the Governor of the city (Dehli) should be conferred with the rank of a Khan, and deputed (to Lakhnauti). In the meantime, Malik Yusuf dying His Majesty gave no attention to it, and none did he despatch to Lakhnauti. ‘Ali Mubarak, owing to his opposition to Fakhr-ud-din, perforce, assumed the insignia of royalty, and called himself Sultan ‘Ala’-ud-din.

Some time after, Malik Ilyas Hajji, who had a big following, having joined with the Amirs, Malik and the people of Lakhnauti, put ‘Ala’-ud-din to death, and ascended the throne under the designation of Sultan Shams-ud-din.

In the year 741 H. (1340-41 A.D.), Ilyas marched against Sonargaan, and having put fetters round Fakhr-ud-din turned on his
heels; subsequently, he assassinated the latter at Lakhnauti. Thenceforth, Lakhnauti passed under the control of Sultân Shams-ud-din and his sons, and never afterwards came under the authority of the Emperors of Dehli.

In the year 742 H. (1341-42 A.D.), Sa’iyid Hasan Kithili, the father of Malik Ibrâhim, the purse bearer, fermented a revolt at Ma’bar, and having killed some of the Imperial officers that had been appointed to that district, and gaining over the others to his own party, put himself in possession of the entire country of Ma’bar. The Sultân proceeded to Deogir for the purpose of quelling that disturbance, and on his arrival at Tilang was taken ill, and was forced to return. It was rumoured that the corpse of the Sultân was being conveyed in a palanquin. Malik Hoshang who had withdrawn himself from the rebellion, having learnt that the Sultân was still living, joined His Majesty. The Sultân returned by uninterrupted marches to Dehli, and left Daulatâbad in the custody of Kutlugh Khan. Thus the rebellion in Ma’bar remained unchecked. Meanwhile, famine had broken out in Dehli.

In the year 743 H. (1342-43 A.D.), Gulchunder and Malik Halâjaun put to death by treachery Malik Tatâr Khurd, the Governor of Lahore, and raised the standard of hostility. Khwaja-i-Jahân was sent out to suppress the rebellion, and when he reached Lahore he was opposed by Malik Halâjaun and Gulchunder Khokhar, who

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1 JNS and MBM: أحدي وأربعين وسبعين: JNS. 
2 JNS: بنده ملك إبراهيم.
3 The western coast of the peninsula.
4 Badäoni writes, Hasan revolted on the grounds of the severity of the Sultân’s Governors, and the innovations introduced in the laws and the number of executions.
5 MBL: در ديوغير رفته JNS: از دیوغر رفت MBM: دیوگر.
6 MBL: برهم باشنداین از فتح مواری شد MBM: ملک هوسنگن بدندهن آز فتح مواری شد.
8 Badäoni writes, “they put to death by treachery Malik Halâjaun and Kul Chunder Khâkhar and Malik Tatâr Khurd, the Governor of Lahore”. 
were at last defeated. Khwāja-i-Jahān, having put down the rebellion, returned from the expedition.

In the year 744 H. (1343-44 A.D.), the army of Fakhr-ud-din Bihzād being in straits became rebellious. Shāhu Lodī Afghān rebelled in Multān and killed Bihzād. Malik Nuā who had accompanied the deceased fled from Multān to Dehli. The Sultān personally started on an expedition to Multān. Meanwhile famine was raging in the city with such a fury that man was devouring man.

Verse.  

To such an extent the famine that men from extreme want of victuals, like the candle, burnt their own bodies on the fire and killed themselves. "It is customary among the apostles to abandon those things that are beyond the power."

On the Sultan’s approach to Dībālpur, Shāhu Lodī dared not put forth opposition and made good his escape towards the mountains. Having made his return from Dibalpur, His Majesty conferred Multān upon ‘Imād-ul Mulk Sartez, and passing through Sannām and Sāmāna massacred the Sa’iyids of Kaithal and the other Muslims. He conveyed the chief men of those districts to the suburbs of the city, conferred upon them villages and districts, and bestowing on each

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1 Ferishta places this event in 742 H.
2 MBL: Tānq Ārōdi ʾl Shukr Fāhr al-Dīn Bīzād:
3 Tab-i-Akb. ملك بموارا:
4 This verse is omitted in JNS and MBM.
5 MBL: طاقت استقامت:
6 60 miles to the west of Sirhind.
7 Zia Barni writes, the Sultan put down the rebels (of Sannām and Sāmāna) who had formed strongholds, withheld tribute and created disturbances and plundered on the road. Many of them became Muslims and some placed in the service of noblemen.

Ferishta says, “the tribes of Mundulla, Chowhan, Meeana, Bhurteea and others who inhabited the country about Sannām and Sāmāna, unable to discharge their rents, fled to the woods. The King massacred several thousands of them.”

Tab-i-Akb. writes, bands of Mundhvis, Chauhāns, Bahtians, and Minahs.
gold belts and head dresses gave them a place of abode there. The Sultān entered the city and ordered the people to proceed to Hindustan and to stay there for some time in order that they might be freed from the famine.  

In the meantime, the people of Khorāsān, in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sultān, who was extremely lavish in making gifts to those people, came to India. Each of them received in proportion (to their rank) silver, gold, precious stones, horses, clothes, robes (of honour), gold belts, wrappers, caps, presents and gifts of other things, such that they never beheld before. All the big mansions in the prosperous city were owned by them. They used to purchase all articles, such as, slaves, gold and silver, paper and books, and sent those articles to Khorāsān.

In the year 745 H. (1344-45 A.D.), Malik Nizām, the Governor of Karah, who prided himself upon the few slaves which he had collected round him, raised the banner of insurrection. Shahr-ul-lah, the brother of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, having collected his forces from Oudh, attacked and defeated his army and seized him, and thereby put down the rebellion.

Later on, in the same year, Shihāb-Sultānī created disturbance in Bidar and won over the people of Bidar to his side. Kutlugh Khān marched against him to quell the insurrection. The youngest son of Shihāb-Sultānī came out to
meet him with his forces, but failing to offer any resistance he was put to the worst. He took shelter in the fort of Bidar. The father and the son together shut themselves up in the fort. Kutlugh Khan offered them safety and despatched them to Dehli.

In the year 746 H. (1345-46 A.D.), 'Ali Shâh, the sister's son to Zafar Khan 'Ala'i and the Amir Sadah of Kutlugh Khan, set out (from) Deogir (to Gulburgah) for the collection of revenue; as that part of the country was denuded of soldiers, zagirdârs and the chiefs, he gained over his brothers to his side and treacherously slew Bahran, the Governor of Gulburgah; taking much spoil went to Bidar, and having slain the deputy of that place, put to plunder vast properties, and took possession of Bidar.

Being informed of this (rebellion), the Sultan sent Kutlugh Khan, with some Amirs, Maliks, and equipage from Dhâr to suppress the outbreak. When Kutlugh Khan reached the place, 'Ali Shâh advanced to meet him and giving battle was routed. 'Ali Shâh took shelter in the citadel (of Bidar). Kutlugh Khan invested the fortress, and a few days after, 'Ali Shâh was made prisoner along with his brothers and sent near the Sultan at Sargdâori. The Sultan sent them to Ghaznin in exile, but afterwards recalled them thence and put them all to death before his presence.

In the year 747 H. (1346-47 A.D.), the Sultan led his forces towards Hindustân: approaching Sargdâori, he was joined by 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who made a

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1 MBL: بنام دست أورد. JNS and MBM: يامن ددر أورد.
3 Zia Barni, Bahiran. MBM: سرک دوازی. JNS: سرک دوازی. MBM: Ranking, Sarkdawari: Tab-i-Akb., Sargdawari: This place is situated in the Farrukhabad District.
5 MBM: جلا کرد. JNS and MBM: جدآ کرد.
6 JNS: اربع و اربعین.
7 He held the territory of Oudh and Zafarâbâd.
present of goods and precious things, by way of servitude, to him. His Majesty having decided upon the despatch of ʻAin-ul-Mulk to Daulatabad with his cavalry, retainers and brothers, summoned Kutlugh Khan near him. This specific news reaching ʻAin-ul-Mulk, he became suspicious, and considered the Imperial order to be the pretext of the Sultan who was sending him out of Hindustan in order to bring him to ruin. For this reason, he took alarm, and fled by night from Sargdaori with forced marches, forded the Ganges and went over to Oudh. Prior to the revolt of ʻAin-ul-Mulk, the Sultan had, under his (ʻAin-ul-Mulk) command sent most of the elephants, horses, arm-bearers and other troops to the other bank of the Ganges for (securing) abundant provisions (for the army); and had kept near him only a few foot at the request of Malik Firoz Mulk, the Naib-i-Barbak, who petitioned that most of the horses and foot soldiers were marching to the ford, and that, as some (attendants) should necessarily be preserved for the hunts, it was not judicious to send them all away. At that time some of the horses were left at the stables. Shahul-lah, the brother of ʻAin-ul-Mulk, carried off the horses and the elephants from the ford, and tempting the aforesaid soldiery carried them with him. ʻAin-ul-Mulk and he, with elephants, horse, and equipage proceeded with successive marches to Kanauj, and thence crossing the Ganges descended. The Sultan summoned some of the Amir and Maliks who had, previous to this, been given leave to return to their fiefs, such as, Khwaja-i-Jahang to Dhar, and Malik Imad-ul-Mulk to Multan; they had only proceeded to Bina when they were recalled. The other Amir, also, came from other sides. From thence, His Majesty moved onwards and encamped near the fortress of Kanauj.

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1 JNS and MBL مطلب شد MBM.
2 Tab-i-Akb. writes, "Before this a number of writers who had been accused of embezzlement in Delhi...had left Delhi...and had gone to Audh, and thrown themselves in the protection of 'Ain-ul-Mulk. This excited the anger of the Sultan, but he considered it inexpedient to show it".
3 JNS and MBL مطلب شد MBM.
4 MBL طوایف مذکور را نیز تزییب کرده پادشاه خود روانه کرد MBM.
5 JNS and MBL بجای اقتضایات خوبیش MBM.
During the afternoon prayers, 'Ain-ul-Mulk crossed the river at the ford of Lidbah. When the Sultan was informed of this, he exclaimed, "For them Lidbah is an evil augury: let us be prepared!"

Towards the close of the night, he reached the place where the army was quartered, and proceeding on foot commenced hostilities in the manner of the people of Hindustan. The Sultan, on his side, had divided the elephants and the forces in different sections. At the first attack, the enemy was defeated: receiving a wound, Shahr-ul-lah fell back towards the Ganges, and was carried away by the stream. Likewise did the whole of his army, horse and foot, fall into the river—some of whom were drowned, while some who safely crossed the river fell into the hands of the Hindus who plundered them.

'Ain-ul-Mulk was taken prisoner. Bereft of head dress, he was placed on an ass by Ibrahim Bangi, and taken to the Sultan, who put him to detention before the dakhul for some time; but, subsequently, he was let off, and was received with much kindness by the Emperor. From that place the Sultan took his way to Dehli.

His Majesty ordered Kutlug Khan to appear before him from Daulatabad, with his attendants and equipage. The latter, in compliance with the mandate, left his brother Alam-i-Mulk at that place, and made his way to Dehli.

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1 JNS and MBM: بوت نماز دیگر در گنر لیدبان گذر گذارا شد. MBL: Tab-i-Akb. read Bangar Mau.

2 MBL: بر طریقی که در جنگلی هندوستان جنگل میکردن به صرب بپرسند. JNS: بر طریقی که در جنگلی میکردن بحرب. MBM: بر طریقی که در جنگلی جنگل میکردن بحرب. Badaoni writes, "...like the thieves and Gauwrs (of India) took to the wood and fought on foot."

3 Our author fails to mention two other events of the reign during this period:—
   (1) The Sultan's march to Bahrach to pay his devotion at the tomb of Salar Mas'ud Shahi.
   (2) His rendering of homage to the Sultan of Egypt, and the arrival of an embassy from the latter.

Vide Tab-i-Akb. (Tr. B. De., A.S.B., pp. 227-29) and Zia Barni (Bib. Indica, 249).
In the year 748 H. (1347-48 A.D.) the Amīrs Ṣadah² of Dihu’i⁶ and Barodā⁴ put to death Mukbilt, the slave Khwājā-i-Jahān who was the Naibvizir of Gujrat, and was proceeding to the court, and stirred up rebellion⁵; furniture, revenue, horses and arms were carried off by them. Malik ‘Aziz⁶, the ruler of Dhār⁷ marched against the aforesaid Amīrs Ṣadah, but he was also killed. The Sultan marched out with the object of quelling this rebellion, and reaching Gujrat he deputed sundry Amīrs, such as, Malik ‘Ali Sher⁸, the head of the sword bearers, Malik Ahmad Lājīn⁹ and some other nobles to Daulatābād near ‘Alam-i-Mulk, with a view to bringing the Amīrs Ṣadah of Daulatābād near the Sultan. In compliance with the farmān, ‘Alam-i-Mulk despatched the Amīrs Ṣadah. When the Amīrs Ṣadah of Daulatābād, in company with the aforesaid Amīrs reached Manickgunj,¹⁰ they took alarm suspecting that they had been asked to come near the

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1 Zia Barni gives 745 H. Badaoni, 748 H.
2 Tab-i-Akb. says, “At that time the Yuzbāshis were called the Amīrs Ṣadah.” Ferishta calls them Amir judeeda and explains, that “this term meaning ‘New officers’ was given to the newly converted Mughals and their descendants who had embraced Muhammadan religion, and the service of the Kings of Dehli at the same time.”
3 Elliot gives “Foreign Amīrs”, Ranking, “Captains of hundreds”.
4 JNS: مبرودة: MBL
5 Zia Barni and Nizām-ud-din give the following cause of the rebellion: the slaughter of about 800 Amīrs Ṣadah by the base-born ‘Aziz Himār, (who had been appointed to Dhar and Malwah) on the ground of their being foreigners, caused those of Deogir and Gujrat and every other place to write and to break out into insurrection.
7 JNS and MBM omit جابط دهار.
9 MBM: ملك أحمد أحمد لاحسن.
10 MBL: در کهنتی بانک کچ: JNS در کهنتی بانک: MBM در کهنتی بانک: کچ. Ranking, “at the pass of Manickgunj”.

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Sultān for being slain. At night, they came to a common understanding and rebelled; and during the course of their progress they assassinated the aforesaid Amīrs. Malik Aḥmad Lājin was put to death, and other Amīrs took to their heels. The above-mentioned Amīrs Şadah made for Daulatābād\(^1\). ‘Alam-i-Mulk\(^2\) shut himself up in the palace of Daulatābād. In return for ‘Alam-i-Mulk’s kind treatment with the Amīrs Şadah, the latter granted him safety and sent him near the city. They raised to the throne one Isma‘īl Makh\(^3\) and gave him the title of Sultān Naṣir-ud-din.

The Sultān, on receipt of this information, moved onwards, and sent out an army for the suppression of the Amīrs Şadah of Dihu‘ī and Barodā. The latter opposed the Sultān’s army, but being defeated at length, retired to Daulatābād, and joined hands with the Amīrs Şadah of that place. From thence, the Sultān, also proceeded to Daulatābād and met Isma‘īl Makh, who lost his power of opposition and meeting with failure betook himself to the fortress of Dharā-gir\(^4\). A good many people were put to the sword, and of the Muslims of Daulatābād some were either imprisoned or plundered, and some bore company with Isma‘īl.

While the Sultān was at Daulatābād, tidings arrived of the rebellion in Gujrat of Malik Taghi, who having put to death Malik Muzaffar\(^5\) had obtained possession of all his treasure and chattels. The Sultān left Malik Jouhar, Khudawand Šadah Kawām-ud-din, Sheikh Burhān-ud-din Balārāmi, and some other Amīrs at Dharā-gir\(^6\); directed Malik ‘Imād-ul-Mulk Sartez\(^7\) with a big force to hunt up the forces of Daulatābād, that had after the defeat fled towards Bidar: and personally departed towards Gujrat in pursuit of Taghi. The army of Daulatābād, whose leader was Hasan Kānku, lay in ambush and fell upon ‘Imād-ul-Mulk, killing the

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1 MBL: دولت آباد حصاری شدّة.
2 MBL: ملک عالم: Badaoni, Malik ‘Alam.
4 MBL: دهارا کر: Badaoni, “fortress of Dharānagar by which is meant the citadel of Daulatābād”. Tab-i-Akb., Dharāgār.
5 He was the deputy of Sheikh Mu’īz-ud-din, the Governor of Nahrwāla.
6 MBL: دهارا کر.
7 MBL: عهاد الدین شیرم: Žia Barni, Sartez-i-Sultānī.
latter. Meeting with defeat, the army of ‘Imād-ul-Mulk fled to Daulatabad. Malik Jauhar and the other Amirs, who were at Daulatabad, could not sustain the opposition and gave up the siege. Ḥasan Kānku pursued them and came to Daulatabad, and having driven out Isma’il Makh ascended the throne under the title of ‘Alā’-ud-din. Since then, some of the districts of Daulatabad passed under the control of Ḥasan Kānku and his descendants.

In pursuit of the rebel in Gujurat, the Sultān moved about from place to place.1 Twice did Ṭagḥi confront him, and twice was the rebel defeated. In this expedition was Malik Firoz Mulk summonsed from Dehli, and he joined the Sultān.

After some time, Malik Kabir2, the son of ḵabul Khalifatī breathed his last. Khwāja-i-Jahān and Malik Maḵbul Kawām-ul-Mulk remained at Dehli.

The utmost endeavours and effort, diligence and labour of the late Sultāns—May God illuminate their demonstrations!—and of Sultān ‘Alā’-ud-din Khilji particularly—May the light of God be on his tomb!—were towards the progress of Islām, showing compassion to the Faith, securing of benefits, safety of the roads, repose of the people, tranquillity of the empire, habituation of the country and the conquest of kingdoms. But now, in their stead, are manifest, the weakness of Islām and the languor of the Religion, the crimes of the irreligious and the disturbance of the rebels, the terror of the traveller and the affliction of the people, the insurrection in the country and other regions, oppression in place of justice, and infidelity in place of Islām have taken a firm root. These are due to various reasons:

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1 A fuller account of the Sultān’s campaigns in Gujurat is to be found in Zia Barni. *(Bib. Indica, 260 et seq.)*

2 Badaoni, Gir. Badaoni writes that the Sultān had delegated the control of all important affairs to Malik Kabir.

Of Malik Kabir, Tab-i-Akb. writes, “After the arrival of an ambassador from Egypt to Dehli, bringing to the Sultān a farmān sanctioning his rule, the Sultān sent along with the precious jewels and other gifts, Malik Kabir, the chief of his guards and made him part and parcel of the Khalif’s property. He got a memorial executed by Kabir, containing a stipulation that he would serve the Khalif.
Firstly, Tarmā Shirin Mughal ¹ sacked and plundered the people of the towns, villages and the neighbouring places, and these places never again recovered their prosperity.

Rapine of Tarmā Shirin.

Secondly, the tribute to be paid by the inhabitants of the country were increased to ten or twenty times and the live-stock were numbered: consequently, the people deserted their houses and cattles, and took recourse to evil company: the contumacious gained in strength: subsequently, the country was put to plunder and it was totally ruined.

Thirdly, there was a general absence of rain, and a severe famine broke out in all parts of the country. For example, there was not even a drop of rain for seven years, and even a vestige of cloud was not to be seen in the skies.

Absence of rain. Outbreak of famine.

Fourthly, the inhabitants of Dehli were removed wholesale to Daulatabād, and the people were taken to the city from the rotten parishes, but on the next occasion were compelled to evacuate their places. The goods which they had received from their forefathers, they left behind them and came outside the city. Afterwards, neither those chattels reached them, nor could they procure any other. Neither was the city re-populated nor the towns.

People of Dehli removed to Daulatabād.

Fifthly, a contingent of about 80,000 cavalry with their slaves and attendants that was sent against Karajal suddenly entered the orifice of death ², were killed to a man, so that not even a couple returned: such a force had never been collected since then.

Contingent sent against Karajal put to death.

Sixthly, of those who in fear of their life had raised the standard of insurrection in the country, some were killed and some became funky. In short, those places were devastated and the rebels gained in strength. "They began committing blood-shed, and there was no one who could oppose them, because, the Sulţān had ruined his whole army and attendants

1 JNS and MBM نرمه شیرین.
2 JNS and MBL سرواح در رفت: سرواح اجل در رفت MBM. 
to such an extent that they had no provision for sustenance left."

Seventhly, the people of the city and the vicinity, the Amirīs, the Malikīs, the prelates, the chiefs, the religious heads, the poor, the beggars, the fakirs, the artisans, the money-lenders, the cultivators, and the workmen were all alike smitten with the sword of violence and oppression, high-handedness and tyranny. The corpses of the dead formed a heap in front of the Sulṭān’s platform, so much so that the executioners even became weary of dragging the bodies of the victims. The affairs of the State rapidly declined, and the concerns of the Government became defective. From those quarters that formerly arrested the growth of insurrection, there now appeared outbreak of sedition. While one portion of the country was enjoying rest, there befell a terrible calamity on its other portion. The foundation of sovereignty that had been made stable under the previous Sulṭāns, now became totally rotten. For all these reasons, the Sulṭān became bewildered and perplexed. Though he knew that the disorder in the country, the injury to Religion, the internal confusion and the external sore were chiefly the consequences of his own action, yet he could ill-afford to stem the tide of all those ills. No trace was left of the necessaries for Government, or of the power for the maintenance of sovereignty. By God! the Sulṭān had thrown away every ball before him from his earthly mansion, and himself remained alone in it, so that when his turn came he would follow suit!

A tradition runs that elaborate arrangements had been made for the purpose of punishing and putting to death the victims. The Sulṭān caused four Muftis (expounders of Muḥammadan law) live in the Kiosk, and whenever any accused was brought in, prior to his being punished, the Sulṭān opened discussion with the aforesaid judges. Thus had he told them, "If any of the accused is unjustly killed, and if thou dost fail to speak the truth on his behalf, you shall be held responsible for his blood."

1 Portion under the inverted commas is omitted in JNS and MBM.
2 MBL adds after this: معارف و مشاهد: JNS and MBM omit them.
3 This sentence has been omitted in JNS and MBM.
The judges, accordingly, left no stone unturned in adducing proper proof of the innocence of the accused. In case they were defeated in argument, the accused, no matter even if it was midnight, was immediately put to death. On the other hand, if the Sulṭān was worsted, he ordered for a second sitting of the Muftī, so that he might come across something in refutation of their statements. Failure on the part of the judges to point out an error in the King's argument led to an immediate punishment of the culprit, and contrariwise, on the Sulṭān’s failure, the prisoner was let off the same moment. Whether such a procedure, one knows not, was adopted to give relief to the people, or, it had any other objective!

It is related that once the Sulṭān wearing his shoes made his way to the court of justice of Kāżī Kamāl-ud-din, Šadr-i-Jahān, the Diwān-i-Kāżī-i-Shahr and made a complaint, how he had been unjustly called a tyrant by Sheikh-Zādah Jāmī. “Let him be called forth,” concluded the Sulṭān, “and substantiate my high-handedness, but if he fails, let a penalty, according to the laws, be inflicted on him.” When the Sheikh-Zādah was summoned by Kāżī Kamāl-ud-din, he confessed (to having said it) and the Sulṭān asked him to enumerate his oppressive acts. The Sheikh-Zādah, in reply, said, that everyone whom the Sulṭān had punished, legally or otherwise, it was his prerogative¹: but how could his action of imprisoning and entrusting the wife and children (of the victims) to the executioners be justified in any religion? The Sulṭān took recourse to silence and made no answer. Coming out of the court of justice, the Sulṭān ordered that Sheikh Zādāh be manacled and put in an iron cage. During the course of the Sulṭān’s progress to Daulatābād, the cage was placed on an elephant and carried along with him². On the Emperor's return to Dehli, the Sheikh was taken out of his place of confinement before the court of justice and beheaded³.

This design of narrating the causes that led to the disorder in the empire, and the oppressive measures of the Sulṭān in this work, is improper and an evidence of mistake.

¹ MBL: البدهة عليك العهدة JNS and MBM: البدهة عليك.
² MBM simply writes: مقيد كهد درميان قفص او را بالايلي بل داشته برده برد. JNS agrees with MBM.
³ MBL: دو نيم زد MBM: گردن زد JNS: دو نيم زد
Hemistich.

It is criminal to narrate the errors of the Great!

Nevertheless, this account has been put to writing on purpose that the possessors of wealth and strength may take lesson from it, and be careful! Take lesson, Oh men! having insight!!

As a matter of fact, when the affairs of the kingdom was at their lowest ebb owing to the excessive tyranny and oppression of the Sultan, in anxiety he fell a prey to disease. But notwithstanding his ill-health, he set out against Thatha with the object of running down Taghi, who had joined the tribe of the place. A few days after there was a relapse of his illness.

Amir Kazghan, the deputy of the Emperor of Khorasan, sent Altun Bahadur Mughal with 5,000 horse, plenty of presents and valuable gifts near the Sultan. "This army remained with the Sultan during the expedition." When the Sultan neared Thatha, his disease increased till on the 21st Muharram 752 H. (Sunday, 20th March, 1351 A.D.) he died on the bank of the river.

Couplet.

In pride he who puts not his feet on the dust,
Dust he becomest at length, and is tread upon by people.

The Sultan ruled for seven and twenty years. God knows the truth.

1 JNS and MBM خطا بر بذرگان MBL خطا بر بذرگان.
2 Badaoni writes, "the disease of Phthisis". See Ranking, 319.
3 Tab-i-Akb. calls them "Somra": Zia Barni, "Sumra": f.n. 4.
4 Zia Barni, Amir of Faraghan.
5 Badaoni, Tab-i-Akb. and Ferishta quote Zia Barni in saying that the Sultan kept the fast on the Ashura (the 10th day of Muharram) and when it was over he ate some fish. The fish did not agree with him, his illness returned and his fever increased.

Ashura is the only day of the Muharram observed by the Sunni Muslims, being the day on which it was said God created Adam and Eve, Heaven and Hell, the Tablet of Decree, etc., etc.

6 Zia Barni reads, "on the banks of the Indus at 14 kos from Thatha".
7 JNS and MBM ننهند برسر خاک MBL ننهند برسر خاک.
8 MBM خاک شود برسر او بر گذنده MBL خاک شده خلق بر او می گذرند.

JNS agrees with MBM.
Account of Sultān-ul Āʿzam Abu-l-Muṣaffar Firoz Shāh, May God bless his sepulchre!

He was the son of Aspdaṟ Rajab, the younger brother of Sultān Ghāzī Ghīās-ud-dīn Tughlūk Shāh. When the Holy and the Great God, munificent in gifts and the bestower of sovereignty, upon him whom He pleases, conferred kingship upon this Emperor (Firoz Shāh), of habits angelic and qualities Muḥammad-like, gentle, kind and just, every act of oppression, tyranny, high-handedness, violence, and every instance of ruination of the country, and rebellion of the people that had been manifest in the reign of the deceased Sultān Muḥammad Tughlūk, was substituted for justice and equity, the adornment and exaltation of the country, and the safety of the roads. There was an abundance of learning (in the country), and a great many theologians and holy persons appeared (in his reign).

On the 23rd Muḥarram of the above year (752 H., Tuesday, 22nd March, 1351 A.D.) he (Firoz Shāh) ascended the throne on the bank of the Sindh. People flocked to his court from all sides; the chiefs and the nobles, fully and whole-heartedly, acknowledged his authority and approved of his actions.

The Sultān drew up his forces as usual, and having made up his mind to proceed to Dehli on the following day arranged his troops. On that day the Mughals, who had come in (Sultān’s) aid, having joined themselves with Nauroz Karkaj fell upon the royalists. A firman was issued ordering that the baggage-
train should be carried forward along the river Sindh with forces on both its sides. The Mughals appeared and put to distress the attendants of the baggage-train: the imperial army made a further advance. Being defeated the Mughals retired to their countries. The Sultan by continuous marches arrived at Siwistān and recited the Khutbāh\(^1\) in his name on Friday.

It was during this expedition that Malik Ibrahim obtained the office of Naib-i-bārbak, Malik Bashira\(^2\) was invested with the post of ‘Ariz-i-Mulk and he received the title of ‘Imād-ul-Mulk. Kamrūd-din, the Secretary of late Malik-ul-Shark Malik Kabir in Gujrat, Bahram Ghazin, Malik Noor\(^3\), the Sar-i-dawat-dar\(^4\), Malik Nua, Sheikh Hasan Sarbarhanah and other Maliks who remained there were rewarded with special robe of honour and excessive favours. Sa‘iyid ‘Ala’-ud-din Rasuldār, Saif-ud-din and Malik Saif-ud-din\(^5\), the Superintendent of the elephants, were sent against Khwaja-i-Jehān at Dehli. Moulnā Muḥammad ‘Imād\(^6\) and Malik ‘Ali Ghuri were deputed against Taghi, the chief of Sindh and Thatha. Other officers marched against Khudawand Zādāh Kawam-ud-din\(^7\) and ‘Ain-ul-Mulk at Multān; and some against Malik Mahmud Bak at Sannām, and some to other districts and towns.

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1 \textit{Khutbāh} or \textit{Khutbet} the two synonymous terms refer to the oration delivered every Friday after the afternoon service, in the principal Muḥammadan mosques in praise of God, the Prophet and his descendants. This was pronounced in former times by the reigning Khalif, or the heir-apparent.

2 Afīf reads شرایع ذه (Bib. Ind., p. 48). Elliot (III, 277) has Shīrābrū chasm.

3 MS. illegible.

4 Keeper of the seals.

5 MBL رسلوار والدین وملک بسیف.

6 MBL مولانا عباد مذکور.

7 MBL بر خداوند زاده برقوام.
A general firmanda was issued to the various parts of the kingdom granting compassion, favour and education to the subjects. The coffin of Sulthan Muhammed was placed on an elephant with the royal umbrella over it, and taken to Dehl with successive marches.

In order to convey the news relating to the demise of Sulthan Muhammad, Malih, a slave of Khwaja-i-Jahân, set out (from Thatha?) on the third day, and reaching the city (Dehl) carried the intelligence to his master. Struck with wonder, and without careful investigation or consideration, Khwaja-i-Jahân brought out a youth of obscure origin, describing him as a son of Sulthan Muhammad. With the consent of amirs and maliks of Dehl, he placed him on the throne, on the 3rd Safari (1st April) of the aforesaid year, under the designation of Sulthan Ghias-ud-din Mahmud, and himself managed the affairs of the kingdom. Sa'iyyid Rasuldar and Malik Saif-ud-din reached Dehl and showed the auspicious firmanda of the Emperor (Firoz Shâh) to them (Khwaja-i-Jahân and his associates). As Khwaja-i-Jahân had undertaken the work without any proper thought, he perforce, persevered in his actions. Some of the amirs and maliks, such as, Malik Natho, the chamberlain, A'zam-i-mulk Hisam-ud-din Sheikh-Zadah Bustami, Malik Hasan Multani, and Malik Hisam-ud-din Adhak co-operated with him; while others, e.g., Sharf-ul-Mulk, Malik Dilan, Amir Katalbagah, Malik Khaljin, Malik Hasan Amir-i-Mirân, Kæzi Mihr,

1 A fis narrates that a slave named Malik Tunton (Zia Barni, Altun) had been sent from Dehl to Khwaja-i-Mahelan to Sulthan Muhammad (at Thatha?) and just on the Sulthan's death, he started on his return journey to Dehl.

2 MBL ین تفسیر و نآمل MBM

3 Sir Wobsey Huis is of opinion that there is much to justify the belief that the child was Muhammad's son and that the allegation that he was not was an attempt by panegyristis to improve their patron's feeble hereditary title. **Cambridge History of India, III. 174: Journal Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1922.**

4 MBL یرجت سلطنت MBM omit سرب سلطنت JNS agrees with MBM.

5 MBM نتبوصاح حابی

6 MBL ملک حساس الدین متروادھک: MBL omits Malik Hasan Multani, and Malik Hisam-ud-din.

7 MBL ملک دیدان: Tab-i-Akb. Dehlan.

8 MBM تکلبہ و ملک ذوالجی و ملک حسین: MBL تکلبہ.
Khwāja-Bahā’ud-dīn Thikrah, Malik Muntajab Balkhī, Malik Badr-ud-dīn Buthārī secretly sent petitions expressing terms of sincerity to the Emperor.1 *May God extait him!* Khwāja-i-Jahān invited Maḥmud Bak from Sannām, but the latter showed his negligence, and sent a petition guaranteeing help to the King (Firoz Shāh). Letters had also been despatched to Ḵhudawand-zādāh Tarmud and ‘Ain-ul-Mulk at Multān, but they transmitted this letter of Khwāja-i- Jahān to the Emperor, who (thus) became apprised of Khwāja-i- Jahān’s enmity.  Ḵhudāwand-zādāh and ‘Ain-ul-Mulk were honoured with compassion and special presents from the King for their having joined the imperialist cause.

Learning that the King was approaching against him with continuous marches, and that a large number of men had flocked to his standard, Khwāja-i-Jahān sent as messengers, Saʿiyid Jalāl-ud-dīn Karmati,2 Malik Dilān,8 Moulānā Najm-ud-dīn Rāżi, and Daʿud, his own Moulānā Zādāh 4 (for the purpose of explaining to Firoz Shāh) that the empire was still in possession of Sulṭān Muḥammad’s family; that Firoz Shāh should either accept the office of deputy and the heirship and devote himself with energy to the performance of the affairs of the empire or he (Firoz) might choose some of the akhṭā’s of Hindustān, and any noble whom he might select could join him.

On the arrival of the aforesaid embassy, Firoz placed it under guard, and summoning together the chief of the Sheikhs, Ḵūṭub-ul Aulia’ Naṣīr-ul-Huk-ul-Shara’-ud-dīn,6 *May God have mercy on him*, Moulānā Kamāl-ud-dīn Sāmāna and Moulānā Shams-ud-dīn Bākhar- zi 6 explained to them thus, “Thou dost all know, how I was the favourite of the late Sulṭān, and further, thou must have heard, how Khwāja-i-Jahān has placed on the throne a young lad as the soi-disant son of Sulṭān Muḥammad; if the late Sulṭān had any issue

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1 MBL reads Sheikh Zādāh Nizāmī, Malik Māsūn Multānī and Malik Ḥisām-ud-dīn expressed terms of sincerity to the Emperor.
2 T.A. (for Tabaqat-i-Akbarī), (Bib. Ind.), 42, Sayyad Jalāl.
3 JNS reads : T.A. *ibid.*, 242, Malik Dilān.
4 T.A. (ibid.) has “His own Moulānā Zādāh.”
5 T.A. reads Sheikh Naṣīr-ud-dīn Muḥammad Aulīdī.
6 JNS reads : T.A. reads Bākharzī. MBM : باخزری باخزری : باخزری : باخزری
left I might have been in the know, and if he had any son he must have had placed him under my guardianship, for, none was a better patron or a friend of his than I. Him (the false heir) has the Khwāja placed on the throne and the people of Dehli have accepted him as their ruler.” In conclusion the Sulṭān enquired, “What in your opinion is the exigency of the hour, what do you advise me to do, and what is the proper step to be taken (now)?” Thus replied Moulānā Kamāl-ud-dīn, “Whoever has undertaken the duties of the empire ever since the beginning has the priority of claim, and he is the sovereign.”

The emissaries who had arrived, such as Sa‘īyīd Jalāl-ud-dīn Karmati, Moulānā Najm-ud-dīn Rāzī and Malik Dilān remained near Firoz Shāh, while (Sheikh) Da‘ud, tho Moulānā Zādāh of Khwāja-i-Jahān returned. A firmān was issued stating that if Khwāja remembers his obligations to the Sulṭān for the latter’s having conferred upon him the favours and his past services, he would do well to give up his opposition caused by his foolishness and aberration and to betake himself to the path of obedience, as in that case, more favour would be shown to him and his faults and sins condoned. Returning to Dehli, (Sheikh) Da‘ud brought the (above) firmān to Khwāja-i-Jahān who (notwithstanding the Emperor’s attempt to bring about a reconciliation) increased his vigour, magnificence, strength and opulence; the people joined him from all sides.

Meanwhile, Malik Abu Muslim, Malik Shāhin Bak, sons of Malik Maḥmud Bak came to the Sulṭān with their petitions and presents, and were favoured with (royal) compassion. When the Emperor arrived at Sarsuti, Malik Kāwām-ud-dīn arming himself came out of Dehli at the time for the meridian prayers, on Thursday, the last day of Jamādi-ul-ākhīr of the same year (752 H., Aug. 1351 A.D.), with his equipage, attendants and harem, and sought

1 MBL بسیوی بودی MBM پسرکی بودی
2 MBL او ببدید که شوکت و قوت خداگانی تضافمت می شد ای بزور MBM و شوکت
3 “It is 90 KOs from Dehli,” Aff. In the course of his progress from Thatha to Dehli, Sulṭān Firoz Shāh took the route by Dibalpur, Multān, Ajodhan and Sarsuti.
4 Kawam-ul-Mulk, Aff (Ell. III, 283); he was also called Malik Maḥbul. He was the ablest noble in the kingdom, and was a Brahman of Telingana who had accepted Islam. MBM توام البلک
refuge from the Emperor. Amir Mu'azm Kutbgha, too, joined Kawām-ud-dīn, and his couriers came to the Sultān at Fatehābād on the same day. It was here (Sarsuti) that tidings arrived of the birth of Shāhzādah Fateh Khān, and the news of the death of Taghi (also) reached him (the Sultān) there from Gujrat. On the day following, as Kawām-ul-Mulk had come out, Khwāja-i-Jahān, of necessity, went near the Sultān, and alighting himself at Hauz-i-Khās 2 appeared with the adherents before the Sultān at Hānsi, 3 and stood concealed before the assembly with turbans round his neck. 4 The Emperor ordered that Ahmad Ayaz (Khwāja-i-Jahān) should be made over to the Kotwāl of Hānsi, 5 and Malik (Ghias-ud-dīn) Khitāb should be conveyed to Tabarhindah; 6 Manthu, the chamberlain, was exiled to Sannām, and Sheikh-Zadah Bustāmi was ordered to leave the country. Hisām-ud-dīn Adhak and Masan 7 were kept detained by the general of the army.

In the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year (752 h., August-September, 1351 A.D.) the Sultān entered Dehli. The people welcomed him, and received royal favour (in return). At the fortunate aspect of the stars, 8 the Emperor alighted at the imperial palace 9 on the 2nd Rajab (Thursday, the 25th August. 1351 A.D.), and engaged himself in carrying on the administration of the State and looking after its welfare. 10

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1 Fathābād was the name given to the newly constructed city at the site of Idar where the Crown-Prince Fath Khān was born. Elliot 111, 283.
2 Affī, Hauz-i-Khās-i-'Alā'ī.
3 MBM منزله هانسي
4 Affī writes, "Khwāja went into his presence with a chain around his neck, his turban off, a talika on his head, and a naked sword fastened to his throat, and took his standing low down among the attendants." JNS and MBM read حجاب ایسکاتند. MBL reads حجابات ایسکاتند.
5 Tabāqāt-ī-Akbarī (Bib. Ind., 243). Badaoni (ibid., 243), and Ferishta (Briggs I, 448) agree in saying that Khwāja-i-Jahān should be made over to the Kotwāl of Hānsī, whereas, Affī describes how the Emperor wished to reinstate Khwāja as Vizīr. At length, Sāmāna was assigned to him in invān, and when he had set out for that place he was beheaded by Sher Khān.
6 The boy whom Khwāja-i-Jahān had proclaimed as Sultān.
7 JNS unintelligible.
8 MBL بطالع سعد وليس پتروی.
9 MBL قصر خانوی: MBM قصر حانوی: JNS.
10 Affī writes, "The Sultān conciliated his subjects by remitting all debts due to
In the month of Safar, 753 H. (March-April 1352 A.D.), 1 Firoz Shâh marched towards the Sirmor 2 (hills), and after a lapse of four months he came back to Dehli.

On Monday, 3 the 3rd Jamādi-ul-awal, 4 of the year, Prince Muhammad Khan 5 was born. This joyful and happy tidings and auspicious news was conveyed to His Majesty. the advent of the blessed Prince was looked upon as auspicious:

Verse.

Be it auspicious, fortunate, happy and prosperous,
The advent of this star in the sign of the Zodiac (where) the Sun (is). 6

The Emperor signalled the birth of the prince with feasts and rejoicings. This prince was born during the period of the Sulṭān's sovereignty, and from the day of his birth, the prosperity and splendour of the empire were on the increase.

Upon the whole, a few months later, of the year, His Majesty marched towards Kalānor, and hunting in Manjahur 7 retraced his way to Dehli.

The same year, the Sulṭān laid the foundation of the Jami'a mosque near the palace, and a madrassa on the haуз-i-khâs! 8 He conferred the title of Sheikhu-ul-Islām on Sheikh-Zâdah Šadr-ud-dîn, 9 grandson of Sheikh Kabir Kûṭub-ul-Aulia-Bahâ'ul-

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1 Badaoni gives 753 H., T.A. gives 5th Safar, 753 H., Ferishta writes 5th Safar, 754 H. The Sulṭān went there for excursion and sports.
2 In the Punjab, bet. 30° 20' and 31° 5' N. and 77° 5' and 77° 55' E. on the west bank of the Jamuna and south of Simla.
3 Acc. to Ind. Ephemeris, Pillai IV. 306, it is Sunday.
4 Badaoni gives the date, Rajab 753 H.
5 Later known as Naṣir-ud-dîn Muhammad Shâh.
6 JNS and MBM omit the couplet.
7 MBL جامع MBM جامع JNS agrees with MBL.
8 Nizám-ud-dîn, Ferishta, and Badaoni simply write, "the Sulṭān laid the foundation of lofty edifices on the bank of the Sarsuti."
9 Badaoni calls him Sheikh Šadr-ud-dîn Multâni, and says that the lofty building built on the bank of Sarsuti was given to Šadr-ud-dîn.
Huk-wa-Shar'a-wa-ud-din Zakaria, *May God have mercy on him*;  
Kawâm-ul-Mulk Malik Ma'bul, the Naib Vizir, was made the Vizir,  
and was honoured with the designation of Khân-i-Jahân; he, further,  
received a large cushion and gold embroidered pillows.  
Khudâwând Zâdah Kawâm-ud-din received the title of Khudâwând Khân  
and became the Vâkildar; Malik Tâtâr became Tâtâr Khân; each amîr  
obtained different kinds of umbrellas; Malik-ul-Shârk Sharaf-ul-Mulk  
was made Naib Vâkildar; Khudâwând Saïf-ul-Mulk, the Shikârbeg;  
Khudâwând-zâdah 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, the chief Silaâdar;  
'Ain-ul-Mulk received the post of Mushrif of the countries.  
Malik Hasin, Amir-i-Mîrân, became the Mustaufi of the empire.

In the month of Shawwâl, in the year 754 H. (November, 1353 A.D.),  
the Sultan started with a large army on an expedition to Lakhnauti.  
Leaving Khân-i-Jahân in charge of the State, great and small, the Sultan  
with continuous marches reached his destination.

On the King's arrival in the neighbourhood of Gorakhpur,  
Udaya Singh waited upon him, and having presented twenty lacs of tankas,  
and two elephants became the recipient of imperial favour.

On the 27th Rabi-ul-Auwal (755 H., Monday, 21st April, 1354 A.D.),  
the Sultan arrived at the fort of Ikdalâh, and there was

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1 MBL omits "Malik"; JNS and MBM retain it.
2 MBL omits Khudawand.
3 Nizâm-ud-din says that 'Ain-ul-Mulk received the post of Mustaufi and Mushrif of the Divân.
4 This line has been omitted in JNS.
5 In 1345 Ilyâs Hâji, styling himself Shams-ud-din Ilyâs Shâh had made himself master of W. Bengal, and after having overthrown Iâhtîâr-ud-din Ghâzi Shâh, the ruler of E. Bengal in 1352, established his dominion over the whole of Bengal. The proclamation that was issued by Firoz Shah in 1353 A.D. explained the cause of the invasion to be the wrongs and oppressions of Ilyâs Hâji. See *J.A.S.B.*, XIX, 1923, No. 7, pp. 253-290.
6 Aâfî writes, "the Sultan followed by way of Champaran and Rachap": Barni says, "the march was through Gorakhpur, Khurasa, and Tirhut".
7 Nizâm-ud-din writes, "Râi Kapur, also, paid the tribute of several years, and both of them (Kapur and Udaya Singh) joined the army".
8 JNS and MBM read 28th Rabi-ul-Auwal. Ferishta (Brigg. I, 449) and Nizâm-ud-din (Bib. Ind., p. 245) write 7th Rabi-ul-Auwal. We have adopted the latter version.
9 Ilyâs who had rashly invaded Tirhut with the object of annexing the s-
a great battle. The Bengalis were defeated; and their casualty was very great. Shahdeo, their chief, with several others was killed on that day. On the 29th of the month, the Sultan left the place, and encamped on the bank of the Ganges. Iliyas Haji took refuge in the fort of Ikdala, and on the 5th Rabi’ul Akhir (Tuesday, the 29th April, 1354 A.D.), he marched out at the time for the meridian prayers with his equipage, attendants, and countless Bengalis.

The Sultan drew up in order of battle, and immediately as Haji perceived it, he was alarmed and fled. The imperialists made a hot pursuit and laid their hands upon the canopy and forty elephants: and a large number of Iliyas’ horse and foot was made food for the sword. The Sultan halted there for two days, and on the third day, he made his way to Dehli. Some months afterwards, His Majesty laid the foundation of the city of Firozabad, May Allah protect it from all evils!

eastern dists. of the Kingdom of Dehli, retired, at the approach of Firoz, to his own capital Pandua, and thence to Ikdala.

Westmacott, in Calcutta Review (July, 1874) places Ekdalah (Akdalah) some 42 m. on the Maldah side of the river Tangan and North of Gaur and Lakhnauti. Major Raverty (Talaqat Nasiri, Bib. Ind., p. 591, f.n.) identifies Akdalah with Damduma, a corruption of Damdamah, in the pergh. of Debkote, between Lakhnauti and Dinajpur. Wolsey Haig places Ikdala on the island in the Brahmaputra (Cambridge Hist. of Ind. 111, p. 176).

1 MBL مصلح مقدم پاکستان MBM سیدنو مقدم پاکستان JNS سیدمو مقدم ناپکستان

2 A detailed account of the battle has been given by Affi.

3 MBL مینبیر محمد MBM omits چنیبیر محمد JNS چنیبیر محمد.

4 Affi says that the new names which the Sultan gave to Ikdala and Pandwah were Azadpur and Firozabad respectively.

5 “The rains having commenced, Firoz Shah had to abandon the investment, came to terms with Iliyas and retired towards his own dominions by the Manickpur ferry.” Affi.

6 The Sultan returned to Dehli on the 12th Sha’bi’s (756 H., July 12, 1355 A.D.).

This Firozabad was different from its name-sake which arose from the change of name of Pandua. This new town situated on the banks of the Jumna, occupied the sites of the old town of Indarpot and 11 other villages or hamlets, and contained no fewer than 8 large mosques.
In the year 756 H. (1355 A.D.) the Emperor went in the direction of Dibalpur, and excavating a canal from the Sataldar took it to Jhajjar, a distance of 48 Kurohs. The next year, he excavated the Firozabad canal from the vicinity of Mandati and Sirmor hills; and uniting seven other canals with it, took it as far as Hansi. From that place he extended it to Arasan, and there laying the foundation of a strong fort, gave it the name of Hisar Firozā. Below the Kiosk, an extensive reservoir was constructed, which was filled up with water from that channel. Another canal was excavated from the Khakhar (Ghaggar), and conducting it past the fort of Sarsuti was taken to Harni-Khirah.

1 "Went to hunt," T.A. (ibid., 245).
2 MBL سند: JNS ستلا: T.A. "Satlād"; Ferishta, "Sutloog".
3 MBL جعفر: Badaoni, "Jahjar"; Ferishta, "Kugur". Jhajjar, a town within 40 m. of Delhi, in the Rohtak dist., Punjab. JNS حجعفر.
4 MBL, JNS محمدی: Ferishta, "Mundvy"; Badaoni, Mandli or Mandili; T.A. "Mandal"; Elliot, "Mandati". Mandawī, a village in Karnal dist., Punjab, on the route from Hansi to Ludhiyana, and 51 m. north of the former town. It is situated on the left bank of the Gaggar Distance N.W. from Cal. 1027 m. Lat. 29° 48', Long. 76° 3'.
6 Hisar dist., Punjab, Lat. 29° 6' 19". Long. 76° 0' 19".
8 The foundation of Hisar was laid on the sites of two villages, Larās-i-Buzurg and Larās-i-Khurd.

The city and the fortress stood in the midst of a sandy desert, and was ill-supplied with water. It was to remedy this defect in the city which Firoz proposed to build here, that he caused canals to be drawn to it.

The western Jamuna canal, an important perennial irrigation work in the Punjab, taking off from the west bank of the Jamuna and irrigating Ambalā, Karnal, Hisar, Rohtak, Delhi Dists., and parts of Patiala and Jind was originated by Firoz Shāh who utilized the torrent bed known as the Chautang to conduct water to the royal gardens at Hisar and Hansi. But after 100 years its water ceased to flow farther than the lands of Kaithal, and Akbar re-excavated the work of Firoz in 1568. In the reign of Shah Jehan, his engineer, Ali Mardan Khan undertook a more ambitious scheme, and took the water through Panipat and Sonepat to Delhi.

9 Elliot, "Harbi Khira" or Harī Khirā: T.A. (245) "Karah": Badaoni "Harnī Khirā"; Ferishta (Brigg: 449) "Pery Kehra": Iswari Pd. Medival India, "Hari Khir" or "Bherni-khera". Renell says (p. 73) after the meeting of the Setledge and the Beyah, the name of Setledge is no more heard of (above Multān at least), that of Korah being the name of the confluent waters.
In between these canals he (the Emperor) erected a fort, and called it Firozâbad. Another aqueduct was drawn from Budhî'1 and conveyed to Jaun, thence to the fort of Firozâ, and into a reservoir, and further to a point beyond it.2

In the month of Žil-hijjah (December) of the same year (756 H., 1355 A.D.), on the day of ‘Id-uz-hiā,3 a robe of honour and a diploma4 arrived from the Khalîfa Al-Ḥākim bi amrillâhi Abû Fath Abû Bakr ibn Abî ul Rabî‘ Suleîmân, the Khalîf of Egypt,5 confirming the committal of the countries of Hind.6

7* The same year, there also came the plenipotentiaries from Iliyâs Ḥâji of Lakhnauti with valuable presents. They became the recipient of excessive favours and endless affections, after which they returned. On another occasion, there (again) came presents from Iliyâs Ḥâji, and (the envoys) kissed the royal feet at Hisar Firozâ. Thus the Sultan addressed them, “My humble servants possess better effects than those that you have brought here: henceforth, you should bring such picked elephants which a King should present to a brother King”.

In the year 758 H. (1357 A.D.) Zafar Khân Fârsi8 came

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2 Aftî is very concise in his statement of Firoz’s canals, and refers only to the two canals, the one from the Jamuna to the city (Hisar Firozâ?) and the other from the Sutlej to the above place, the former called Rajîwâh and the latter Alagh-Khâñî, and both passing through Karnal. Being an inhabitant of Sirhind, and probably possessing more geographical knowledge of the Canals, Yaḥiya has given an account of the canals with greater detail. The later historians, such as, Nîgâm-ud-dîn, Ferishta, and Badauni have followed Yaḥiya.

3 JNS: عبد الضاحي an error for منصر.

4 JNS: an error for دُسُر.

5 JNS و دار الخلافة و مصر should be deleted.

6 Aftî is reticent on this incident, whereas Nîgâm-ud-dîn (ibid., 245). Badaoni (ibid., 245), and Ferishta (ibid., 450) all agree with Yaḥiya.

7 Portion within the asterisk has been omitted in Elliot.

8 JNS and MBM read غفر خان مبَّدِئ چرخَر فارسی. MBL: We have followed Nîgâm-ud-dîn (ibid., 240). Ferishta (ibid., 450) writes Zafar Khan Farsy.
from Sonârgâon** by river with two elephants and attached himself to the court. He was received with favour and received the office of Naib Vizir.3

In Zil-ḥijjah of the year 759 H. (November, 1358 A.D.) the Sultan started towards Sâmâna, and there engaged himself in hunting.4 Meanwhile, there came advices that an army of Mughals had arrived on the frontier of Dibalpur. Malik Kâbul Sarparadâr ⁶ (lord of the bed-chamber) was ordered to proceed with an army against them, but the enemy, before his arrival, retreated towards their own country.

The Sultan returned to Dehli. About the end of the year, Malik Taj-ud-din Betah ⁶ came from Lakhnauti with some other Amirs as ambassadors, bringing with them articles as tribute, and were honoured with the royal favour.⁷ In return, the Sultan also sent Turkish and Arabian horses, fruits, and every kind of other presents under the charge of Malik Saif-ud-din, the keeper of the (royal) elephants, who accompanied Malik Taj-ud-din to Sulțân

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1 Here begins the most grievous error of the copyist of the JNS. The transcription has been most wrongly done, e.g., Zafar’s arrival from Sonârgâon is to be found in p. 146 of the MS. and the subsequent events have been narrated in the following order, pp. 156, 157, 158, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 148 (line 7), 149, 150, 145 (line 15), 146, 147, 148, 158 (line 2).

2 MBM زرا دبا در تو ساينس MBL دربا تر سائين.

3 T.A. ibid., 246. Badaoni makes no reference to this event: Afif, Yahiya, Nîgân-ud-din, and Ferishta are almost unanimous, and of these Afif is more elaborate. The latter gives, in detail, the circumstances that led to the arrival of Zafar Khan to seek the protection of Firoz Shah (see Bib. Ind., p. 137 et seq.: Elliot III, 303). After the murder of Sulțân Pakhr-ud-din, King of Sonârgâon, at the hands of Shams-ud-din, Zafar Khan, the son-in-law of the deceased sovereign, was sore distressed, and fled to Thatha and Dehli en route Hisar Firozâ, to seek the protection of the Emperor.

4 Afif has passed over this incident. But Nîgân-ud-din (T.A. ibid., 246), Badaoni (Bib. Ind. 246 : Ranking I, 328), Ferishta (Briggs, 1, 451) all agree with Yahiya.

5 Afif, Toraband.

6 MBL ملك تاج الدين تنبيه: JNS and MBM بتنه: T.A. simply Taj-ud-din; Badaoni and Ferishta give no name.

7 There is no reference of Taj-ud-din’s embassy in Afif. But Nîgân-ud-din, Badaoni, and Ferishta all agree with Yahiya.
Shams-ud-din at Lakhnauti. Arriving at Bihar, (the party) learnt that Shams-ud-din had expired, and that his son had become king under the title of Sultan Sikandar. The envoys from Lakhnauti were detained at Bihar, and the event was notified to the Emperor. The Sultan ordered that the presents which had been sent to Sultan Shams-ud-din should be brought back; the horses should be made over to the army at Bihar and the ambassadors (from Lakhnauti) should be conducted to Karah. The firman was carried out to the letter.

In the year 760 H. (1358-59 A.D.) the Sultan marched with a big force towards Lakhnauti, leaving Khan-i-Jahan at Dehli, and after deputing Tatar Khan, who was appointed Shikdar of the country from Ghaznîn to Multân, to his place of office. When the Sultan reached Zafrabad, the rainy season set in, so he made a halt. At this place, Azam Malik Sheikh-Zâdah-Bi-ustâmi, who had been banished by the Sultan, brought a robe of honour from the Khalif (of Egypt), and the Emperor being graciously disposed towards him, dubbed him, Azam Khan. Sa'iyyid Rusuldâr was sent with the messengers of Lakhnauti to the Sultan Sikandar, and the latter despatched five elephants and other costly presents to the court with the Sa'iyyid. Before the arrival of Sa'iyyid Rusuldâr, 'Alam Khan had come from Lakhnauti as an ambassador, and to him a

1 Ferishta, "Sultan Shâh Poorbea".
2 Afif (Bib. Ind. 100-105; Elliot III, 290-92) narrates another event of importance which took place in 1358. Yahiya, Nizam-ud-din, and Badaoni are all reticent. In 1358 Khudawand Zadah, the Emperor's cousin and her husband formed a plot against the life of Firoz Shâh, but it was frustrated by her son. The cousin was imprisoned and her husband banished.
3 The Sultan, by his action, broke the sanctity of the treaty made with Sikandar's father, and invaded the dominions of his son on the frivolous ground of vindicating the rights of Zafar Khan.
4 The text in the JNS ناتار خلی را از حد ولايت جهانی، تا ملتان شکدار کرده آنها داشت: Elliot (IV, 9) writes, "... and Tatar Khan as Shikhdar at Multan (to guard) the Ghâzni frontier". Badaoni (Raverty I, 328) writes, "Tatar Khan was sent from Ghaznîn to Multân".
5 The fault being that he had become intimate with Ahmad Ayaz.
6 Ferishta, "Azim-i-Moolk".
firmān had been issued to the effect that the Sulṭān Sikandar was foolish and inexperienced and had strayed from the path of rectitude. The Emperor had, at first, no desire to draw the sword against him (Sikandar), but as the latter had not discharged the duties of obedience, he must now understand that His Majesty was marching against him. Firoz Shāh, when the rains were over, shaped his course for Lakhnauti, and, while on the way, conferred the ensigns of royalty, such as elephants and a red pavilion, on Prince Fateh Khān, and directed coins to be struck in his (Prince) name and officers¹ to be appointed under him. When the Emperor arrived at Panduah,² Sulṭān Sikandar shut himself up in the fort of Ikdāla, whither Shams-ud-dīn, his father, had been in the habit of going for refuge. On the 16th Jamādi-ul-Auwal, 761 H. (Saturday, 4th April, 1360), the Emperor encamped at Ikdāla. When the siege had been continued for some time, the garrison, perceiving the futility of their opposition to the assailants, capitulated in lieu of despatching elephants,³ treasures and goods as tribute. On the 20th Jamādi-ul-Auwal (Wednesday, 8th April) of the year, Firoz Shāh marched out from Ikdāla on his return journey, and on his reaching Panduah, Sikandar made him a present of thirty-seven elephants and other valuable articles.

With continuous marches⁴ His Majesty arrived at Jaunpur,⁵ when the rains having commenced, he quartered his army there. After the expiry of that season, in the month of Zil-ḥijjah of the same year (761 H., Oct.-Nov., 1360 A.D.), the Em-

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1. Ferishta writes, "tutors".  
2. Ferishta, "Bundwa".  
3. "Ferishta says that Sikandar sent 18 elephants. Badaoni writes, "thirty-seven elephants". Nizām-ud-dīn states, "the Sulṭān agreed to send a yearly tribute of elephants". Afī writes that on the conclusion of peace between Sikandar and Firoz Shāh on condition that Zafar Khān should be placed on the throne of Sonārgaon, the Emperor sent into the fort of Ikdāla a crown, worth 80,000 tankas, and 500 valuable Arab and Turki horses with an expression of wish that henceforth they might never again draw the sword. Sulṭān Sikandar, in his turn, sent 40 elephants and other valuable presents.  
4. Afī says by way of "Kanauj and Oudh".  
5. Muslim historians derive the name Jaunpur or Junānpur from Jauna or Jaunān, the title by which Muhammad Tughluk had been known before his accession, but the City of Firoz was not the first site, and Hindus derive the name from Jamadagni, a famous rishi.
perom moved by way of Bihar to Jajnagar. A firmân was issued that the baggage-animals, the women, the disabled horses, and the old men should not proceed. He left Malik Kuṭub-ud-din, the brother of Zafar Khân, the vizir, at Karah with elephants and baggage, and hastened forward; on reaching Sikra, he plundered it, and its ruler fled. Shakr Khâtûn, daughter of Râi Sâdhan, and her nurse, fell into the Emperor's hands who brought her up with his own daughters. The Emperor proceeded further, and left Imâd-ul-Mulk one stage behind with some attendants and baggage. Ahmad Khân, who had fled from Lakhnauti, and had taken shelter in the hills of Rantambor, joined the Sultân, and was honoured with great favours. The King thence proceeded to the city of Banârasi, the residence of the Râi (of Jajnagar) and crossed

Flight of the Râi of Satgarh.

1 Dr. Blochman in his "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal", identifies Jajnagar with Jâipur of the present day. Raverty (Tabakeat-i-Nâsiri, Tr. Bib. Ind., 584 f.n.) gives the following boundary of Jânjagar: on the east, a range of hills forming the present W. boundary of Udissah-Jagnath, Katásin (on N. or left bank of the Mahânadi, some 30 miles east of Boadla, in about Lat. 30° 32' Long. 84° 30' being the nearest frontier town or post towards Lakhon or portion of the Lakhnauti territory: further north, it was bounded towards the east by the river called Brâmîny running to the W. of Gangpur. Its northern boundary included Ratanpur and Sambalpur: on the west the river Wana-Ganga and its feeder Kahan: on the south Gudawari: S. W. Talinganah.

2 T. A., "Karah Kantakh": Asif and Badaoni, Karra.


5 MBL and JNS شکر خان: Ferishta also styles her Shâkr Khâtûn, signifying the Sweet Lady. According to Raverty and Briggs "it is an impossible name for a Hindu unless she became a convert to Islam, and was afterwards so named".

6 JNS reads: شکر خان دختر رائے سادھن سادات باده بتمت ٌم: Nizâm-ud-dîn writes, "The Emperor called her (Shâkr Khâtûn) daughter and protected her: Raverty writes, "He called her daughter and adopted her". Ferishta is of same opinion. No reference in Asif.

7 MBL زنثور: Elliot, "Ranthor": Raverty (ibid., 591, f.n.) "Ratanpur, in Jhar-Kundah".

8 Asif, "Barunâsi": Badaoni (Bib. Ind.) Barûni: Ranking (ibid., 329) Barûnâsi: Nizâm-ud-dîn, Banâras: Asif states that there were two forts in Barûnâsi, each populated with a large number of people: the country was prosperous and was full of inhabitants, spacious houses and fine gardens.
the Mahándari. The Rái made his retreat towards Tilang. The Súltán made a day’s journey in his pursuit, but when it appeared that the Rái had gone far in advance, he gave up the pursuit and commenced to hunt in the neighbourhood. Rái Bîr Bhäuser Deo sent some persons to sue for peace, (and begged) that his subjects were not killed. The Emperor, as his wont, turned aside, and (the Rái) sent thirty-three elephants and other valuable articles as tribute. From thence the Súltán fell back and hunted in Badmawati and Baram Talâoli, the grazing grounds of elephants. He killed two of them, and caught thirty-three alive. Zúļ-ul-Mulk composed the following quatrains on the occasion:—

The Shâh, who with justice, to permanent power did attain,  
Like the shining Sun, the environs of the world he held!  
To Jàjnagar he came, the elephants to hunt;  
Two he killed, and three and thirty captured he.

From that place the Emperor came to Karah by successive marches, and continuing his progress reached Dehli, laden with victory, in Rajab, 762 H. (May-June, 1361 A.D.).

After some time, His Majesty learnt that in the vicinity of

3 Aṣf and Nizám-ud-dîn write that the Súltán did not pursue the Rái. Badaoni agrees with Yahiya: Ferishta is also of the same opinion.
4 During the expedition against Jàjnagar the Súltán caused the idol of Jagañnath to be rooted up and treated with every mark of indignity and then carried over to Dehli. Aṣf and Sirat-i-Firozshâhi.
5 Ferishta (Briggs, I, 452) Raja of Birebhum: Badaoni, Rái Parihân Deo: Elliot, Rái Bhir Bhandeo.
6 MBM برد مطلاوکی.
7 MBL وسی: Badaoni وسی: MBM وسی و دندان ہاں بیاڑہ و دندان انشان بیاڑہ.
8 Nizám-ud-dîn and Badaoni both quote the quatrains.
9 The copyist has made a mistake in transcribing this quatrains.
10 Badaoni and Ferishta give 762 H: Nizám-ud-dîn, 772 H. In course of their progress, the Imperialists lost their way and wandered for six months; numbers perished from hardship and privation.
Barwar there was a hill of earth, out of which ran a stream that emptied into Sataldar (Satlaz): it bore the name of Sarsuti. On the other side of the mound, there was another stream called the Salima. If the earthen dike were cut through, the waters of the Sarsuti would fall into that stream (Salima) and (both) would flow through Sirhind and Mansurpur, to Sannān, and will have a perennial supply of water. The two streams were connected with each other, and it took some time in cutting through the hill. Sirhind and for ten kurohs beyond was separated from Sāmāna, and put under the control of Malik Zia-ul-Mulk Shams-ud-din Aburja. A fort was built there and it was named Firozpur.

Finding that it was not easy to cut through the aforesaid mound, the Sultan from thence went to Nagarkot, and after conquering it proceeded towards Thatha. At the time when the

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1 JNS and MBM: Ferishta, "Perwar". 2 Badaoni. 3 Nizām-ud-din, "Aslima": Badaoni and Ferishta, "Salima": "Salima has received the modern name of Khanpur Kee Nālā" (Khanpur stream), Briggs (ibid.): "Salima" has been identified with Markanda, which rises near Nāhan and flows past Shāhābād, to the south of Ambala. Cambridge Hist. of Ind., III, 179. Badaoni writes "The Salima is also called the Sarsuti and this river consists of two large streams which are always flowing, and situated between these two streams there is a high mound or dyke...." Nizām-ud-din's description is similar.

4 Nizām-ud-din, Badaoni, and Ferishta write that 50,000 epade men were engaged for the purpose, and that inside the dike very large bones of men and elephants were found out: the bone of a man's arm was 3 yds. in length.

5 Aff writes that "after the return from Lakhnauti, the Sultan went to Daulatābād upon a hunting expedition, and resting for a while at Bianah marched towards Nagarkot".

Here the text in the JNS is not clear.

6 Its Raja submitted and met with royal treatment. The name Nagarkot was changed into Muḥammadābād after the deceased Sultan Muhammad.

Aff contradicts the false statement made by the infidels that the Sultan went to see the idol Jwālā Mukhi, and held a golden umbrella over it. Ferishta, on the authority of some historians, says that the Sultan broke the idols of Nagarkot and mixing the pieces of cow's flesh, filled bags with them, and caused them to be tied round the necks of Brahmans. Further, that, the Sultan ordered one of the books which treated of astronomy and found in the library at Jwalamukhy consisting of 1,300 vols. to be translated in Persian by Izz-ud-din Khāni under the title of Dalā'il-i-Firozshāhī: other books, translated in the name of Firoz, were the science of Pingal (Music), Pāthin Bāsī (dealing with A'khāra or an entertainment held at night and consists of singing and dancing by females).

7 The enforced retreat from Sind and the insolvency of the Sindhis had rankled
king reached Thatha. Jam Bābiniya, the ruler of Thatha, took refuge in a place surrounded by water and fought for some time; but provisions and forage becoming scarce, men died of hunger, so that of necessity and after a struggle, the Sultān was obliged to retire into Gujrat. The rainy season drew in: after the rains the Sultān marched against Thatha. The sie of Gujrat was conferred upon Zafar Khān and Nizām-ul-Mulk, who having been dismissed (from Gujrat) proceeded with a body of men to Dehli where after some time he was appointed Nāib Vizir of the State. When the Sultān reappeared before Thatha, Jam Bābiniya sought for quarter and waited upon His Majesty. He was taken into favour and with all the chiefs of the country he accompanied the king to Dehli. On his having shown obedience, Jam was sent in state to resume his government.

in the memory of Firoz ever since his accession. He set out for the country with 90,000 horse and 480 elephants, and collected on the Indus a large fleet of boats which accompanied the army downstream to Thatha.

1 MBL and MBM: Jam Maṃehi: Ferishta, "Jam Bany, the son of Jam Afra". Badauni, simply "Jam". Afīf, "Jum, brother of Kāi Unnar, and Bābiniya, his brother’s son"; Mir Masum (Tairkh-i-Masum, Ell. I, 296) calls him Jam Bābiniya: The author of Tuhfatu-l Kiram (Ell. I, 342) who says that, Jam Khair-ud-din was the chief of Thatha, is not to be preferred to Mir Masum. The ruler was Jam Māli, son of Jam Unnar, and he was assisted in the government by his brother’s son, Bābiniya. Cambridge Hist. of Ind., III, 180.

2 MBM: Jum, brother of Kāi Unnar, and Bābiniya, his brother’s son: Mir Masum (Tairkh-i-Masum, Ell. I, 296) calls him Jam Bābiniya: The author of Tuhfatu-l Kiram (Ell. I, 342) who says that, Jam Khair-ud-din was the chief of Thatha, is not to be preferred to Mir Masum. The ruler was Jam Māli, son of Jam Unnar, and he was assisted in the government by his brother’s son, Bābiniya. Cambridge Hist. of Ind., III, 180.

3 "Where his troops might recruit their strength and replace their horses." C.H. I. 111. 180.

Afīf here describes how the Imperialists fell into the Kachi-ran (the Ran of Kach), how there were lamentations of the soldiery, and the anxiety of the Sultān, and finally how the supplies were sent by Khān-i-Jahān to the Sultān.

4 As Nizām-ul-Mulk had failed to send either guides or supplies to the Imperialists when they suffered during their course of progress in the Ran of Kach he was dismissed from his post,—the commandant at Gujrat.

5 Afīf states that the son of Jam, and Tamachi, brother of Bābiniya, were placed over Thatha and titles were conferred on them. The Sultān then marched for Dehli, taking Jam and Bābiniya with all their establishment in his train. But Mir Masum, agreeing with Yahiya writes that Jam Bābiniya after remaining in the Sultān’s retinue for some time was restored to government of Sind. The author of Chachnamah is also of similar opinion.
In the year 772 H. (1370-71 A.D.) 1 Khān-i-Jahān (the Vizīr) died, and his eldest son, Jūnān Shāh, succeeded to his titles. The following year, Zafar Khān breathed his last in Gujrat and was succeeded by his eldest son 2 in the fief. Then in the year 776 H. (1374-75 A.D.), on the 12 Safar (Sunday, 23rd July, 1374 A.D.), Prince Fath Khān died at Kanthur, 3 for which, the Sultān was plunged into affliction, and his constitution received a manifest shock.

In the year 778 H. (1376-77 A.D.), Shams Dāmaghānī offered annually 40 lacs of tanks, 100 elephants, 200 Arab horses, and 400 slaves, children of Hindu chiefs 4 and Abyssinians, over and above the present payment for Gujrat. The Sultān ordered that, if the present deputy-viceroy of Gujrat, Zīāū-l-Mulk Malik Shams-ud-dīn Aburja, 5 consented to these enhanced terms, he should be continued in office. Knowing that he could not pay them, and that Shams-ud-dīn Dāmaghānī had put forward an extravagant offer, Aburja did not agree to the proposal; Dāmaghānī then received a golden girdle and a silver palanquin and was appointed governor of Gujrat.

Reaching Gujrat, wild dreams and perverse thoughts entered his brain, and he raised the banner of insurrection, for he found that he was unable to fulfil his promise. At length, the Amīrs 5 Sadah of Gujrat, 6 such as Malik Sheikh-ul-Mulk Fakhr-ud-dīn sallied forth in a hostile manner against Dāmaghānī in the year 778 H. (1376-77 A.D.) and having slain him, severed off the head and

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1 Ferishta (ibid., 455) gives 774 H.: Badaoni (Bib. Ind. 250: Ranking I, 333) agrees with Yaḥyā.
2 Ferishta (ibid.) calls him Darya Khan. Acc. to Ferishta Zafar’s death took place in 775 H.
3 Tab-i-Akb. كنمر.
4 MSS. read مقدم بوککان: Badaoni, “Muḵuddam Zādas”.
5 We have seen that Shams-ud-dīn Aburja was entrusted with Sirhind, and that in 773 H., on the death of Zafar Khān, Governor of Gujrat, he was succeeded by his eldest son. We find in C.H. 1. 111 “Firuz was loth to disturb Zafar Khān († Zafar Khān was already dead in 773 H.), but demanded of his deputy, Aburja, the additional contributions suggested by Dāmaghānī. On Aburja’s refusal Firuz dismissed him and his master Zafar Khān, and appointed Dāmaghānī, Governor of Gujrat.”
sent it to the court. This revolt was (thereby) put down. During the prosperous sovereignty of that good and gracious Emperor, his greatness and beneficence had such an effect over every quarter of his territories, that nowhere any rebellion reared up its head, nor anybody dared to be rebellious in any part, nor could anyone turn his feet from the path of obedience, until this revolt of Dāmoghānī, and he quickly received the punishment for his perfidy.

The frontiers of the empire were secured by placing them under great amirs and the well-wishers of the Emperor. Thus, towards Hindustan, on the frontier of Bengal, the fiefs of Karah and Mahoba and the district of Dalamau were conferred on Malik-ul-Shark Mardān Daulat, who received the title of Naṣir-ul-Mulk. The akṭā'is of Oudh and Sandilah, and the district of Kol were placed under Hīsam-ul-Mulk Hīsam-ud-din Nawā. The fief of Jaunpur and Zafrābād was given to Malik Bahrūz Sulṭānī. The fief of Bihār to Malik Bir Afghān. These amirs showed no laxity in coercing the insurgents of those parts and confiscating the territories on the frontiers. Thus, the Sulṭān had no anxiety for the control and safety of these parts of his dominion. But, towards Khorāsān there was no amir capable of withstanding the attacks of the Mughals. He (the Sulṭān) was therefore compelled to summon Malik-ul-Shark Naṣir-ul-Mulk from the fief of Karah and Mahoba, and to send him to Multān, in order to put down the disturbance created by accursed (Mughals), and punish them for their assaults. The akṭā'is of this quarter and its dependencies were placed under him, and the fief of

1 “Thereafter Gujrat was put under the control of Farhat-ul-Mulk, otherwise known as Malik Mufarrīh Sulṭānī.” Ranking I, 334: Badaoni (Bib Ind., 251): Fārishta, 456.
2 JNS reads  خرط و احسان (؟ احسان) کار مملکت (؟ بیکر) مملکت.
3 JNS reads بیکر (؟ بیکر) مملکت
4 properly circle, orbit.
5 MBL دمظع: JNS and MBM دمظع.
6 JNS reads ملک مر افنان: MBM سندبدر: MBL. سندبدر: MBL 7 MBL.
Hindustan, such as, Karah and Mahoba were bestowed upon Malik-ul-Shark Malik Shams-ud-din Sulaiman, son of Malik Mardan Daulat. After the assassination of Daghani, Gujrat was given over to Malik Mufarrij Suliani, who received the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk.

In the year 779 H. (1377-78 A.D.) the Sultan rode towards Etawah and Akhal. Rai Sabir and Adhuran, the mukulids of Etawah, who (formerly) having rebelled against the Sultan had been worsted, were (now) placed in safety, and were taken to Dehli with their wives, children, horse and attendants. The foundation of fortresses were laid at Akhal and Patlihi. At these places, Malik Zadah Firoz, son of Malik Taj-ud-din Turk, was left with a large following and renowned amirs. Having conferred the akta of Firozpur and Patlihi on Taj-ud-din and the akta of Akhal on Malik Bali Afghan, the Sultan found his way to Dehli. In this year also, Malik Nizam-ud-din Nau, amir of Oudh, who was in attendance on the Sultan, passed away, and Oudh was given over to Malik Saif-ud-din, his eldest son.

In the year 781 H. (1379-80 A.D.) the Emperor marched towards Sama: on his reaching the destination, Malik Kabul Kurshan Khuwan, amir of the Privy Council and the Chief of Sama, presented offerings, and the Sultan showed him great favours. Then, marching through Ambala, and Shahaibad, he entered the hills of Sautur and levied tribute from the Rai of

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1 Badaoni reads “Malik Marwan”.
2 ** * Portion under asterisks is omitted in Elliot.
3 MBL اکچک: Badaoni, “Akchak”: The reason of this expedition was a rebellion of the Zemindars of Etawah. Ferishta.
4 MBM راپی سبز.
5 MS. reads بترغيب و استظمار در آورده.
6 Badaoni “Batilhi”: Ferishta, “Tilai”.
7 Badaoni, “Firozpur and Batilhi.”
8 JNS illegible. MBM كبير امروآی کبیر نامی گذاشت: MBM omit کبیر.
9 MBM فیروز پور و پتلاهی. MBM نفرز پور و پتلاهی.
10 MBM حسام الادین: Badaoni, “Malik Nizam-ud-din”.
Sirmor and the Rāis of the hills, and then took his way back to the capital.

Just at this time, there came a report of the insurrection of Kharku, the Katehar chief. This Kharku had invited Sa‘iyid Muhammad, who held Badāon, and his brother Sa‘iyid ‘Alā’-ud-dīn, to a feast at his house, and had them basely murdered. In 782 H. (1380-81 A.D.), the Sultān proceeded against Katehar to take vengeance, and ravaged the country. The rebels of those parts were imprisoned and brought to punishment. "Surely the Kings, when they enter a town, ruin it and make the noblest of its people to below." Kharku (acted according to the saying:) "the Prophets abandon those things that are beyond their power," and made his escape towards the country of the Mahtars. The Sultān also attacked them. ** When the expedition came to a conclusion, the Emperor placed Badāon under Malik Ḋabūl Karān, the lord of Bed chamber: he (also) appointed Malik Khīṭāb Afghān at Sambhal for the chastisement (of the rebels) and holding firm Katehar. ** The King, under the pretence of hunting, went annually to Katehar, and that country became so devastated that nothing but game lived there.

And in the year 787 H. (1385 A.D.), the Sultān built a fortress at Beoli which is seven Kurohs from Badāon, and gave it the name of Firūzpur, but the people called it Pur-i-ākhkhirin. Afterwards the Sultān grew weak and feeble, for his age was ninety years.

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1 Badaoni gives 782 H.
2 MSS. read كمر كور: Elliot, Khargū: Ranking, "Khūkar": Ferishta "Khar-
kū or Khargoo": Badaoni, کمر كور.
3 Korān, Chap. XXVII, verse 34.
4 JNS reads مهنگان: MBL مهنگان: MBM مهنگان.
5 Tour de Dar Xāṣ.
6 ** Portion under asterisks omitted in Elliot.
7 JNS reads بولاى: MBL and MBM بولاى: Badaoni, "Babuli," "possibly from the abundance there of the Acacia Arabica known as Babul—Ranking Ferishta, "Basuli": Elliot, "Beoli":.
8 MBL بن إحدى.
Khān-i-Jahān, his Vizir, held the reins (of the State) and brought under his sway the affairs of the State. The Firoz-Shāhī amirs and maliks were entirely subservient to him, and those who opposed him (Vizir) were removed from the presence of the Sulṭān by all possible means: some were killed and others confined. At length, matters came to such a pass, that whatever did Khān-i-Jahān say, the Sulṭān used to do. For this, the affairs of the State became slow-moving, and some loss occurred daily.

Once, Khān-i-Jahān represented to the Sulṭān how Prince Muḥammad Khān having allied himself with some amirs and maliks, such as, Dariyā Khān, son of Zafar Khān, Amīr of Gujrat, Malik Yaʿqūb Muḥammad Ḥāji, the master of the horse, Malik Rāju, Malik Samāʿ-ud-din, and Malik Kamāl-ud-din, the son of Malik ʿAmr Arīz, the personal attendants of the Emperor, was after raising an insurrection. The Sulṭān had entrusted the affairs of the State upon Khān-i-Jahān, he, without thought and consideration issued the firmān that they should be taken into custody. When the prince heard this he omitted to pay his respects to the Sulṭān for some time, and although the Vizir called for his presence the latter made excuses. Then, the Vizir, under the presence of a balance of accounts, kept Dariyā Khān, son of Zafar Khān, 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 Sulṭān gave order for the removal of the Vizir, and for the release of Dariyā Khān. The prince having done this,
Malik Ya'kub, master of the horse, (brought out) all the horses and foot, and Malik Kuṭub-ud-din Farāmarz, keeper of the elephants, (made ready) the elephants with their litters and armour, and took them to the prince. The Firozi slaves and amirs, and the people of the city also joined the prince.

In the month of Rajab, 789 H. (July-Aug., 1387 A.D.), with full preparations, the prince set out late one night, with a large following, to the house of Khān-i-Jahān. When the latter heard of the approach, he took Dariyā Khān out of prison and put him to death, and collecting a few chosen followers entered into conflict with the prince.

At length, losing the power (of opposition) he fell back to his house, and got a wound while entering it. Unable to make further resistance, he came out (of the house) by another mountainous route with few adherents and escaped towards Mewāt, and sought shelter from Kokā Chohān, at Maḥāri.

The prince plundered the Vizir's house of all its gold and wealth, and arms, horses, and effects; he then returned to the court. (Next) he caused Malik Bihzād Fateh Khān, Malik 'Imad-ul-da'ulat, Malik Shams-ud-din Bazābān and Malik Muṣalih Muṣasara who had sided with Khān-i-Jahān, to be brought to the Court and executed.

When these transactions were reported to the Emperor, he resigned the reins of government into the hands of the prince, and the amirs and maliks and the slaves of Sulṭān Firoz and the people in general rallied round the prince. The Sulṭān grew old and feeble, so of necessity he, at length, made over to the prince the paraphernalia of sovereignty, with all the horses, elephants, effects, and equipage. He

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1 The predicate is missing in JNS.
2 JNS قطب الدين شهاب ناموز Elliot "Faramuz".
3 كستووان, Kustuwān, Gustuwān, properly, horse armour.
4 Ferishta, "having first put to death Zafar Khān".
5 JNS and MBM read ملك شمس الدين برنان, MBL reads ملك مصالح مسکوlan. برنان.
6 JNS and MBM read ملك مصالح مسکوران MBL etc.
gave him the title of Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah, and betook himself to the service of God. In every Jami' mosque throughout the dominions, the Khutbah was read in the names of the two sovereigns, and in the month of Shawan, 789 H. (Aug.-Sept., 1387 A.D.), Muhammad Khan ascended the throne in the palace of Jahangir namah.

The titles and offices, the siefs and allowances, pensions and gifts, and whatever had been enjoyed by any one during the previous reign were confirmed. Malik Ya'kub, master of the horse, was made Sikandar Khan and was nominated to the charge of the Government of Gujarat. **Malik Raja became Mubarak Khan; Kamal 'Amr became Dastur Khan; Samah 'Amr became Mu'in-ul-Mulk; Malik Samah-ud-din and Kamal-ud-din obtained places near the person of the King and became the recipient of his favour:** the duties of the Diwan were conferred on them. **Malik Ya'kub Sikandar Khan was sent with an army to Majari against Khan-i-Jahang. When this force reached Majari, the accursed Koka bound Khan-i-Jahang, and delivered him up to Sikandar Khan, who put him to death, and having sent his head to the court, went his way to Gujarat. The prince then engaged himself to the duties of government.**

In the month of Zil-hijjah, of the year, 789 H. (Dec.-Jany.,

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1 JNS and MBM read جهان نما: MBL جهانبای.
2 JNS reads بادانی and Elliot, "Sikandar". MBL امیر اخور را سکندر خان شد: ملعک خبر عمیر اخور را سکندر خان خطاب شد.
3 JNS agrees with MBL.
4 **portion under asterisks omitted in Elliot.
5 JNS and MBM read قرب و اختصاص: MBM بدر مجاوری.
6 MBM: Bader Majazi: MBM در مجاوری.
7 JNS: مطلع مدلکی مغول شد.
8 Elliot, Zil-ka'da.
9 Ferishta and Badaoni give 790 H.
1387-88 A.D.), Muhammad Khan marched towards the Sirmor hills, and there spent two months, hunting rhinoceros and elk. While thus engaged, advices were received relating to the perfidious assassination of Sikandar Khan at the hands of Malik Mufarrih, Amir of Khambayt and the Amirs-sadah of Gujrat. The army that had set out with the deceased, some of them wounded and some despoiled, returned to Dehli with Sa’iyid Salâr. On this information, Prince Muhammad Khan became thoughtful and anxious, and hastened to the capital. But as he was inexperienced, the prince gave himself up to enjoyment and luxury, and took no thought for avenging Sikandar Khan. For five months the (old) rules and arrangements kept the affairs of the state going, but at length the kingdom fell into great disorder. The Firoz Shâhî slaves, numbering about one lakh, who had taken up their habitations in Dehli and Firozâbad, stirred up by the opposition shown by Malik Samâ’-ud-din and Malik Kamâl-ud-din, set themselves up in opposition to the prince, and joined themselves to Firoz Shâh. When the prince came to know of these facts, he sent out Malik Zahir-ud-din Lohri to parley with the slaves, who had assembled in the Maidân-i-nuzul. They, however, pelted him with stones and bricks, and thereby wounding Zahir-ud-din made a display of their force and rejected all overtures for peace.

1 JNS and MBM: میرزم و گورن MBL: گورن و گورن.
2 Badoni writes “Sipah-Salar “.
3 Texts read: وكشته شدن سکندر خان سیل پنداشت; Badaoni (ibid., 254) writes, فکر انتقام سکندر خان نکرده.
4 JNS: بندگان فیروز شاهی که دهلی و فیروز اباد ساکن بودند میں: بندگان فیروز شاهی کہ موارزنة بک لاب درنگه دہلی MBL: در تنہ دهلی و فیروز اباد میں MBM: Elliot agrees with MBL.
5 Ferishta (460) writes Baha’-ud-din and Kamâl-ud-din, cousins of Prince Muhammad. Thus, he says, the nobles seeing the affairs in them united themselves with Princes Baha’-ud-din, etc., for the purpose of subverting his authority. Badaoni’s version is different. He writes thus “the Sultan’s” (Muh. Shâh) soldiery by reason of their enmity and jealousy against Sam’a-ud-din and Kamâl-ud-din, who were the protégés of Muhammad Shâh, set themselves in opposition to them, etc.
6 JNS and MPM read ببر اصلاح: MBL: با صلاح.
Malik, thus wounded, was obliged to retire near the prince, who was prepared for action. The prince advanced with his horse, foot, and elephants to the Maidān against the rebels; and when he fell upon them, they fled to the palace and sought refuge with the old Sultān. For a couple of days fighting went on, but on the third day when the prince was prepared to renew the contest, the insurgents brought out the old Sultān from the palace. When soldiers and elephant-drivers set eyes upon their former master they deserted the prince and came over to the Sultān. Finding that he was unable to continue the struggle further, the prince with a small following fled towards the Sirmor hills. The camp of the prince and those of his followers were put to plunder. The city now presented a scene of great violence.

Tranquillity being restored, the old Sultān appointed Prince Tughlūk Shāh, the son of his (elder) son Fateh Khān, his heir-apparent, and consigned to him the affairs of government. In the meantime, Amīr Ḥusen Aḥmad Iḳbāl, son-in-law of the Sultān, who had separated from the party of the prince, was made prisoner by the Hindu amirs, and taken to Tughlūk Shāh who had him executed before the dakhil; orders were issued to Amīr-Ṣadah of Samānā, directing them to seize ‘Ali Khān the Amīr, and bring him to the court. Malik Sultān Shāh Khus-dil brought Maula Zādāh Malik Maḥbul Farāz Khān ‘Ali Khān, under his own custody to Dehli. When he was brought in, the prince sent him away a prisoner to Bihār, and conferred Samānā upon Malik Sultān Shāh. On the

1 Text runs—

2 MBL: شاهرادة تغلق شاه MBM: شاهرادة تغلق JNS: شاهرادة تغلق شاه فنی خان


4 MBL: داماد سلطان مرحوم JNS and MBM retain it.

5 JNS: امیر هندوان گست گرفته MBM: امیر هندوان گست گرفته MBL: امیر هندوان گست گرفته

18th Ramzân,1 790 H. (Sunday, 20th Sept., 1388 A.D.), Sulṭān Firoz, *May his tomb be sanctified*, died, worn out with weakness. It has been recorded by veracious historians and truthful chroniclers of venerable age that, since the time of Naṣir-ud-dîn, son of late Sulṭān Shams-ud-dîn Iyâl-tîmîsh, who was a second Naushirwan,2 there has been no king (in Dehli) so just, and kind, so courteous and God-fearing, or such a builder, like the late Firoz Shâh, *May his tomb be blessed and may he dwell in paradise!* His bravery and justice won for him the hearts of his subjects. If any indigent traveller, by the decree of God, died on the way, the feudal chiefs, the holders of offices, and the chiefs of the vicinity, having called together the Imams, the Kāzîs, and all Musalmans, examined the corpse, and drew up a report under the Kāzî’s seal, certifying that no trace of any wound was discernible on the body, and after that they buried it. Thus, by enquiries of the Kāzîs, all the injunctions of the Sharî’a (law) were carried to the letter, and on all sides it was in no way possible that during the reign of this sovereign, any strong man could tyrannise over the weak.3

_Couplet._

After many a revolution of the trying sphere
Stories about his (Sulṭān’s) justice remain, though he be himself dead!4

Almighty God immersed this gentle, beneficent and just king in the divine compassion, and gave him a place in the propinquity of His mercy! The rule of the late Sulṭān Firoz Shâh, *May his tomb be sanctified*, lasted for 38 years,5 and nine months. God knows the truth!6 The two words, “*Waḥat-i-Firoz*” comprise the numerical letters of the date of his demise.7

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1 Badaoni, 16th Ramgān, 790 H.: Ferishta, 3rd Ramgān.
2 The name of a King of Persia, called also Khozrou Naushirwān, in whose reign Māhomet was born in 578 A.D.
3 The text in Elliot here terminates.
4 JNS: او شده آواره و عدلش بجایی MBL and MBM read بجایی.
5 Elliot 37 years and 9 months. Badaoni, “38 years and some months”.
6 JNS and MBM omit this line.
7 JNS تاریخ وفات سلطان بهمین در لفظ پاکمان فیروز سنہ 1220. MBL and MBM omit this line.
An Account of Sultan Tughluq Shāh, son of Fateh Khān, entitled Ghiās-ud-din.1

Tughluq Shāh, the son of Fateh Khān bin Firoz Shāh,2 was the adopted son and the grandson of the late Sultan Firoz: after the demise of the late Sultan, on the very day of his death in the aforesaid year (18th Ramzān, 790 H.) he ascended the throne of sovereignty in the palace at Firozābad by the consent of the Amīrs, Maliks, and the Firoz Shāhi slaves, and assumed the title of Sultan Ghiās-ud-din.

The Sultan conferred the portfolio of the vizirate on Malik zadāh Firoz,3 the son of Malik Taj-ud-din, and honoured him with the title of Khān-i-Jahān: Khudāwānd zadāh Ghiās-ud-din Turmudi4 received the charge over the armoury: Malik Firoz ‘Ali was taken out of the prison and was conferred with the office of Sar-i-jāndār, the post that was held by his father. The akta5 of Gujrat was entrusted upon Malik Mufarrih Sultanī,6 who held it under the late reign. The akta’s and other offices held by other Amīrs were not interfered with.

Malik Firoz ‘Ali and Bahadur Nāhir7 were despatched against Prince Muḥammad Khān with a large army. The Amīrs of the akta’s, such as, Sultan Shāh, the Amir of Sāmāna, Rāi Kamāl-ud-daulat-wa-ud-din Matīn,7 and other Amīrs were appointed under them (Firoz ‘Ali and Bahadur Nāhir).

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1 MBL and MBM: ذكر السلطان تغلق شاه پسر فتح خان ملقب بقباث الدين: JNS simply reads ذكر السلطان تغلق شاه.
3 MBL: ترمذي: JNS and MBM: ترمذي: Tab-i-Akb.
4 Perishita states that he received the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk.
5 Perishita, Muḥammad Tahir.
6 JNS and MBM: کمال الدين مين.
In the month of Shawwāl of the aforesaid year (790 H., Sept.-Oct., 1388 A.D.) the army entered the hills of Sirmor: Prince Muḥammad Khān having retreated from that place retired to the top of the mountains by hostile roads and reached the fortress, Koh-i-Baknārī. The royal forces proceeded along the skirts of the hills, and when it reached the valley of Baknārī some little engagements followed, but the place (of refuge) being strong, no distress could reach the prince. From thence, he ascended the mountains and betook himself towards Sakhet. The imperial army marched from Baknārī and reached the village of Arubar, and encamped in the valley of Arubar near the Chabutra-i-Kimār. The prince, then, left Sakhet and went to the fort of Nagarkot. The royalists chased him till the confines of Gwalior, but they met with much opposition in the way, so Malik Firoz ‘Ali and the other Amīrs gave up the pursuit and returned. The prince secured himself at Nagarkot.

But Tughluq Shāh was young in age and inexperienced. Of State affairs he was ignorant and he had no experience of the wiles of fickle fortune. He gave himself up in wine and pleasure. The entire business of the government was neglected, and the Firoz Shāhi slaves asserted their power so fearlessly that the Sultān lost all control over the State.

In the meantime, Sultān Tughluq imprisoned his own brother Aspādār Shāh, for no reason whatsoever. Abu Bakr Shāh, the son of Zafar Khān fled for refuge: Malik Rukn-ud-din Zanda, the deputy vizir, and several other Amīrs and slaves of Firoz Shāh made common cause with him (Abu Bakr Shāh) and raised a revolt. They despatched with their sword Malik Mubarak Kabir in the palace of Firozābād as he was retiring through the door. A great outcry, thereupon, arose.
in the palace, and Sultan Tughluq Shah hearing it, escaped through the door towards the Jaun. Malik Firoz, the vizir, was with him, but the traitor Rukn Zanda being apprised of his escape followed him with his own adherents and with a party of Firoz Shahi slaves. Reaching the ford of Jaun, they put to death Sultan Tughluq Shah and Malik Zadah Firoz. Their heads were severed off the body and thrown down in front of the court. This event happened on 21st Safar, 791 H. (Friday, the 19th February, 1389 A.D.).

Verse.

In dust was laid low that rose of fortune, which the garden of the country
With hundred thousand blandishments reared it on its lap.

1 How wonderful the power of God! He brings out of that door with magnificence an emperor with crown and throne, and in the twinkling of an eye, having severed off his head throws it out of that door. "Thou exaltest whom Thou pleasest and abasest whom Thou pleasest; in Thine hand is the good; surely, Thou hast power over all things." 2

Verse.

Thou hast seen how magnificently the crown of Alp Arslan 3 had reached the heavens,
Thou hast observed how his body ultimately came under the earth on his death:
When there were neither the stars on his belt nor were the moon-faced (slaves) with double chins,
Neither a horse under his thigh nor the reins in his hands!

1 JNS and MBM omit, "How wonderful. . . . . . hands".
2 Koran, Chap. III, verse 25.

The whole of the verse runs thus:
"Say; Oh Allah, Master of the Kingdom! Thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever Thou pleasest, and Thou exaltest whom Thou pleasest and abasest whom Thou pleasest; in Thine hand is the good: surely, Thou hast power over all things."

3 Arslan is a surname that has been adopted by several Kings of Persia.
Account of Sulṭān Abu Bakr Shāh.

After this, they (i.e., the Amīrs) brought Abu Bakr Shāh out from his dwelling, and seating him upon an elephant with a canopy over his head, proclaimed him (Emperor) under the title of Sulṭān Abu Bakr Shāh. The office of vizirate was given over to Rukn Janda. At length, after a few days, Rukn Janda conspired with some of the Firoz Shāhi slaves with the intention of slaying Abu Bakr Shāh and of making himself a king. Abu Bakr Shāh was apprised of the intention. Some of the slaves, who were unfriendly to him (Rukn Janda), anticipating his action killed him and placed him over a gibbet. The Prophet, on whom be peace, said, “He who dug a well for his brother himself dropped into it.”

Verse.

The man who tyrannised over Dara,
Till now, the artists paint his body placed on the gibbet!

Undoubtedly, he who murders his own benefactor is thus repaid. To sum up, those slaves who had sided with that unfortunate and dirty traitor (Rukn Janda) were made food for the relentless sword. Abu Bakr Shāh obtained complete hold over Dehli, taking possession of the royal elephants and treasure; he increased in power daily. In the meantime, the Amīrs Ṣadah of Sāmāna treacherously cut to pieces Malik Sulṭān Shāh Khush-dil with their swords and daggers at the head of the tank of Sannām on

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1 Tab-i-Akb. and Badaoni write, Abu Bakr Shāh bin Zafar Khān bin Firoz Shāh.
2 Badaoni, Rukn-ud-din Chanda. MBL writes رکن جنده پلد مردار گشتہ پلد کے دو دہا کل ایک: MBM and JNS omit خداوند شد.
3 Badaoni and Ferishta write that Abu Bakr Shāh got rid of Rukn Janda together with his following.
4 JNS and MBM omit the text beginning from “and placed him over a gibbet” and ending with “To sum up, those slaves”.
5 JNS reads ایسے نہیں تب نهیں انکے فلک تب نہیں کشندہ MBM: ایسے نہیں انکے فلک تب نہیں کشندہ.
6 Badaoni writes, “Sāmāna”. 
the 24th Safar of the aforesaid year (791 H., Monday, 22nd February, 1389 A.D.). Then, taking possession of Sāmāna on that very day, they plundered the houses of Malik Sulṭān Shāh and his attendants. They cut off the head of Malik Sulṭān Shāh and despatched it to Nagarkot near Prince Muḥammad Khān with offers of assistance. The reign of Malik Sulṭān Tughluk Shāh lasted for five months and a few days.¹ God knows the rest!

Account of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, the youngest son of Sulṭān Firoz Shāh.

Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh was the younger son of late Sulṭān Firoz Shāh. When the intelligence of the assassination of Malik Sulṭān Shāh reached him, the Sulṭān left Nagarkot, and came to Sāmāna by way of Jālandhar by continuous marches. On the 6th Rabī‘-ul-Ākhir² of the year above mentioned (Sunday, the 4th April, 1389 A.D.), Muḥammad Shāh for the second time mounted the throne of the empire³ at Sāmāna. The Amīr Sadah of Sāmāna and the chiefs of the mountainous tracts, joined with him and renewed their vows of allegiance. Several amīrs and maliks of Dehli deserted Abu Bakr Shāh and joined Muḥammad Shāh. So that, there assembled round him in Sāmāna about thirty thousand horse, and an innumerable host of foot. From Sāmāna he marched to Dehli by successive marches, and by the time he reached its neighbourhood, the horse had increased to⁴ about fifty thousand. To sum up, Abu Bakr Shāh was informed of his approach, and the slaves of Sulṭān Firoz, having before opposed the new Sulṭān, now allied themselves with Abu Bakr.

¹ MBM reads شش ماه و هردة روز: Elliot is of same opinion. JNS and MBL read “five months and a few days”.
² Tah-i-Akb. and Badaoni write Rabī‘-ul-auwal: Elliot gives 21st Rabī‘ul Ākhir.
³ MBL سریرسلطنت و سریرسلطنت JNS and MBM omit سریرسلطنت.
⁴ MBL جميع آمد JNS جميع آمد.
On the 25th Rabi'-ul-Âdhir, 791 h. (Friday, 23rd April, 1389 a.d.), Sulṭān Muḥammad took up his position at the palace of Jahān-numāh, and Abu Bakr Shāh also, with his adherents and forces, was at Firozābād. On the 2nd Jamādi-ul-Auwal of the aforesaid year (Thursday, 29th April), the adherents of Abu Bakr, having taken the streets and walls of Firozābād, gave battle to the forces of the Sulṭān (Muḥammad Shāh). On that very day Bahādūr Nāhir¹ came into the city with a party of his followers; and Abu Bakr Shāh, being emboldened by his approach,² marched on the following day into Firozābād with his innumerable horse and foot and famous elephants.³ Between the two a severe struggle and fighting ensued, and at length, by the decree of God, the Most High, the Sulṭān’s army being worsted, retreated towards their own territories. With a party of about 2,000 horse, the Sulṭān forded the river Jaun, and penetrated into the Doāb. From thence he sent his second son⁴ Humāyūn Khān to Sāmāna to rally the forces; and he sent with him Malik Žia'-ul-Mulk Abu Rejā,⁵ Rāi Kamāl-dīn Main⁶ and Rāi Juljain⁷ Bhatti whose siefs lay in that quarter. The Sulṭān took up his position at the village of Jatesar,⁸ on the bank of the Ganges. The Amirs of Hindustān, such as, Malik Sarwar, the Governor of the city, Malik-ul-Shark Naṣīr-ul-Mulk, the holder of Multān, Khwāq-ul-Mulk, the feoffee of Bihar, Malik Saif-ud-dīn and Malik Kadu, the sons of Malik Hisām-ud-dīn Nua,⁹ the amir of Oudh, the sons of Malik

¹ Badaoni writes Bāhadur Nāhir Khān Zādah of Miwāt.
² JNS and MBM read: ابیکره شا را به اسمن ای تفوری حاضل شد بیحشام را بآمد.
³ JNS and MBM write: بیحشام سوار و بیاده در ذهور آباد آمد.
⁴ Texts read: Milky: Ranking writes, “younger son.”
⁵ JNS write: Malik: MBL and MBM write: ضیاء الملك.
⁶ MBL: Elliot agrees with JNS.
⁷ MBL: Elliot agrees with MBL.
⁸ MBL: Elliot: Khul Chain (Kul Chand).
Daulatyar Kambal, the amir of Kanauj, Rai Sabir and the other Raiss and Ranaas joined the Sultan with about 50,000 horse and innumerable foot. Malik Sarwar received the title of Khwaja-i-Jahân and the vizirate. Malik Nasir-ul-Mulk became Khizr Khan, Khwajas-ul-Mulk was made Khwaja Khan, and Saif-ud-din became Saif Khan.

In the month of Sha‘bân (July-August) of the same year (791 H., 1389 A.D.), (Sultan Muhammad) again marched towards Dehli. Abu Bakr Shah came forth to meet him and reached the village of Kandli. A battle took place between the two, and there was a heavy death-roll on both sides. By the decree of Allah, the Most High, the forces of the Sultan (Muhammad) were defeated and Abu Bakr was victorious. The camp equipage and baggage fell into the hands of the victors, who kept up the pursuit for three Kuroh. The Sultan returned, and took up his abode at Jatesar. Abu Bakr Shah returned to Dehli.

On the 19th Ramzan (Saturday, the 11th September) of the same year (791 H., 1389 A.D.), the slaves of Firoz Shah who were living in the districts and cities, such as, at Multan, Lahore, Samana, Hisar-Firozeh and Hansi were unjustly put to death in one day by the chiefs and people of the city under the orders of Sultan Muhammad. In consequence of the contention among the Musulmans for the throne, the infidels of Hindustan gathered strength, withheld paying the poll-tax and tribute and put to plunder the villages of the Musulmans.

In the month of Muharram, 792 H. (Dec.-Jany., 1389-90 A.D.),

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1 MBL: JNS and MBM: کنبل.
2 Elliot, Rai Sarwar.
3 JNS: ملک بدور.
4 JNS: کندلی: Elliot, Kundali.
5 JNS: جنگر: JNS and MBM: حصار فیروزه.
6 MBL: JNS and MBM: حصار فیروزه.
7 JNS: مانسی.
8 JNS and MBM: بحکم فولان محمد بک روز: MBL. يکدیگر در یک روز می.
Prince Humayûn Khân, having collected the Amîrs and Malik who had been appointed to act under him, such as, Ghâlib Khân, Amir of Sâmâna, Malik Zia’-ul-Mulk Aburja, Mubârak Khân Halâjaun and Shams Khân, Amir of Hişâr-Firozâh, pitched his camp at Panipath, and plundered the environs of Dehli. When Abu Bakr Shâh was informed of this, he despatched Malik Shâhîn ‘Imâd-ul-Mulk, with four thousand horse, and innumerable foot and attendants towards Panipath; and the two forces drew up in battle array at the village of Nasmina near Panipath. The Almighty God conferred victory upon the army of Abu Bakr Shâh, and the army of the prince being defeated fled back towards Sâmâna. His camp, baggage and equipments all became the spoil of the victors. As a matter of fact, when the forces of Dehli, under the grace of God, won repeated victories, Sultan Muḥammad and his army could no longer resist the enemy, and he consequently became very much depressed in spirit. Still, the Amîrs and Malik, and the people of the country were entirely on the side of the Sultan, and Abu Bakr Shâh dared not leave the city (Dehli) in pursuit of his defeated enemy.

In the month of Jamâdi-ul-Auwâl (April-May) of the same year (792 H., 1390 A.D.), Abu Bakr Shâh collected his army and marched towards Jatesar. He encamped about 20 Kuroh from Dehli, and Sultan Muḥammad being informed of this, left all his army and baggage at Jatesar, and started off with 4,000 light horse for Dehli. Some of the slave guards who had been left in charge of the city, shut themselves up at the Badâön gate, and made some show of resistance; but the assailants set fire to the gate, and the defenders fled. Sultan Muḥammad entered the city through this gate, and

1 MBL Dmitry K. Khrobo: JNS agrees with MBM.
2 MBL Saur and Bandgân Pîyâde Bi Shamar: JNS agrees with MBM.
3 MBL Dmitry K. Khrobo: JNS: Elliot, Basina.
4 JNS and MBM Pîyâde Bi Shamar: JNS: Khrobo.
5 JNS: Khrobo: JNS: Khrobo.
6 JNS: Khrobo: JNS: Khrobo.
took up his quarters at the auspicious palace. All the people of the
city, high and low, joined him. When intelligence of this reached
Abu Bakr, he set off early on the same day with a party of his fol-
lowers, and entered the city by the same gate. Malik Bahā’-ud-din
Jangi\(^1\) who had been left to guard the gates by Sultān Muḥammad,
was killed on the spot. When Abu Bakr Šāh reached the auspici-
cious palace, the Sultān was unaware of what had happened.
Being apprised of the fact, he escaped with a small party of fol-
lowers through a back door of the palace, and
making his way out of the city by the gate of
Hauz-i-Khāṣ he returned to Jatesar, to his
army and baggage. Of the Amīrs, Maliks and
the soldiers who were unable to escape out of
the city, some were taken prisoner and some
killed; for instance, Khalil Khān, Naib-i-Barbak\(^2\) and Malik
Adam\(^3\) Ismā’īl, the sister’s son of the late Sultān (Firoz Šāh),
were taken alive, and were put to death.

In the month of Ramžān in the aforesaid year (Aug.–Sept.,
1390 A.D.), Mubāshir Jab Sulṭāni,\(^4\) who bore the title of Islām
Khān, with several slaves of Firoz Šāh, without any reason
turned against Abu Bakr Šāh, and opened a secret correspondence
with the Sultān. At length, when this fact
became known, Abu Bakr Šāh was utterly
dumbfounded, so he left Dehlī, accompanied
by a small cavalry and some of his devoted followers, such as,
Malik Šāhīn Imād-ul-Mulk,\(^5\) Malik Bahīri and Šafdar Khān Sul-
tāni, proceeded to the Kotlah\(^6\) of Bahādur Nāhir.

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\(^{1}\) MBL

\(^{2}\) MBL omits “Naib” : JNS and MBM retain it : Elliot agrees with JNS and MBM.

\(^{3}\) MBM omits Adam : MBM and JNS retain it : Elliot agrees with MBM.

\(^{4}\) MBL and MBM read مشرجب : JNS مشرجب : Badaoni, Mubāshir Chap : Elliot, Mubāshir Ḥājib.

\(^{5}\) MBL ملک شامی دهلی : JNS, MBM and Elliot omit ملک شامی دهلی.

\(^{6}\) Kotlah is a Hindi word meaning a small fortress. Bahādur Nāhir was the
ruler of Miwāt. Here the text refers to the Kotlah of Miwāt. Firoz Šāh used to
designate some of his hunting places as Kotlah. Ranking identifies “the Kotlah of
Bahādur Nāhir” with Hardwar or a town in its vicinity. See Ranking, p. 344, f.n. 7.
On the 16th Ramzān (Sunday, the 28th August) of the same year, Mubashir Jab and the Firoz Shāhi slaves sent letters to the Sultān informing him of the flight of Abu Bakr Shāh. They placed Khān-i-Khānān, the youngest son of the Sultān, on an elephant, and raised a canopy over his head.¹

On the third day, the 19th Ramzān (Wednesday, the 31st August), the Sultān reached the city from Jatesar, and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Firozābād. Mubashir Jab received the vizirate, and the title of Islām Khān was confirmed to him. The slaves of Firoz Shāh and the people of the city joined the Sultān. After a few days, (the Sultān) left Firozābād, and went to the auspicious palace in the fort of Jahān-panāh.² He took the elephants from the charge of the Firoz Shāhi slaves, and placed them under old elephant keepers.³

On account of this, the aforesaid slaves broke out into rebellion,⁴ but as the Sultān was strong, and the elephants had all been taken into the charge of his servants, they could not withstand him.

Verse.⁵

Him whom the Sun serves as the tray at night how can it ever be emptied!
(He who) contends with his own benefactor, his fortune is sure to be ruined!

¹ Elliot adds after this, "they conducted him to Jalesar", but there is no such reference in the three MSS.
² Ranking, Jahān Numā.
³ MBL, JNS and MBM read: تسلم به بیل بانان قدیم کردن کرده .
⁴ Badaoni (Ranking, p. 345) writes that the slaves of the Firoz Shāhi party who had been a source of disturbance in the days of tumult and riot were put to death without distinction, and many of the freemen also, who came from the eastern quarters of Hindustān were taken for slaves by reason of the imperfection of the pronunciation, and were put to the sword.

Perishta explains the fact more fully. He says that many of these slaves claimed to be natives of the country and not foreigners, whereupon Muhammad Shāh imposed upon them the pronunciation of certain words, and those who failed in their pronunciation were treated as foreigners and put to death.
⁵ The verse is to be found in MBL; JNS and MBM omit it.
So, they fled in the night, with their wives and children, and joined Abu Bakr Şâh at the Kotlah of Bahâdur Nâhir. Such as these aforesaid slaves as remained in the city received imperial orders that they must quit it within three days, so the city was cleared of those impure rebels. The story runs that, when most of those contemptible slaves had been imprisoned by the Sultân for three days, the latter addressed each of them, “We are the natives of the country: whoever among you instead of Kharâ says Khari Kerjanâ, is a native of the country.” For that reason most of the Hindustânies were put to death, and the slaves of Firoz Şâh were put to the sword. This tradition is well-known in the whole of Hind and Sindh. The Amîrs and Malik of the various parts of the kingdom now came to the court, and the Sultân’s power and dignity increased. Prince Humâyûn Kâh with Islâm Kâh, Ghalib Kâh, Râi Kamâlud-din, and Râi Juljain, was sent with a powerful army to suppress Abu Bakr Şâh and the Firoz Şâhi slaves. The aforesaid Amîrs had reached the village of Mahindwâri, when, in the month of Muḥarram, 793 H. (Dec.-Jany., 1790-91 A.D.) Abu Bakr Şâh, Bahâdur Nâhir and the Firoz Şâhi slaves having assembled together fell upon the royal forces in the morning, and killed several men. But Islâm Kâh drew up his division and fell upon the assailants; with his followers the prince mounted his horse, and defeated the enemy at the first charge. The royalists made a hot pursuit of the fugitives many of whom took refuge in the Kotlah; but, some of them were killed and some taken prisoners. This intelligence reaching him, the Sultân started off for the scene of the conflict, and arriving at the Kotlah, he encamped on the banks of Dahand. Abu Bakr Şâh and Bahâdur Nâhir sought for quarter, and came to meet the Sultân. Bahâdur

1 MBL: شهر از شر ایشان JNS and MBM read: شهر از سرآن نایاکان پائی شد خالی شد.
2 The reference to this story is found in MBL and MBM: JNS omits it.
3 MBL: JNS and MBM: جلجهٔ دنالعی: Elliot, Juljain.
Nāhir received a robe of honour and was sent back; Abu Bakr Shāh was carried away by the Sultān to Khandī,\(^1\) from whence he was sent to be kept a prisoner at Mirath,\(^2\) and there he died.

Verse.\(^3\)

If thou dost beat the tail of the snake, thou shouldst bruise its head,
The work of wounding the snake’s tail is not safe!

The duration of his reign was a year and a half.\(^4\) The Sultān proceeded to Etāwah, and there he was waited upon by Rāi Bar Singh,\(^5\) whom he gave a robe of honour and sent back. From thence, proceeding along the banks of the Jaun, the Sultān arrived at Dehli.

In the year 794 H. (1391-92 A.D.), there came a report that Bar Singh, Sabīr, Adharan\(^6\) and Bir Bahān\(^7\) were up in arms. The Sultān sent Islām Khān against Bar Singh, and he personally marched to Etāwah against Sabīr, Adharan and the other infidels. The accursed Bar Singh encountered the forces of Islām Khān, and by the grace of God, the Muslims came off victorious; the accursed Bar Singh was defeated and put to flight. The victors pursued (the fugitives), sending many infidels to hell and laying waste their country. "Surely the kings, when they enter a town, ruin it and make the noblest of its people to be low."\(^8\) At length, Bar Singh sued for mercy, and came to wait on Islām Khān, who carried him to Dehli. The accursed Sabīr and Adharan attacked the town of Balārām, but when the Sultān

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1 JNS and MBM read در منزل كندي برد: مکندی مردی برد.
2 JNS and MBM read بادائیه: میریته.
3 This verse is to be found in MBM: JNS and MBM omit it.
4 This line is omitted in MBM and MBM, but it occurs in JNS.
5 Elliot, Narsingh: Badaoni, Harsingrāi.
6 MBM omits سبیر و ادهمر.
7 JNS read: Bar Singh and others were the Zamindars of the Doāb.
8 Korān, Chap. XXVII, 34.
reached the banks of Beah, they fled and shut themselves up at Etawah. The Sultan continued his marches and encamped before Etawah. On the first day, some little fighting took place. In the night, the Raiss abandoned the fort of Etawah and fled, and next day the Sultan destroyed it. From thence, he marched towards Kanauj, and crossing the Ganges, he punished the unbelievers of Kanauj and Dalnu, and then returning, went to Jatesar, where he built a fortress, which he called Muhammadabad.

In the month of Rajab of this year (May-June, 1392 A.D.), 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 Lahore, with the object of stirring up a rebellion. The Sultan immediately left Jatesar and proceeded to Dehli, where he held a court, and questioned Islam Khan about the intentions imputed to him. The latter denied them. But an infidel named Jajar, the brother's son of Islam Khan, a bad fellow who had a spite against him, gave false evidence, and Islam Khan was unjustly put to death before the court. Khwaja-i-Jahan was made vizir, and Malik Mukarrab-ul-Mulk was sent to Muhammadabad in Jatesar, with an army.

In the year 795 H. (1392-93 A.D.), intelligence arrived that, Sabir, Adharan, Jit Singh Rathor, and Bir Bahan, the chief of Bhanuganw, and Abhai Chand, the chief of Chandwar, had rebelled. The Sultan sent out Malik Mukarrab-ul-Mulk to Kanauj against the chief of Chandwar. The aforesaid unbelievers, too, opposed

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1 MBL: جاجر. JNS and MBM: Jagan.
2 JNS: مقرض الخبر.
3 MBL reads: در محمد إياذ در جان في place of جان.
4 Elliot, Sarvadharan.
5 The MS. at the disposal of late H. Elliot being faulty—a leaf having been lost or passed over—what follows in Elliot is quoted from the Tabakat-i-Akbari, which is generally in close accord with Yahiya. MBM, like Elliot's MS., has lost some pages beginning from this place: and both—MBM and Elliot's MS. begin after the accession of Sultan Mahmud Nasir-ud-din Shah "to the throne at the auspicious palace".
him with their own following. Muṣarrab-ul-Mulk adopted a conciliatory attitude, and by promises and engagements induced the chiefs to submit. The Rāis paid a visit to the Malik, and the latter carried them with him to Ḍanauj where on the pretext of deliberating (with them) took them within the fortress. Every one went there excepting Sabir who remained behind. At last they were put to death. Sabir made his escape to Etawah. Laden with victory and success, Muṣarrab-ul-Mulk returned to Muḥammadābād. In the month of Shawwāl (Aug.-Sept., 1393 A.D.), the Sulṭān marched against Mewāt, and putting it to plunder, he proceeded to Muḥammadābād Jatesar,1 when he fell sick. It went on increasing day by day. Just then intelligence was sent to him that Bahādur Nāhir had plundered the vicinity of Dehli. Notwithstanding his weakness, the Sulṭān proceeded on a palanquin. Bahādur Nāhir emerged out of the Kotlah and opposed him. At length, being defeated at the first onset he took refuge in the Kotlah. The royal forces marched in his pursuit and imprisoned many people of the Kotlah, and put to plunder their horses, arms and baggage. Bahādur Nāhir fled from the Kotlah and hid in the mountains of Jahar. From thence the Sulṭān returned to Muḥammadābād, and engaged himself in the constructions of buildings and in populating Jatesar. But the Sulṭān’s sickness grew worse every day.

In the month of Rabī‘-ul-Auwāl, 796 H. (Jany.-Feb., 1394 A.D.), the Sulṭān appointed Prince Humāyūn to march against Shaikhā Khōkhar, who had rebelled and had gained possession of Lāhore. Just as the prince was about to march, he received intelligence of the death of the Sulṭān on the 17th Rabī‘-ul-Auwāl (Tuesday, the 20th January), of the same year (796 H., 1394 A.D.).

Verse.

Oh Sādi! although the heavens nourish thee with sugar; Wherein lies its excellence, if it kills thee with poison?

1 MBL and JNS read اباد جنیسر.
The remains of the Sultán was taken out of Muhammädâbad and carried to Dehli where it was interred at Hauz-i-Khās. The duration of the Sultán’s reign was six years and seven months. *God knows the truth!*

**Account of Sultán ‘Alā’-ud-dîn Sikandar Shâh.**

Sultán ‘Alā’-ud-dîn Sikandar Shâh was the second son of Sultán Muhammad Shâh, and he bore the name of Humâyûn Khân. On the death of Sultán Muḥammad Shâh, he remained engaged in the duties of mourning for three days, and on the 19th Rabî’-ul-Auwal (Thursday, the 22nd January), of the same year (796 H., 1394 A.D.), he ascended the throne at the auspicious palace, with the consent of the Amîrs and Maliks, the Imams and Kâzîs of the city. The vizirate was conferred upon Khwâja-i-Jahân, and the various offices and posts were suffered to remain in the old hands. In the meantime, Malik Mu-karrab-ul-Mulk, and the other Amîrs and Maliks, carried the coffin of the deceased Sultán to Dehli, and paid their homage to Sultán ‘Alâ’-ud-dîn. They consigned to him the elephants, baggage and the other paraphernalia of sovereignty. This state of affairs continued for a year, but by the decree of God, the Sultán fell ill, and it went on increasing till on the 5th Jamâdî-ul-Auwal (Sunday, the 8th March, 1394 A.D.) he died.

*Verse.*

Except the blood of the sovereigns there is nothing on this plate (*i.e.*, world),

Except the dust of the Beautiful there is nothing in this desert (*i.e.*, world).

His rule lasted for one month and sixteen days. *God knows the truth!*  

**Account of Sultán Maḥmud Nâṣîr-ud-dîn Shâh.**

Sultán Maḥmud Nâṣîr-ud-dîn was the youngest son of Sultán Muhammad Shâh. On the death of ‘Alâ’-ud-dîn, most of the Amîrs and Maliks, who were in possession of feudal lands on the west, *viz.*,  

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1 JNS reads ذكر سلطان معتمد ناصر الدين شاه: MBL, MBM read سلطان معتمد ناصر الدين شاه: Elliot agrees with JNS.
Ghâlib Khân, the Amir of Sâmâna, Râi Kamâl-ud-din Main, Mûbârak Khân Halâjaun, 1 Khwâs Khân, the Amir of Indri and Karnâl, having come out of the city (Dehli) and encamping themselves at Jawârbâg wanted to go back to their respective aâltâ's without an interview with the Sulțân. This information reaching Khwâjâ-i-Jahân, he succeeded in bringing the Amîrs within the city and making them pay homage to Sulțân Mahmûd. On the 20th Jamâdi-ul-Auwal (Monday, the 23rd March) of the aforesaid year (796 H., 1394 A.D.), the Sulțân took the title of Nâsîr-ud-din Mahmûd Shâh and ascended the throne in the auspicious palace, with the unanimous consent of the Amîrs, Maliks, grandees, priests, chiefs and holy persons.

The post of vizir was bestowed upon Khwâjâ-i-Jahân; Mûkarrab-ul-Mulk became Mûkarrab Khân and was nominated the heir-apparent; 'Abdul Rashid Sulțânî was given the title of Sa'dat Khân, and made the master of ceremonies. Malik Sârang became known as Sârang Khân 2 and was entrusted with the fief of Dibâlpur. Malik Daulat Yar, the Dabir, was honoured with the title of Daulat Khân. He received the office of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk and became 'Arij-i-Mamâlik. The affairs of the feudal lands 3 of Hindustân were far from satisfactory 4 owing to the turbulence of the base infidels. The title of Sulțân-ul-Shark was conferred upon Khwâjâ-i-Jahân, and the affairs of Hindustân from Kanauj to Behar devolved upon him.

In the month of Rajab, 796 H. (May, 1394 A.D.), May its dignity increase, Khwâjâ-i-Jahân was ordered off towards Hindustân with twenty well-equipped elephants. Having punished the infidels of Etawah, Kol, Khor, Kambal 5 and the environs of Kanauj, he proceeded to Jaunpur, and brought under his sub-

1 Elliot, Malâjân.
2 JNS reads ملک سارنگ خان خطاب کردن .
3 MBL اقطاعات : MBM and JNS.
4 MBL and JNS ضعیف پرورنده ہو.
5 MBL : کہورہ گنبد : MBM agrees with MBM. Elliot, Kâhû-ra-Kaunil.
jection the siefs, such as Kanauj, Karah, Oudh, Sandilah, 1 Dālmu, 2 Bahraich, Bihar, and Tirhut. Most of the infidels were extirpated, and those fortresses that had been destroyed by them were restored. The Most High God conferred strength and victory upon the Muslims. The Rāi of Jājnagar and the king of Lakhnauti, who used to send elephants every year to Dehli, now presented Khwājā-i-Jahān with elephants.

About the same time, Sārang Khān was despatched to Dībalpur for annexing the territory and suppressing the rebellion of Shaikhā Khōkhar. In the month of Sha‘bān (June) of the aforesaid year (796 H., 1394 A.D.), Sārang Khān set out for Dībalpur. He recruited and disciplined the soldiers of Dībalpur and confiscated the territory.

In the month of Zil Ka‘da, 796 H. (Aug.-Sep., 1394 A.D.), Rāi Juljain 3 Bhatti and Rāi Daud Kamāl Main, having taken the army of Multān with them forded Sataldar near the village of Tīhrāra, 4 and Beah near Dohālī, 5 and approached Lahore. Learning that Sārang Khān was proceeding against him, Shaikhā Khōkhar drew up his army, plundered the suburbs of Dībalpur and laid siege to Ajodhan. It so transpiring that Sārang Khān having devastated Bhandoit 6 was making a descent, Khōkhar left Ajodhan at night and reached Lahore. On the second day, the parties prepared themselves for action and made a forward advance. The engagement took place at Sāmuthala, 7 at a distance of 12 kuroh from Lahore. The Almighty conferred victory on Sārang Khān; meeting with reverses, Shaikhā Khōkhar retired towards Lahore, and in the night he fled towards the mountain of Jamun 8

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2 Badaoni, Malūta. Ranking, p. 349, f.n. 2, Dalmūr.
3 MBL: ذی الغی. JNS and MBM: جلیس.
5 MBM and MBL: دومالی. JNS: دومالی. Elliot, Duhālī.
8 MBM and JNS read: جون. Elliot, Jud. Badaoni, Jamūn.
with his wife and children. On the next day, Sârang Khân conquered the fortress of Lahore, and having placed at Lahore¹ his brother Kandhu with the title of 'Adil Khân, he returned to Dibâlpur.

In the month of Sha‘bân of the said year (796 H., June, 1394 A.D.), the Sultân took his way to Bianah, taking along with him Sa‘dat Khân: Mukarrab Khân was left in the city with some elephants and royal attendants. When the Sultân approached Gwâlior, Malik ‘Alâ’-ud-din Dahârwâl and Mubârak Khân,² the son of Malik Râju, and Malo, the brother of Sârang Khân, formed a conspiracy against Sa‘dat Khân. Getting information of this, the latter caught hold of ‘Alâ’-ud-din and Mubârak Khân, and killed them. Malo took to his heels and sought refuge with Mukarrab Khân in Dehli. The Sultân, too, made his return, and reached near Dehli. Mukarrab Khân went forth to meet him and received eminence. But, on account of fear and dread that had taken hold of him, he made his return to the city, and laid the foundation of hostility. On the next day, the Sultân and Sa‘dat Khân, having collected and made ready the amirs, maliks, and the elephants, reached the gate leading to the maidan. Mukarrab Khân went on fighting from the fortress. This state of affairs continued for a period of three months, till at length the partisans of the Sultân took him into the city in the month of Mu‘arrâm, 797 H. (Oct.-Nov., 1394 A.D.). But the elephants, foot, and all the paraphernalia of sovereignty were suffered to remain in the hands of Sa‘dat Khân. The presence of the Sultân strengthened the position of Mukarrab Khân, who, on the next day, collected the people of the city—from the soldiers to the rabble, and issued out of the city-gate for war. When this news reached Sa‘dat Khân, he, too, drew up his men in the maidan. Between the two an engagement took place, in which Mukarrab Khân being worsted returned to the city, and its inhabitants suffered a great deal. But Sa‘dat Khân having failed to seize the fortress, retraced his steps, and encamped himself at Haiz-i-khâs. As the conquest of the fort of Dehli was beyond the reach of pos-

¹ MBL: کوہر. JNS: لاہور.
² MBL: مبیارک خان والی بسرملک. JNS and MBM omit و. Elliot reads, Mubârak Khân, son of Malik Râju.
sibility, and the rainy season was near, Sa’dat Khan, perforce, raised the siege and proceeded to Firozabad. He came into agreement with the nobles, who were on his side, regarding the enthronement at Firozabad of one of the sons of Firoz Shah, *May the blessing of God be on his tomb, and May he dwell in paradise!* Nuṣrat Khan bin Fateh Khan bin Firoz Shah, the late Sultan, was taken out of Mewat, and was installed with the title of Nāṣir-ud-din Nuṣrat Shah in the palace at Firozabad in the month of Rabi’-ul-awal (Dec.-Jany.) of the aforementioned year (797 H., 1394-95 A.D.). But he was a mere puppet, and Sa’dat Khan wielded the authority.

Soon afterwards, some of the slaves of Firoz Shah and some of the elephant-keepers attached themselves to Sultan Nasir-ud-din. Sa’dat scented no danger. They placed Sultan Nasir-ud-din on an elephant, and gathered round him. Being off his guard, Sa’dat Khan could offer no opposition, he left the palace through the door leading to the seraglio; some of his soldiery joined him and some foolishly dispersed in every direction; Sa’dat Khan entered Dehli with his own party and visited Muṣarrab Khan. After a few days, Muṣarrab Khan treacherously killed him.

The amirs and maliks who remained at Firozabad, such as Muḥammad Muẓaffar, Shahāb Nahir, Fazl Allah Balkhi, the slaves of Firoz Shah joined the Sultan, and renewed their homage to the throne. Muḥammad Muẓaffar became the vizir, and was named Tāṭār Khān. Shahāb Nahir became Shahāb Khān, and Fazl Allah Balkhi received the title Kutlugh Khān. Malik Almās Sultanī received the command of the royal slaves.

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1 MBL : نصرت خان بن فرزان خان JNS illegible. Elliot, Nusrat Khan, son of Fath Khan, son of Sultan Firoz Shah.

2 MBL : بیش نداشتند بردند JNS and MBM بیش نداشتند پنش داشتند.

3 JNS and MBM read محمد مظفر و وزیر و شیخ نامور و ملک فضل الله. Elliot agrees with JNS and MBM.

4 MBL : بیعت تازه کردن JNS and MBM بیع شد کردن.

5 Elliot, “pledged their faith to him”.

6 عهده داریم: بنگدان خاس.
There were two kings,\(^1\) one at Dehli and the other at Firozâbâd.

Mukarrab Khân secured Bâhâdur Nāhir and his adherents, and placed him in charge of the fortress of old Dehli. Malo received the designation of Ikîbâl Khân and (the command of) the fortress of Siri. At length, there ensued conflict every day between Dehli and Firozâbâd. The Musalmans shed blood of their own relations, but neither of the parties could gain mastery. The districts between Doâb, Sambal,\(^2\) Pânipath, Jhajar and Rohtak remained in the possession of Sultân Nâsîr-ud-dîn: to Sultân Maḥmud belonged nothing else except the above mentioned fortresses.\(^3\) The Amîrs and Maliks of the empire set themselves up as rulers, and levied taxes and tribute. This state of things lasted for three months. There was a struggle between Dehli and Firozâbâd every day; sometimes, the latter came off victorious and besieged the fort of Dehli, and on occasions Firozâbâd was besieged and plundered by Dehli.

Under these circumstances, there happened, in the year 798 H. (1395-96 A.D.), an enmity between Sârang Khân and Masnad-i-Āla Khîzr Khân, the amir of Multân. A fierce contest took place between the two. At last, some of the slaves of Malik Mardân Bhattî\(^4\) went over to the side of Sârang Khân.\(^5\) The district of Multân came under the jurisdiction of Sârang Khân. In the month of Ramzân, 799 H. (May-June, 1397 A.D.), Sârang Khân collected a large army and proceeded towards Sâmâna. Ghâlib Khân, the amir of Sâmâna, shut himself up in the fortress and put forth resistance, but losing all power of opposition and meeting with

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1 Badaoni (Ranking, 351) writes, they "were like two kings in the game of chess".
2 JNS and MBM read سنبل: Badaoni (Ranking) Sanbhal; Elliot, Sambhal; MBL reads سنبه: Tab-i-Ak. reads سنبه.
3 Badaoni (Ranking, ibid.) writes, "...a few old ruined forts such as Dihli and Siri and the rest, remained in the hands of Sultân Maḥmûd, and from that time forward this proverb became a common expression: The rule of the Lord of the world is from Dihli to Pâlam".
4 Elliot, Malik Mardân Bhattî; Ranking (352), Malik Marwân.
5 JNS and MBL read آخر بعض غلامان ملک مردان تیہ دانند: MBM reads بعضى از غلامان بهتى با سارگى خان: Tab-i-Ak. reads ملک مردان سی چکان دانند.
reverses, he went to Panipath with a small cavalry and footmen, and joined Tátár Khán. When this news transpired to Nusrat Sháh, he despatched Malik Almas, the commandar of the slaves, with ten elephants and a small army to Tátár Khán with orders to march against Sámána and driving out Sárang Khán place Sámána on Ghálib Khán.

On the 15th Muḥarram, 800 h. (Monday, the 8th Oct., 1397 A.D.) a battle was fought between them at Kohlah.¹ The Almighty God conferred victory on Tátár Khán. Sárang Khán fled towards Multán, and Tátár Khán entrusted Sámána upon Ghálib Khán.² In company with Rái Kamál-ud-din Main,³ Tátár Khán ran in pursuit of Sárang Khán as far as Talwandi,⁴ whence he retraced his steps.

In the month of Rabi‘-ul-auwal, 800 h. (Nov.-Dec., 1397 A.D.), Pir Muḥammad, the daughter’s son⁵ of Timur,⁶ the King of Khorásán, having crossed the river Sindh ⁷ with a large force, laid siege to the fort of Uchch. ‘Ali Malik, who was in charge of the place (Uchch) on behalf of Sárang Khán (the fief-holder of Dibalpur) held out for a month, when the Khán sent out Malik Táj-ud-dín, his náib or deputy, along with the other amírs and a contingent of 4,000 horsemen⁸ in aid of ‘Ali Malik. At the news of Táj-ud-dín’s approach, Pir Muḥammad withdrew the siege and fell upon the enemy’s reinforcement at Tarmtamah,⁹ on the bank of the Beáh. They could not withstand such an unexpected attack; many were killed, while some threw themselves into the river and

¹ MSS. read كرهله, Tab-i-Akb. reads كرهله. Ranking, “the village of Kotla”:
Elliot, Kútía.

² MBL reads ناхран خلی سارنگ خلی مذکور را نار تار کرده سامان را بعوالت غالب
ناران خلی سامان را بعوالت غالب. JNS and MBM read ناران خلی کرده
ناران خلی سامان را بعوالت غالب.

³ Badaoni, Kamal-ud-din Mubín.

⁴ MBM reads نسبه. Ranking, Tilaundí.

⁵ JNS and MBM reads شبتاب. MBM reads شبتاب. Badaoni reads, Amir Timur Gúrgán King of Khorásán, “Kurkán or Gúrgán stands for son-in-law or for a prince who is allied by marriage with some mighty monarch.” Amir Timur was called Timur Gúrgán, because he married the daughter of the last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty.

⁶ River Sindh refers to the Indus.

⁷ MBL adds after this: JNS and MBM omit this.

⁸ JNS and MBM omit this.

⁹ In Elliot, IV, p. 33, Tamtama.
were carried away. Sustaining defeat, Malik Tāj-ud-dīn, with a small force at his command, retreated to Multān. Pir Muhammad followed him there in pursuit. Sārang Khān dared not oppose him in the field and was compelled to take refuge in the fortress. For six months the siege continued; at last on the 19th Ramān, 800 H., Wednesday, the 5th June, 1398 A.D., provisions running short, Sārang Khān held out the olive branch and visited Pir Muhammad. The Khān was clapped into prison along with his family, dependents, army and the people of the city, while the victor took possession of Multān, where he stationed his army.¹

In the month of Shawwāl, 800 H. (June-July, 1398 A.D.), Ikbāl Khān² leagued himself with Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn and a compact was made between the two, at the tomb of the chief of the saints Kutub ul-Huḵ-wa-us-Šharāʾ-wa-ud-dīn.³ Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn was seated on an elephant and brought to Jāhānpanāh.⁴ Sulṭān Mahmud, Mukarrab Khān and Bahādur Nāhir shut themselves up in the fortress of old Dehlī. On the third day, Ikbāl Khān fell upon the unwaried Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, who being thus taken unawares quitted Jāhānpanāh with his elephants and a small contingent. Ikbāl went in his pursuit, and took hold of the elephants⁵ belonging to the fugitive. Nāṣir-ud-dīn marched to Firozābād and thence, with his attendants and relatives having crossed the Jaun (Jamuna), went to his Vizir Tātār Khān. Firozābād was then taken possession of by Ikbāl. Subsequently, daily contests between Mukarrab Khān and Ikbāl Khān took place for two months. At length, owing to the intercession of the amīrs, reconciliation was effected between them. Mukarrab Khān made an entry into Jāhānpanāh with Sulṭān Mahmud and Ikbāl remained at Siri. All on a sudden, Ikbāl accompanied by his own men, threw a cordon round the house of Mukarrab and treacherously slew him. Though he refrained from doing

¹ MBL adds طعمة ماهبيان دريا شندند.
² Was in charge of Siri; his original name was “Malū”.
³ JNS and MBM read نظام الحق etc.
⁴ MSS. and Elliot read Jāhān-panāh; Ranking (354) reads Jāhān-numā.
⁵ MBL reads مصادر: JNS and MBM omit نامدار.
any personal injury to Sultān Mahmud, yet he took to himself the management of the State and kept the Sultān as a puppet.¹

In Zil Kā' da, 800 H. (July-Aug., 1398 A.D.), Ikbâl set out for Panipath against Tātār Khān. When the latter received this intelligence, he left his baggage and elephants in the fort of Panipath and proceeded towards Dehli with a strong force. Ikbâl besieged Panipath, conquered it in two or three days, and finally laid his hands on the elephants, horses and the baggage of Tātār, who in his turn had also attacked Dehli but failed in his attempt to take it. The capitulation of Panipath made Tātār give up the siege (of Dehli), and he fled with his army to his father in Gujrat. Ikbâl returned victoriously to Dehli laden with elephants, horses and the spoils of war. Malik Naṣîr-ul-Mulk, a relation of Tātār Khān, was given the title of ‘Adil Khān for his co-operation with Ikbâl Khân² and was, besides, rewarded with lands in the Doâb, while the latter was engaged in carrying on the affairs of the State.

In the month of Safar, 801 H. (Oct.-Nov., 1398 A.D.), report was given currency to that Amir Timur, the king of Khorassān, having plundered Talumba³ had encamped his army at Multān and put to the sword all the soldiers of Sūrang Khān that had been imprisoned by the Amir’s grandson. For this reason Sūrang Khān was at his wit’s end. Timur set off to Bhatnîr ⁴ and having made Juljain Bhatti⁵ (the commandant of the fort) a prisoner, killed the people who had been besieged. From thence he proceeded to Sāmâna where the inhabitants of Dibalpur, Ajodhan and Sarsuti had repaired to in fear of

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¹ Бурдж Тимура, ми Дашт.
² МБЛ adds: لشکر کشیدن سروئی حصار پانی پنھ او گفتگه برد.
³ МБЛ reads: طلینه تلمب با: Badaoni (355), Tulumba. In Elliot, ibid., 34. Tulina. Tulumba or (Tulumba) is situated at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chinab.
⁵ In Elliot, Kulchain, ibid. In JNS and MBM we have: رلی جلهین بنی. MBL: Ferishta, Khilji: Ranking, Jaljin.
the invader. Some of them were made captive and a large number received the glory of martyrdom. The victor then forded Jaun (Jamuna) and made an entry into the Doāb, most parts of which he harried. He halted at Loni and killed all the prisoners that were taken (from the tract) between the Sindh and the Ganges, totalling 50,000 men, more or less, God alone knows the truth. The inhabitants of the towns and the villages, Muslims and Hindus alike, got funky and ran away, some to the mountains, some to the desert, some towards the rivers and some again to the fort of Dehli. In Jāmādi-ul-auwal, 801 H. (Jany.-Feb., 1399 A.D.), Timur crossed the Jaun, came to Firozābād, and on the day following put himself at the top of Hauz-i-ḵāš. In the maidan Iḵbāl with his elephants came vis-à-vis; at the first onset the Khān met with his defeat. Some of his elephants fell in the hands of the Amir’s men, so with the remaining elephants he returned to the city through thousand and one difficulties. Still, during the retreat, most of the inhabitants of the city and the army were stamped out under foot, and heaps of dead were left. At sundown, Iḵbāl Khān and Sultan Ṣulṭān Mahmud leaving behind them their ladies and children, emerged out of the city. The latter took his way to Gujrat and the former crossed the Jaun and went over to Baran. Next day, Timur promised safety to the inhabitants and exacted ransom from them. On the fourth day, he ordered that all the inhabitants of the city should be imprisoned and his mandate was carried out. We belong to Allah, and we resign ourselves to His decree.

A few days after, Masnad ‘Ali Khizr Khān, May his tomb be sanctified, who had taken refuge in the mountains of Mewāt in fear of the invader, Bahādur

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1 In Elliot, Loni, ibid. MBL: MBM: Tab-i-Akb. لوني: In JNS نمونی: "Loni" is seven miles N.N.W. of Dehli (Ishwari Pdl’s Medieval India, p. 307, f.n. 3. Ranking, 356, f.n. 1).

2 JNS reads جورد (Jew), referring to non-Muslims. MBL and MBM هنرد.

3 In JNS چول is copyist’s error for حبله, جول, desert.

4 The word is حبله meaning fraud: here translated as “difficulty”.

5 MBM omits محدود: JNS and MBL retain it.

6 Bulandshahr.

7 This sentence is omitted in JNS.
Nahir, Mubarak Khan and Zirak Khan were honoured with an interview, but save Khizr Khan all were enchained. Timur took to the skirts of the hills on his way back from Dehli. Khizr Khan was permitted to go and to him the invader addressed thus—"Having conquered Dehli, I bestow it upon you." ¹ On his way, those who remained in the mountains were also imprisoned. Reaching Lahore, the Amir sacked the city and made Shaikh Khokhar,² who due to his enmity with Sarang Khan had ere long joined Timur and acted as his guide, a prisoner along with his wife, children and those who had taken shelter with him. The victor bestowed upon Khizr Khan the fiefs of Multan and Dibalpur and despatched him there. He then marched via Kabul en route Samarkand, his capital.

After the departure of Timur, the vicinity of Dehli, and all those places which his army had passed through, were visited with pestilence and famine. Many died of sickness and many of hunger. For a couple of months Dehli presented a scene of desolation and woe. In the month of Rajab, May its dignity increase, Sultan Nasir-ud-din Nuṣrat Shah, grandson of Sultan Firoz, who having failed to resist Ikbol Khan had made his way to the Doab, now advanced to Mirat with a small force and was joined by 'Adil Khan, who brought with him four elephants and an army. Nuṣrat Shah tactfully brought him under his control and took hold of the elephants. The people of the Doab who had been set free from the Mughals, began to rally, and Nasir-ud-din entered Firozabad with 2,000 cavalry. Dehli, though ruined and desolate, came to his power. Shahab Khan came from Mewat with ten elephants and a number of adherents: from the Doab came Malik Almas who joined Nasir-ud-din. Thus, when a large army collected round him, Nasir-ud-din despatched Shahab Khan to Baran against ³ Ikbol Khan.

¹ MBL and MBM omit this sentence. JNS retains it. Badaoni (359) also mentions this incident.
² MBM: كمكير
³ MBL: مبنى، قلع و قمع; MBM omits مبنى; JNS agrees with MBM.
But a party of Hindu footmen fell upon Shahāb Khān and put him to death on the way: the Khān’s followers dispersed and the elephants were abandoned. Receiving this news, Ikbāl rushed hotfoot to the place of the occurrence and captured the elephants. Ikbāl’s power and dignity continued increasing every day and forces collected round him from all directions, while Sultān Nāṣir-ud-din grew weaker and weaker.

In the month of Rabi‘-ul-awal (Nov.-Dec.), Ikbāl left Baran and paced his way to Delhi with an army. Nuṣrat evacuated Firozābād and proceeded to Mewāt, where he breathed his last. Dehli thus came into the possession of Ikbāl who took up his abode at Siri. Some of the inhabitants of the city who had escaped the Mughals came back and renewed their habitations. In a short time Siri became populated.

The districts in the Doāb and the fiefs in the vicinity (of the capital) belonged to Ikbāl, while the outlying parts of the kingdom that (formerly) remained in the possession of the amirs and the maliks were kept by them. Thus, Gujarāt and its neighbouring countries were under Zafar Khān Wajīb-ul-Mulk; Multān, Dībalpur and parts of Sind were held by Bandagi Masnad-i-‘Ali Khīż Khān, May his tomb be sanctified; Mahobā and Kālpī (were placed) under Maḥmūd Khān, son of Malik Zādāh Fīroz; the fiefs on the side of Hindustan, e.g., Kanauj, Oudh, Karah, ‘Dalmau’, Sandilah, Bahraich, Bihār and Jaunpur under Khwāja-i-Jahān; Dhar under Dīlawar Khān; Sāmāna under Ghālib Khān; Biānah under Shams Khān Auḥadī. The territories of Dehli were parcelled out into so many portions.

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1 MBL and MBM read راهی ماندن، JNS راهی ماندن چاپ کری که واقع ماندن.
2 MBL and MBM omit “where he breathed his last”.
3 Elliot, JNS and MBM read وجهه الملك چاپ کری که و جبيب الملك MBL reads.
4 JNS and MBL داموئی، MBM داموئی.
In Rabī‘-ul-auwal, 802 H. (Nov., 1399 A.D.) ʿIkbāl Khān marched towards Biānah against Shams Khān who was at the town of Nuh-o-Batal.\(^1\) A battle followed, in which victory was awarded to ʿIkbāl. The vanquished was reduced to beat a retreat leaving a couple of elephants in the hands of the victors, who, thence proceeded against Katehar,\(^2\) where having exacted money and servitude from Rāi Har Sing,\(^3\) returned to Dehli.

Death of Khwāja-i-Jahān: succeeded by Malik Mubārak Karanful.

After the death of Khwāja-i-Jahān at Jaunpur in that year, Malik Mubārak Karanful\(^4\) succeeded to his titles and took the designation of Mubārak Shāh. All the districts came under his possession.

In Jamādī-ul-auwal, 803 H. (Dec.-Jany., 1400-1401 A.D.) ʿIkbāl set out for Hindustan and was met by Shams Khān, the amir of Biānah, and Mubārak Khān Bahādur Nāhir. He took them along with him, and in the same month\(^5\) reached Pattīlā\(^6\) on the banks of the Āb-i-Siyāh.\(^7\) Here he encountered the accursed Sabir\(^8\) and the other infidels who came with a numerous army. On the day following, an engagement took place in which

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\(^1\) Elliot, Nuh-o-Batal, IV, p. 37. MBL and MBM نوہ و بتل: JNS نوہ و بتل.

\(^2\) MBL كھتھر: JNS کھتھر: MBM: By Kaithar or Katehr is meant Rohilkhand.

\(^3\) In Elliot, Ra‘i Sing. JNS and MBL رائی سنگھ: MBM: رائی سنگھ: Rai Har Singh was Rāi of Etawah.

\(^4\) The MSS. read ملک مبارک ترنغل: Elliot omits قرنغل: MBM: Elliot agrees with JNS and MBM.

\(^5\) JNS جمادی آخر: مب: JNS جمادی الول: JNS جمادی الول: Elliot agrees with JNS and MBM.

\(^6\) Ranking (ibid.), Baitāli; Ferishta (Bomb. Text).

\(^7\) MBM آب بیاہ: JNS and MBM آب سیاہ: Badaoni and Elliot agree with JNS and MBM. "Ab-i-Siyāh, literally "Black water," refers to the Kālinī or the Kālī Naddī, lying between the Jumna and the Ganges. Ferishta (Bomb. Text) نہر گنگ.

\(^8\) سپہر in the MSS. In Elliot, Rai Sir, ibid., 37. Badaoni agrees with Elliot, but Ferishta reads "Rai Sanīr", which Briggs translates as "Ray of Serinagar".
God, the Defender of the Muḥammadan religion, conferred victory upon Ikbal. The turbulent infidels were defeated and subdued. Ikbal gave them a chase to Etawah, killing many and imprisoning a large number. *Praise be to God on this account.*\(^1\) He then proceeded to Kanauj when Sultan-ul-Shark Mubarak Shāh also came up from Hindustan. Between the two forces intervened the Ganges which neither of the parties could ford. The battle went on for two months till the belligerents retraced their way homewards. During the course of his march Ikbal scented treachery and put Shams Khān and Mubarak Khān to death.

The same year, Ṭaghi Khān Turkbāchā Sulṭānī,\(^2\) the son-in-law of Ghālib Khān, the amīr of Sāmāna, collected a huge force and went towards Dibālpur against Masnad-i-'Ali Khizr Khān, *May his tomb be exalted.* When Khizr heard of this, he prepared himself for action and set off towards Ajodhan with a large contingent. A battle was fought on the banks of the Dahinda on the 9th Rajab, *May its dignity be exalted,* 803 H. (Wed., 23rd Feb., 1401 A.D.). Khizr came out with flying colours and Ṭaghi Khān (Turkbāchā Sulṭānī) retired to the town of Bhuhar\(^3\) and was killed by Ghālib Khān and the other amirs.

In 804 H. (1401-1402 A.D.) Sulṭān Mahmud issued out from Dhār and proceeded to Dehli. Ikbal came forth to give him a reception and the Sulṭān went to the imperial palace in Jāhānpanāh.\(^4\) But as the reins of government were in the hands of Ikbal, ill-will\(^6\) sprang up between the two.

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1 JNS omits this line.
2 Elliot, Ṭaghi Khān Turkchi Sulṭānī : Ranking, "Turkbacha Sulṭani".
3 The word is بہوہر in JNS; in Elliot, Asahuhar, *ibid.*, 38. MBL: بہوہر. 
4 The words are در کوشک همبین میل جهان پنالا: Elliot translates it thus: "Humayun palace in Jahan panah." IV, 38.
5 This name was given to the central portion of the triple Citadel of Dehli connecting old Dehli with Siri. It was situated in the midst of the inhabited city, and had thirteen gates.
6 In the JNS نفلق: is mis-spelt for نفلق.
Accompanied by Ikbâl, Mahmud marched to Kânauj. In that year Sultan Mubârak Shah died, and his younger brother Ibrahim succeeded him under the title of Sultan Ibrahim. At the approach of Sultan Mahmud and Ikbâl Khan, Ibrahim came out to meet them with a large army. When the two forces neared each other and a fight was impending, the Sultan left Ikbâl in the lurch on pretence of hunting to join Ibrahim. The latter paid him no attention, so he drew off and went to Kânauj. Here he drove out Shâh-Zâdâh Hariwî, who held the place for Mubârak Shah and took possession of the place. Ikbâl went back to Dehli and Ibrahim to Jaunpur. At Kânauj, the people of every description—the poor and the wealthy—co-operated with Sultan Mahmud; the slaves and the dependents who were lying pell-mell, rallied round him. To sum up, the Sultan was content with the aqîfâ of Kânauj.

In Jamâdi-ul-auwal, 805 H. (Nov.-Dec., 1402 A.D.), Ikbâl marched against Gwâlior, which had been treacherously wrested from the hands of the Musalmans during the invasion of the Mughals by the accursed Bar Singh, who was followed after his death, by his son Biram Deo. The fort being impregnable nothing could be effected against it, and so Ikbâl returned after plundering the country, to Dehli. Next year, he again marched against it. Biram Deo sallied out of his garrison and a battle was fought at Dholpur. Meeting with defeat, Biram fled back into the fortress. A large number of the infidels were put to the sword. When night came on, Biram evacuated the fort (of Dholpur) and retreated to Gwâlior. Ikbâl made a pursuit of the infidels, and having ravaged their territory, which was situated in a desert, returned to Dehli.

In 806 H. (1403-1404 A.D.), Tâtâr Khân, the son of Zafar Khan, the Amir of Gujrat, having treacherously confined his father and

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1 Elliot, Malik-zâdâh Harbûf: Badaoni, "Shâh-zâdâh Fatâh Khân of Herât."
2 Badaoni, Har Singh; Ferashta and Elliot, Nur Singh.
MSS. and Tab-i-Akb. read ببر سگه.
3 MBM and JNS read پسر بیرم خان 4 MBM حصار دهلپور.
Tā'ār Khān, son of Zafar Khān, the Amir of Gujrat, adopts the title of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shāh. He then collected a large army and led it against Dehli. But while he was on his way, Shams Khān administered poison to him, and he fell a victim to it on the same day. Alas! what a treachery of the world!! Such an emperor, a valiant champion, kind and merciful, was killed in the twinkling of an eye. His holy spirit was despatched to Dar-ul-Islam (i.e., paradise). In fine that emperor, of disposition commendable and qualities angelic, was assassinated. During the night Zafar Khān was brought out of Asāwal with reinforcements.

In 807 H. (1404-1405 A.D.), Ikbāl marched the army to Etāwah which was laid siege to by Rāi Sabir, Rāi of Gwālior, Rāi Jālbāhar and the other rayāns. The turbulent infidels held out for four months; at last, they negotiated for peace, and made a present of four elephants belonging to the Raja of Gwālior to the victor.

In the month of Shawwāl (Apr.), Ikbāl left Etāwah for Kanauj and fought with the Sultan Mahmud. The fort being strong and its conquest remote, Ikbāl raised the siege and went back to Dehli. As the Sultan had reared him (Ikbāl) up, he (Sultan) overlooked his (Ikbāl’s) actions, because,

Verse.

Dost thou know why the water does not immerse the log of wood? For, it is ashamed to plunge that which it nourished.

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1 JNS and MBM اسول: MBL.  
2 The lines from “Alas......assassinated” is to be found in MBL, JNS and MBM omit them.  
3 In Elliot (p. 39), Rāi Sarwar.  
4 In Elliot, ibid., and Tab-i-Akb., Rāi Jālhār.  
5 The lines from “As the Sultan........nourished” are found in MBL: JNS and MBM make no mention of these lines.
In Muharram, 808 (June-July, 1405) Ikbal marched to Samana. Bairam Khan Turkbach fled to the mountains of Har Hor; Ikbal encamped at the city of Arubar, situated in the mountains of Har Hor.

At length, Makhdum-Zadah Sheikh 'Alam-ud-din, the grandson of Hazrat Kutub-ul Kitab-ul 'Alam Sa'iyyid Jalal-ul Huq ul-Shar'a-ud-din Bokhari,—May God be pleased with him, interceded (between the contending parties) and Bairam Khan came to Ikbal Khan, and the former was granted an interview. From thence Ikbal proceeded towards Multan. When he reached Talwand, Rai Kamal-ud-din Main arrived. Here he imprisoned Bairam Khan, Rai Da'ud Kamal Main, Rai Hinu Juljain Bhatti. On the third day, he skinned Bairam Khan and carried the rest with him as prisoners. On his arrival at the bank of Dahinda, near the district of Ajodhan, Bandagi Masnad-i-'Ala Khizr Khan, May his tomb be sanctified, opposed him with a numerous army. It was manifest that, the army that had broken the pledge was befriended by ruin, for, it is the fair sex, who break their compact.

1 MBL. : In Elliot, Badhnor, IV, 40 : Tab-i-Akb., JNS and MBM : هل هور.; In Elliot, Badhnor, IV, 40 : Tab-i-Akb., JNS and MBM : هل هور.;

2 MBL. : روپر : In Elliot, Arubar, ibid.; Badaoni, Rupar, in the Ambala Dist., 40 miles North of Ambala city on the south bank of the Sutlej.


4 In Elliot, Rai Himu (son of) Khul chain Bhatti : JNS راي هنود جلچی ; MBM راي هنود جلچی. Ferishta, Ray Hubboo, the son of Ray Rutty.

5 JNS and MBM read سيوم روز پورست برام خان کشید و ایشان را بسته برادر سیوم روز اقبال خان شخصه عهد پورست آن شیر غوان يعني خوشبند خان کشید - دیگر آن را بسته و غل در گردن کرده برادر خویش برد.

6 Ajodhan (or Ajudhan) the ancient name of Pakpattan. Lat. 30° 20' 40' N. Long. 73° 25' 50' E. It was known as Pak Pattan or the Ferry of the Pwa, from Sheikh Farud-ud-din Ganj Shakkar who is buried there. See Ranking, p. 362, f.n. 2 nd 3.

7 JNS and MBM read لشکری قاہرہ و حشم و خدم کہ فر همہ شپران معرکہ و مودی معاہبہ بردنغ مقابل اقبال خان آمد. MBL reads
Verse.

If there be one woman or there are thousands,
Seldom are they faithful to their agreement.¹

On the 19th Jamāḍī-ul-auwal, 808 H., the two armies met, when Ḭkbdal meeting with reverses at the first charge withdrew and was chased. Ḭkbdal’s horse was wounded and so he could not escape.² His horse got stuck in the mire and his enemies overtook him; Ḭkbdal attempted to stretch forth his hands and legs: but he³ was slain; his head was severed from his body and sent to Fathpur.

Daulat Khân, Ikhtiār Khân and the other amirs, sent a deputation from Dehlī to Sultan Mahmud insisting on him to undertake the government. In the month of Jamāḍī-ul-akhir of the above year, the Sultan left Kanauj with a small retinue, came to Dehlī and (re)ascended the throne. The family of Ḭkbdal was taken out of Dehlī and sent to the district of Kol. But the good-natured Emperor did not cause any affliction to his family and attendants.⁴ The governorship of the Doāb was conferred upon Daulat Khân; Ikhtiār Khân received the palace of Firozābād (in gift); Iklim Khân Bahādur Nāhir⁵ made an offering of two elephants to the Sultan. In the month of Jamāḍī-ul-auwal, 809 H. (Oct.-Nov., 1406 A.D.), the Sultan marched against Kanauj and sent Daulat Khân with an army to Sāmāna. At the approach of Sultan Mahmud to Kanauj, Sultan Ibrāhim crossed the Ganges and presented a bold front. After

¹ The lines from, “It was manifest ….. agreement,” are to be read in MBL and not in JNS or MBM.
² In the MS. we have:—اصب اقبال زخمی شد ببرون امدن نتوانست. Elliot gives the sense as—" Ḭkbdal’s horse fell upon him and wounded him so that he could not escape." 
³ The lines from “his horse got stuck ….. legs” are to be found in MBL, JNS and MBM omit them.
⁴ This line is to be read in MBL and not in JNS or MBM.
⁵ In Elliot Iklim Khân, ibid., 41. MBL اقبال خان: MBM اقبال خان: JNS agrees with MBM.
some time Sulṭān Ibrāhim retired to Jaunpur and Sulṭān Maḥmud retraced his way to Dehli. On the homeward march the Sulṭān’s army dispersed—his men going towards their respective siefs. Receiving intelligence of this circumstance, Ibrāhim turned round and came to Ḫanauj. Malik Maḥmud Tarmatī, who had been left in command by Sulṭān Maḥmud, was besieged at Ḫanauj. This state of affairs continued for four months. At last, receiving no relief, Tarmatī was forced to surrender and seek an interview. Ḫanauj was entrusted to Ikhtiar Khān, the grandson of Malik Daulatyār Kambal.

Sulṭān Ibrāhim, having passed the rainy season at Ḫanauj, worked his way to Dehli in Jamādi-ul-auwal, 810 H. Nuṣrat Khān Gurg-Andāz, Tāṭār Khān, the son of Sārang Khān, and Malik Marḥabā, the slave of Ikbāl Khān, deserted Sulṭān Maḥmud and joined Sulṭān Ibrāhim. Asad Khān Lodī was invested at Sambhal (by Ibrāhim). On the second day, the conquest of Sambhal being effected, it was bestowed upon Tāṭār Khān. From thence, the victor moved onwards to Dehli by fording the Jaun at Kicha in the vicinity of the city (Dehli). Information reached him that, Zafar Khān after his conquest of Dhar, made Alb Khān, the son of Dilāwar Khān, a prisoner, and was bound for Jaunpur. Sulṭān Ibrāhim left Marḥaba at Baran with a small battalion, and returned by the ford of Kicha on his way to Jaunpur. In Zil-Ḵaʿda,

1 JNS and MBM read مملك مملك ترمتي مملك مملك ترمتي. Elliot, Mahmūd Tarmatī: Badaoni, Malik Maḥmud Tarmatī.
3 MBL omits mentioning the month.
4 Ranking, Nuṣrat Khān Karkandāz: Elliot, Garg-andāz.
5 MBL کامبلا: JNS کامبلا: Badaoni and Elliot, Kicha.
6 JNS and MBM read نشدیک کنارہ آپ جوین در گذر، مبحر کنارہ اک جوین در گذر. MBL reads نشدیک سپهر کنارہ اک جوین در گذر.
7 In central India, Lat. 23° 36' N. Long. 75° 4' E.
8 In central India, between Lat. 25° 23' 45" and 26° 12' N. Long. 82° 10' and 83° 7' 45" E. Sulṭān Ibrāhim built at Jaunpur the Atala Masjid out of the materials of a Hindu temple built by Jai Chand.
9 MBL omits Zil-Ḵaʿda.
of the aforesaid year (Mar.-Apr., 1408 A.D.), Sultan Mahmud left Dehli for Baran and Malik Marhaba gave him battle, but the latter, being defeated at the first onset, made off and was pursued by the Sultan’s army and ultimately done to death. The Sultan then continued his way to Sambhal, but before he reached the banks of the Ganges, Tatar Khan left his garrison behind (Sambhal) and ran away to Kanauj. Sambhal was entrusted to Asad Khan Lodi and the Sultan came back to his capital.

Daulat Khan, who had been sent against Samana, which on the death of Bahram Khan had passed to Bairam Khan Turkbacha, was opposed by the latter. On 11th Rajab, May its dignity increase, 809 H. (Wed., 22nd Dec., 1406 A.D.), a battle was fought between the two at a distance of two kuroh from Samana, in which Daulat Khan came off victorious. Bairam meeting with reverses retired to Sirhind, but after a short time, he co-operated with the victor. Previous to this, Bairam had promised fealty to Masnad-i-‘Ala Khizr Khan, so, when the latter heard of the fall of Samana, he set out with a large army against Daulat Khan. At Khizr’s approach to Fathabad, Daulat retreated across the Jaun.

The amirs and the maliks of his party sought an interview with Khizr Khan. The district of Hisar Firoza was bestowed upon Kawam Khan; Samana and Sammam were taken away from Bairam Khan and were entrusted to Maj-

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1 In Rohilkund, 23 m. S.W. of Moradabad.
2 Ranking, Basad Khan; Elliot, simply “Asad Khan.”
3 25 m. S.W. of Hansi and 100 miles eastward of Dehli.
4 MBL and Elliot give the same date. Ferishta read 810 H. Badaoni gives 812 H.
5 Kuroh, a road measure of about two miles. In Elliot “kos” instead of kuroh.
6 JNS and MBM: Ranking and Elliot Fathabad.
lîs-i-‘Ālâ Zirak Khān; the fief of Sirhind\(^1\) and some other pergan-nahs were given to Bairam Khān. Khīżr returned to Fathpur. In the possession of Sulṭān Mahmud remained some of the territories in the Doab, the fief of Rohtak and other places.

In Rajab, *May its dignity increase*, 811 H. (Nov.-Dec., 1408 A.D.), ʿĀlā Mahmud marched towards Hisār Firoza and besieged Kāvām Khān in the fort. At length, good sense having dawned upon him, Kāvām sent his son to the Sulṭān for service. Mahmud then returned to his capital via Dhātrath.\(^2\) Khīżr Khān, on hearing what had happened, marched quickly to Fathābād and chastised those who had joined the Sulṭān. On 11th Ramız of the aforesaid year (Mon., 28th Jany., 1409 A.D.) Khīżr Khān sent Malik-ul-Ṣḥark Malik Tuḥfa with a powerful army against Dhātrath. Fath Khān with his family made his way to the Doab. Those who remained there were plundered and imprisoned. Bandagi-Masnad-i-‘Ālā (Khīżr Khān) then proceeded to Dehli via Rohtak. Sulṭān Mahmud and Ikhtīār Khān were hemmed in, the former at Siri and the latter at Firozābād. Due to the scanty supply of provisions, Masnad-i-‘Ālā crossed the Jaun and came to the Doab, but meeting with opposition (at this place), he recrossed the river and proceeded to Fathpur.

In 812 H.\(^3\) (1409-10 A.D.), Bairam Khān Turkbāchā turned against Masnad-i-‘Ālā and made an interview with Daulat Khān. At this, Bandagi-Masnad-i-‘Ālā marched his army to Sirhind. Bairam sent out his family into the mountains and himself proceeded with his forces to join Daulat Khān at the ford of Jaun. Masnad-i-‘Ālā ran in his pursuit, and encamped on the bank of the river Jaun. Losing all hope, vanquished and distressed,

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\(^1\) MBL: سرهند. JNS and MBM read سرهمد.

\(^2\) MBL: دهار تربت. JNS and MBM: دهار تربت. Elliot, Dhātrath.

\(^3\) MBL: در شهر اثنان عشر. MBM and JNS: در سنة اثنان عشر.
Bairam went over to Masnad-i-ʿAlā and was restored to his possessions. The victor then returned to Fathpur. During this year, Sultan Mahmud remained in Dehli and undertook no further incursion.

In 813 H. (1410-11 A.D.), Masnad-i-ʿAlā picked his way to Rohtak and besieged Malik Idris. Fighting continued for six months, but at length being hardly pressed, Idris despatched a large sum of money as a tribute and his son as hostage.

Masnad-i-ʿAlā returned by way of Sāmāna to Fathpur. After the departure of Masnad-i-ʿAlā, Sultan Mahmud marched towards Katehar, where having enjoyed himself in hunting for some time, he came back to the capital. The affairs of the government was at its lowest ebb; the Sultan paid no attention to the affairs of the state and threw himself into amusement and merry-making.

In 814 H. (1411-12 A.D.), Masnad-i-ʿAlā again took his way to Rohtak. Malik Idris and Mubariz Khan, his brother, were permitted to kiss the (royal) feet at Hansi and bestowed with numerous favours. Thence, having ravaged Narnol, which was in the possession of Iklim Khan Bahādur, he arrived in Mewāt, harried Tijārah, Sar hath, Kharol and most of the places in Mewat, and going back to Dehli, laid siege to Siri. Sultan Mahmud presented an opposition from that fortress (Siri). Ikhtiar Khan, who was in charge of Firozabhād on behalf of Sultan Mahmud, joined Masnad-i-ʿAlā. The latter marched to the entrance of Siri and encamped at Firozabhād. The district of the Doāb and the environments of Dehli passed under his control.

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1 MBL: The word is کبیر in JNS. In Elliot, Katehr. IV, 43. Ranking (365), Kaithar.
2 In Elliot, Iklim khan and Bahādur Nāhir: Tab-i-Akb. agrees with Elliot. Ferishta, Iklim Khān and Bahādur Khān.
3 The province of Mewāt (or Mīwāt) called after the Meos, a tribe claiming the Rajput origin, lay south of Dehli, and in Mughal times formed part of the Šoubah of Agra. Its most famous towns were Narnol, Ulwar, Tijārah and Rewārī. The province of Mewāt included part of the British Districts of Muttra, Gurgon, a considerable portion of Ulwar and some of Bharatpur. The history of Mewāt merges from the year 1775 in that of Ulwar and Bharatpur.
4 مرفعة in the manuscripts. In Elliot, Sarath, ibid., 44.
In Muḥarram, 815 H. (Apr.-May, 1412 A.D.), provisions running short, (Khizr) went to Fathpur 1 via Panipath. 2 In Jamādi-ul-awal of the afore-said year (Aug.-Sep., 1412 A.D.), Sulṭān Mahmud marched towards Katehar, and after passing some days there a-hunting, returned to Dehli. On his way, the Sulṭān was struck down with illness in Rajab, May its dignity increase (Oct.-Nov., 1412 A.D.), and breathed his last. 3

Hemistich.

God is eternal and the sovereignty of the country belongs to Him. 4

He reigned, through all these disasters and vicissitudes, for a period of 20 years and two months. Allah knows the truth!

After his death, the amīrs, maliks and the servants of the Emperor paid their homage to Daulat Khān. Mubāriz Khān and Malik Idris revolted against Masnad-i-Ālā and joined Daulat. In that year, Bandagi-Masnad-i-Ālā remained in Fathpur, and did not proceed to Dehli.

In Muḥarram, 816 H., Daulat Khān made his way to Katehar, where Rai Har Singh and other rāis sought an interview with him. On reaching Pattīali 5 he was also befriended by Mahabat Khān, the amir of Badāon. It transpired that, Sulṭān Ibrāhim had surrounded Kādir Khān, the son of Mahmud Khān, and a fight had taken place between the two. Being not in command of sufficient force, Daulat Khān refrained himself from opposing Sulṭān Ibrāhim.

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1 In Elliot, Firozpur, ibid. Badaoni, Fathpur.
2 53 miles north of Dehli. Lat 29° 23’ N. Long 77° 1’ 10” E.
3 Tab-i-Akb. and Ferishta give Zil-Ka’da; Badaoni does not state the month; Elliot reads Rajab. Ferishta is not clear as to the year in which Mahmud died.
4 This hemistich is found in MBL and MBM and not in JNS.
5 Badaoni, Baitāli.
In Jamādī-ul-auwal of the same year (July-Aug., 1413 A.D.), \textit{Masnad-i-Ālā} took his army out of Dehli and reached Hisār Firozā, where the amirs and the maliks of the country promised him co-operation. Malik Idris was enclosed in the fort of Rohtak and \textit{Masnad-i-Ālā} went to Mewāt. Jalāl Khān, nephew (brother's son) of ʿIklim Khān, Bahādur Nāhir, waited upon him. Returning from that place, he went to Sambhal and laid it waste. In the month of Zil-hijjah, of the above year (Feb.-March, 1414 A.D.), he marched against Dehli and placed himself at its entrance gate. The siege of Dehli continued for four months. Subsequently, Malik Lonā and the friends and attendants of Daulat conspired together and took hold of the entrance of the \textit{Naubat Khānā} (bandstand). Finding his situation hopeless, Daulat Khān begged for quarter and sought an interview. \textit{Masnad-i-Ālā} condoned his faults and having consigned Daulat to the care of Kawām Khān sent him off to Hisār Firoza. He then took possession of Dehli on the 17th Rabīʿ-ul-auwal, 817 H.\footnote{JNS and MBM \textquotesingle \textquotesingle ʿIklim Khān \textquotesingle \textquotesingle. MBL \textquotesingle \textquotesingle ʿIklim Khān \textquotesingle \textquotesingle.}

\footnote{In the MS. the word is \textquotesingle \textquotesingle Dowla Khāne.}

\footnote{In JNS \textquotesingle \textquotesingle ʿOla \textquotesingle \textquotesingle is the copyist slip for \textquotesingle \textquotesingle āmāl.}

\footnote{MBL simply writes \textquotesingle \textquotesingle در ماه ربیع اول ماه در هفدهم etc. MBM reads \textquotesingle \textquotesingle در ماه ربیع اول ماه در هفدهم. JNS writes \textquotesingle \textquotesingle در ماه ربیع اول. Bahuoni agrees with JNS. In Elliot (p. 45) the date is 8th Rabīʿ-ul-auwal. (Ferishta, Vol. 1, p. 505) gives the date as 15th Rabīʿ-ul-auwal.}
THE HOUSE OF SA'IIYIDS.

An account of Bandagi Rāyāt-i-Ālā ¹ Khizr Khān,² Let the blessing of God be on his tomb, and may he dwell in paradise!³

Khizr Khān was the son of Malik-ul-Shark Malik Sulaimān, who was adopted in childhood and brought up by Malik Naṣir-ul-Muīk Mardān ⁴ Daulat.⁵ But the story runs that, he was the son of a

Khizr Khān's lineage and character.

¹ Service of the exalted (or imperial standards).
² Khizr Khān is the first of the four kings constituting the Sa'iyid house which is verily regarded as the fourth dynasty of the kings of Dehli.

Native historians trace the family of Khizr to that of the Prophet of Arabia, and they accordingly style him and his successors Sādūt, which is the plural of sa'īyid, meaning the chief of the family of Muḥammad. What the nature of consanguinity of Khizr to the Prophet's family was, Yāḥyā, the author of Tāriḵ-i-Muhārakshāhī, does not tell us. Relying on the reported evidence of Jaššū-ud-dīn Bokhārī, the head of the Sa'iyids, in favour of Khizr's pretension to the honour of his being a member of the Prophet's family, Yāḥyā calls him a Sa'īyid.

It is interesting to notice how the aforesaid author, like the other native chroniclers, give no title of Bāḏshāḥ or Sulṭān to Khizr. To compensate for this apparent absence of any regal title, some curious appellations were called into requisition. Thus, the expression Masnad-i-Ālā, signifying "the exalted throne" has been invariably made use of so long Khizr did not ascend the throne; but after his accession the title undergoes an alteration to Rayat-i-Ālā meaning "exalted standard". Nīzām-ul-ḥīd Ahmad, the author of Tabākāt-i-Akbari, and Al-Badaūni of Mundakhab-ul-Tawārīkh, prefer the designations of Rayat-i-Ālā and Masnad-i-Ālā respectively. This prevalence of unanimity among the Indian historians in depriving Khizr of the usual honorifics assigned to rulers, give some support to the proposition that, he made no pretension to be more than a deputy of Timur with whom he had not imprudently cast in his lot. It has been alleged that, Khizr gave out in public that he held the government for Timur. The coins were struck and the khutba read in the name of the "noble Tartarian," after whose death, the name of his successor Shāh Rukh was used; and to the latter, occasional tribute was despatched at his capital Samarkand. Further, the supposition, that Khizr deprived himself of the common nomenclature befitting an independent ruler on the ground that this measure would disarm the jealousy which the nobles of the late government would have felt towards him, and that it would bring them to submission instead of preventing them from submitting to his authority, may not be entirely without any foundation.

³ (May he dwell in paradise) has been omitted in JNS.
⁴ Badaūni read Marwān.
⁵ JNS reads
Sa‘iyid. (Once) when refreshment was served before Bandagi Makhdum, the chief and the progenitor of the Sa‘iyids, Jalal-ul-Hukwa-ul-Share’a-wa-ud-din Bokhari, May God be pleased with him! who came for advice in the house of Malik Mardan Daulat, Malik Sulaiman was ordered (by his adoptive father) to wash the hands of the guest. The latter said that, he (Malik Sulaiman) was a Sa‘iyid zadah, and (as such) was unfit for such a work as that. Thus, when Bandagi Makhdum, the head of the Sa‘iyids, bore testimony to Sulaiman’s being a Sa‘iyid, there remained no doubt about his pedigree. Another proof of his Sa‘iyid origin is, that he was generous, brave, gentle, kind, humble, true to his promise and temperate; these are all the virtues which were conspicuous in Hazrat Musafta (the Prophet) — with him be peace! and were manifest in his nature of laudable attributes.

To sum up, on the death of Malik Mardan Daulat, the sief of Multan devolved upon Malik Sheikh, his son, and soon after the latter’s demise, to Malik Sulaiman, who also expiring in a short time, the country along with its dependencies and suburbs fell upon Bandagi-i-Bandgani Rayat-i-‘Ala, May the Almighty God make him supreme! from the late Sultan Firoz Shah. God, the Almighty, had selected him (Khizr) for great work and excessive prosperity and his exalted stateliness waxed from day to day. In fine, the incidents of his campaigns and successes before he completed the subjugation of Dar-ul-mulk Dehli by the Grace of the All-Powerful God, have been previously related.

1 MBL reads, طفنگی پسر کرده پروردگر بود.
2 JNS and MBM omit it.
3 MBL reads, مقبول القول و مصدق الراد.
4 MBL reads, و این معجم اوصاف حضرت.
On the 15th Rabî‘-ul-awwal, 817 H. (Mon., the 4th June, 1414 A.D.), Râyát-i-‘Älā made an entry into the fort of Siri, and his army encamped in the palace of Sultân Maḥmûd. The inhabitants of the city, who during the course of late events had become ruined and indigent, were rewarded with gifts, pensions and proper allowances. The fortune of Khiţr gave them rest and happiness. Malik-ul-Shârk Malik Tuĥfa obtained the designation of Tâj-ul-Mulk and the vizirate. Sa‘iyyid Sa‘îm, the chief of the sa‘iyyâds, received the akṭâ (fief), and shîkk (district) of Sahâranpur. All the affairs (of the state) were set in order. Malik ‘Abdur Rahim, adopted son of late Malik Sulaimân, got the title of ‘Alâ‘-ul-Mulk and the akṭâ and shîkk of Multân and Farâpur. Malik Sarup became the governor of the city and the vicegerent. Malik Khair-ud-dîn Khâni was appointed the muster-master, Malik Kâlû, the keeper of the elephants, and Malik Dâ‘ud, the secretary. The district in the Doáb was

1 MBL: حوادث ماصية JNS and MBM: حوادث ماصية
2 MBL: مستمزل و محل حال و حسسيرا و قربنوا JNS and MBM omit حسسيرا و قربنوا و هي نوا
3 MBL: مرنه الحال الاستنصال JNS: مرنه الحال
4 Badoni, Malik Naho.
5 Sa‘iyyid Sa‘îm was the chief of the fraternity known as the Sa‘iyyid family of Bârha, whose ancestors seem to have settled in Muzaffarnagar in the Meerut Division of U.P. In course of time they became daring military leaders and helped the emperors on all services of danger. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they shouldered their way to great eminence and filled many important offices about the court.

6 Saharanpur, a district in the Meerut Division of the United Provinces, lying between 29° 34’ and 30° 24’ N. and 77° 7’ and 78° 12’ E., forms the northernly portion of the Doáb or alluvial plain between the Ganges and Jumna.

7 Farâpur, in Multân district, Punjab; fifty miles south-east of Multân. Lat. 29° 4’, Long. 72° 10’.

8 In Tab-i-Akb. and in Elliot IV, Malik Sarwar: MBL and MBM read سروپ: صرب

9 شعنة شهري و نائب غيبيت
10 عارض صالات
11 شعنة بيل
12 نائب شغل ديربي
13 The name Doáb, meaning “two rivers”, is commonly applied to the land between the confluence of any two rivers, but especially to the tract between the
entrusted to Ikhtiar Khân. The slaves of the ci-devant Sulthan were confirmed in the pergannahs, villages and the sefts which they enjoyed in the late reign (Sultan Mahmud). They were despatched to their pergannahs; the affairs of the state were set to rights.

In 817 H. (1414-15 A.D.), Malik-ul-Shark Taj-ul-Mulk1 was sent off with an army to Hindustan,2 while Khizr himself remained in Dehli. The former crossed the river Jaun and reached Ahâr3; (then) having forded the Ganges4 he went to Katehar,5 plundered and devastated the territory of the infidels. Râi Har Singh fled to the mountains of Anwâla6 and feeling himself distressed at the advent of the Muhammadans, he paid them taxes, tribute and money.7 Mahâbat Khân, the amir of Badaôn,8 also had an interview with Malik Taj-ul-Mulk. Thence pursuing the course of (the river) Rahab, he came to the ford Sargdawâri9 and crossed the Ganges; brought to book the Ganges and the Jumna in the United Provinces, extending from the Sivâlikis (a range of hills in Northern India, running parallel to the Himâlayas for about 200 miles from the Beak to the Ganges) to the junction of the two rivers at Allahabad.

1 According to Badaoni Taj-ul-Mulk's former name was Malik Naho; but according to Ferishta his name was Malik Tuhfa.

2 The name implies the "place of the Hindus"; it has been applied to a vaguely-defined area. In Muhammadan histories the term is used for that area which comprises the east of the Punjab and Râjputâna and the greater part of the United Provinces.

3 In the Bulandshahr district, between Bulandshahr and Moradâbâd: Lat. 28° 27', Long. 78° 18', MBL reads قصبہ لاهار JNS and MBM اهار.

4 Badaoni writes that he crossed the Ganges at the ford of Pirâhâ (Ranking, 377).

5 MBM کنہسپر: JNS کنپکسپر. Identified with the present province of Rohilkhand. See Elliot, IV, 49 in 3.

6 MBL کنپنی انوكل: JNS درآ آنولہ: Tab-i-Akb. کنپنی انوكل: Elliot (47) has "mountains of Anwala". Identified with Aoula, Aoumlah or Aoulaganj, a town in Bareilly district. Lat. 28° 16' 25", Long. 79° 12' 25".

7 مصطفى و مال و خدامی.

8 Badaon district, south-western district of the Bareilly division, United Provinces.

9 The three MSS. read سرکدواری: Tab-i-Akb. reads سرکدواری. In Elliot, IV, 47, Sarg-dwari: Badaoni (p. 275) سرکدواری; it is located in Farrukhabad district.
infidels of Khorah and Kampil and proceeded to Parham via Sakina. Hasan Khan, the amir of Rapri and Malik Hamza, his brother, joined Malik Taj-ul-Mulk. Rai Sabir did homage to him; the infidels of Gwallor, Seori and Chandwâr paid taxes and tribute and put their heads under the yoke of obedience. He (Taj-ul-Mulk) wrested Jalesar from the unbelievers of Chandwâr, handed it over to the Musalmans, who formerly owned it and placed his own agents there. From that place he took the course of the black river and inflicting penalty on the infidels of Etawah returned to Delhi.

In 818 H. (1415-16 A.D.), (Khizr Khan) conferred upon the noble and illustrious prince Malik-ul-Sharq Malik Mubârak who was best suited to sovereignty, proper authority, (in addition to) the districts of Firozpûr, Sirhind and all the akhâs of Bairam Khan, the deceased. (Further) he put him in command of all the western countries, and appointed Malik Sadhâ Nadira, naib or deputy of Shâhzâdâh Mu'azm. After the affairs

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1 MBL: MBM and JNS: In Elliot, Khur; Badaoni, Kahwar identified with modern Shamsabâd in the Farrukhâbâd district in U. P.; 18 m. north-west of Fategah town. Badaoni, p. 276, says:—کور که حائال بشپساد مشہور است۔

2 Tab-i-Akb. کنیالہ: In Elliot, Kambil; in Badaoni, ibid. کنیالہ. Kampil is in Farrukhâbâd district, Lat. 27° 37', Long. 79° 1'.

3 MBM and MBL: JNS پارم: In Elliot, Bâdham. In Badaoni بادم.

4 MBL: MBM and JNS: سکینہ۔کور سکینہ: In Badaoni سکینہ between Kampila and Rapri, 12 m. south-east of Etawah town.

5 In Mainpuri district (in Agra division) situated on the left bank of Jamuna, about 44 m. south-west of Mainpuri. Its founder was Râpur Sen. Cf. Hunter's Gaz. of Ind., XI, 511.

6 Badaoni reads Malik Hamra.

7 In Badaoni, 276, رازی سر۔

8 Situated on the Jamuna, a few miles below Agra.

9 MBL and JNS: جانیس: MBM reads جانیس. 38 m. east of Muttar: in Etawah district, Lat. 27° 28', Long. 78° 20' 30".

10 MBL reads آب سیاہ، Badaoni agrees with JNS and MBM. Refers to Kâli Nadi, a tributary of the Ganges—the chief river in the district of Etawah in Agra division. Kâli Nadi is a corruption of Kâlindi.

11 Firozpore or Ferozepore, a district in the Julundhur division of the Punjab.
of the country had been put into order, the Prince returned with Malik Sadhū Nādira, Zirak Khān, the amīr of Sāmāna ¹ and the other amīrs and maliks, to Dehli in the month of Zil-ḥijjah (Feb., 1416 A.D.).

In 819 H. (1416-17 A.D.), Rāyāt-i-ʿĀlā despatched Tāj-ul-Mulk with a large force to Bānāh and Gwālior. On his reaching the confines of Bānāh, Malik Karim-ul-Mulk, brother of Shams Khān Aḥādī, came to wait on him. From thence, he continued his way to Gwālior, which he sacked, and having exacted money and servitude from (the Raī of) Gwālior and the other rāis, he crossed the Jaun opposite Chandwār, and wended his way to Kampila and Patiālī. ⁸ Rai Har Singh, the lord of Katehar, swore fealty, so, after realising money and subjection, Tāj-ul-Mulk went back to Dehli. Malik Sadhū Nādira, ⁴ who had been ordered to Sirhind as the agent of Prince Muʿazm (Mubārak), was assassinated in Jamādī-ul-auwal (June-July, 1414 A.D.) by some of the Turkbāchās of the family of Bāiram Khān and Sirhind was taken possession of by them. Rāyāt-i-ʿĀlā sent Malik Dāʿud, the secretary and Zirak Khān to put down the miscreants. The Turkbāchās took to their heels across the Sutlej ⁶ and resorted to the mountains, where the Imperialists, too, went in their pursuit. This state of affairs continued for a couple of months; (but) as the mountains were impregnable, the royalists wheeled round. In the meantime, it was reported in the month of Ṣubhāb (Aug.-Sept., 1416 A.D.), May its dignity increase! that, Sulṭān Aḥmad of Gujrat ⁷ had

Submission of Har Singh of Katehar.

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¹ In Patiāla State, Punjab, situated 85 cosses on the west of Dehli.
² MBL: در شهر سنه تسع عشر و ثما نباه. JNS, MBM and Elliot omit در شهر.
³ In Badaoni, 236; In Etawah district, situated in Lat. 27° 41', Long. 79° 4'; 44 m. north-west of Fategarh.
⁴ Ferishta, p. 809, calls him Mullik Ladho.
⁵ Tract in the Punjab, consisting of the north-eastern portion of the plain which intervenes between the Jamuna and Sutlej rivers.
⁶ MBL: ستلی. JNS: ستلی.
⁷ MBL: سلطان احمد ضابط جغرات. JNS and MBM: سلطان احمد باشة عرسه گجرات گجرات.
come and invested Nāgor.1 Then Rāyāt-i-Ālā set out for Nāgor and passed through Tonk2 and Todah.3 On being informed of this, Sultān Ahmad of Gujrat retreated towards Dhar.4 Then Khizr Khān proceeded to the new city Jhān5 and Ilyās Khān, the amīr of that place, obtained the eminence of kissing the feet (of the Emperor). Having put down the rebellion of that country, Khizr came to Gwalior and besieged its amīr. As the fort was exceptionally strong, it could not be conquered; so accepting money and revenue from Gwalior, the Sultān proceeded to Bīnah, where Shams Khān Aḥṣadi, too, offered him money and homage. After this, he picked his way to Dehlī.

* * *

His return to the Capital.

In 820 H. (1417-18 A.D.), it transpired that Tughān Ra’īs and some of the Turkbāchās, who murdered Sādhu, had rebelled. Zirak Khān, the amīr of Sāmānā, was sent out with a big force to suppress the rebellion. As the (imperial) army neared Sāmānā, Tughān and sundry other Turkbāchās, who had laid siege to Malik Kamāl Badhan, the representative of Khān-zādāh Muʿāzm in Sirhind,7 raised the siege and retired to the mountains. Zirak Khān gave them a chase so far as Pāil,8 compelled Tughān to pay a fine, and to expel the Turkbāchā murderers from his own camp, as well as to give up his son as a hostage. Zirak Khān despatched both

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1 A town in Jodhpur State, Rajputana, situated 75 miles north-east of Jodhpur, in lat. 27° 11’ 15”, long. 73° 46’ 15”. In Briggs, Bagore (I, 509).
2 MBL reads ایبی خبر پیدا ہوئے ایکی گھڑیت.
3 JNS and MBM omit this line.
4 In Rajputana, lat. 26° 10’, long. 75° 56’.
5 In Jaipur State, Rajputana, 63 miles south by west from Jaipur, lat. 26° 4’, long. 75° 39’.
6 Capital of Dhar State, Central India Agency. Lat. 22° 36’, long. 75° 20’.
7 JNS कपूर नगर-सिंह.
The Tabākat-i-Akbārī calls it: - شهر نوغر جوان.
8 MBM and MBL مب مب: Tab-i-Akb. پابل: Pāil may be identified with Bails or Byla in Dehra Dun district on a high mountain. Lat. 30° 45’, Long. 77° 47’. In Elliot, p. 49, Bail; Ferishta ibid., I, 510, Pāil.
the hostage and the amount (realised from Tūghān Ra’īs) to Dehli and himself withdrew to Sāmāna.

In 821 H. (1418-19 A.D.), Rāyāt-i-ʻĀlā sent Malik Tāj-ul-Mulk with a numerous army to put down the rebellion of Har Singh of Katehar. When the force went across the Ganges, Har Singh laid waste Katehar and receded to the forests of Anwālā which was twenty-four kuroh in circumference. The army of Islām encamped in the forest, and Har Singh being enclosed therein had to fight. With the assistance of Almighty God, the army of Islām came off with flying colours and all the furniture, baggage, arms and horses fell a prey to the victor. Har Singh retired to the mountains of Kumāyūn. Next day, some 20,000 cavalry were sent in pursuit of the fugitive, whilst Tāj-ul-Mulk remained there (Anwālā) with his troops and requisites. The royal forces waded through the river Rahab and followed up the enemy to the hills of Kumāyūn. Har Singh emerged from the mountains and on the fifth day, the Imperial army returned, having laid hold on a large plunder. Thence, Tāj-ul-Mulk passing along the vicinity of the district of Bādāān came near the bank of the Ganges and went across it at Bījānā. Mahābat Khān, the amir of Bādāān, was permitted to go, while Tāj-ul-Mulk continued his way to Etāwah, which he overran. Rāi Sabir, the chief of Etāwah, was hemmed in, till peace was effected on his rendering tribute and homage. From that place the victor returned in triumph to Dehli in the month of Rabī‘-ul-ākhir (821 H.) (May-June, 1418 A.D.). He then placed before Rāyāt-i-ʻĀlā the money and tribute which he had exacted of the Rāi and was (in return) encompassed with special favours.

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1 Ferishta, ibid., Nur Sing. Badaoni, p. 287 (Bibliotheca Indica series) has Har-sing Deo (هرسینگ دیو).
2 MBL انوار. ْانوار وبال. ْMBM نوزل كرد.
3 In Elliot, ibid., 24 kos.
4 MBL نداو كرد. JNS and MBM نوزل كرد.
5 MBL جن و MBM بعلانه; Identified with Bijnaur (or Bijnor), a town in Bijnaur district, in the Berilley Div., U.P. Lat. 29° 22‘ 36“. Long. 78° 10‘ 32‘.
6 In Badaoni, ibid., مراهك خان حاکم بداوان.
7 Elliot writes 899 H.
In the year 821 H. (1418-19 A.D.), Rāyāt-i-'Ālā advanced to Katehar. 1 Chastising the recalcitrants of Kol, 2 he scoured the forests of Rahab and Sambhal 3 and overthrew their refractory inhabitants. From thence, in the month of Zil-ka'da (Nov.-Dec.), he marched to Badaūn 4 and crossed the Ganges near Patali. 5 Overcome with terror at the approach of Khizr, Mahābat undertook preparations for standing a siege. In the month of Zil-Ḥijjah (Dec.-Jany., 1418-19 A.D.), Khizr Khan invested Badaūn, and Mahābat held out for about six months. When victory was imminent, news arrived that some of the amirs and maliks, such as Kawām Khan, Ikhtiār Khan and the attendants of Mahmud Shāh, who having been overpowered by Daulat Khan had joined Rāyāt-i-'Ālā, 6 formed a conspiracy against the latter. Whereupon he (Khizr) raised the siege of Badaūn and retired to Dehli. On the way, by the banks of the Ganges, on the 20th Jamādi-ul-awwal, 822 H. (Wed., 14th June, 1419 A.D.) having seized Kawām Khan, Ikhtiār Khan, and the partisans of Sulṭān Mahmud, Khizr put them to death for their conspiracy, and then returned to Dehli with successive marches.

About this time, news arrived of a swindler, who took upon himself the appellation of Sārang Khan. It transpired that, a certain individual had appeared in the mountains of Bājwāra, 7 a dependency of Jālandhar, 8 and had given

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1 MBL كَتِبُ.
2 Identified with Koīl in Aligarh district, United Provinces.
3 JNS نسب: MBL and MBM read: In Moradābād Dist., U.P., 22 miles S.W. of Moradābād town. Lat. 28° 35' 5", Long. 78° 36' 30": west of Srinagar. Lat. 34° 11', Long. 74° 47'.
4 Firishta states (Briggs, I, p. 510) that, the Sulṭān after having laid waste the country of Sambal and Katehar returned to his capital, and after remaining at Dehli only a few days, moved towards Badaūn.
5 Badaoni, Baitāli.
6 JNS is here illegible.
7 بَاجِوَرَة in Hoshiarpur district, Punjab. Firishta (ibid., page 511) reads Machiwhara; Nisām-ud-dīn Ahmed (Tabākāt-i-Akbāri), and Badaoni, ibid., p. 288, make it Bājwāra. JNS reads مَرُضِيْنِ دِرْكَةٌ بَاجِوَرَة اعْمَالُ (?) جَالِندَهِر).
8 Jullundur, division of the Punjab; between lat. 30° 58' 30"—32° 59' and long. 75° 6' 30"—77° 49' 15".
himself out to be Sārang Khān. Some foolish and ignorant people joined forces with him. The Sultān bestowed the fief of Sirhind upon Malik Sultān Shāh Lodi and deputed him to suppress the insurrection. In the month of Rajab, July-Aug. (1419 A.D.), Malik Sultān Shāh proceeded with his forces to Sirhind. The sei-disant Sārang, with his rustic adherents, sallied forth from Bājwāra, and when he neared Sutlej, the inhabitants of Rupar joined hands with him. In the month of Shā‘bān (Aug.-Sep., 1419 A.D.) the forces neared each other near Sirhind. In the conflict that took place, Malik Sultān Shāh Lodi won the laurels, and Sārang the deceiver, retired to Lahori, one of the dependencies of Sirhind. Khwāja ‘Ali Indarābī, the amir of Jhath, with his followers had an interview with Sārang. Likewise, did Zirak Khān, the amir of Sāmāna, and Tughān Ra’īs Turkbāchā of Jālandhar co-operate with Malik Sultān Shāh. At the approach of the Malik’s army to Sirhind, the aforesaid Sārang ran away to Rupar. Khwāja ‘Ali deserted Sārang for Zirak Khān. The following day, when the victorious forces ran in pursuit of the pretender to Rupar, the latter withdrew to the mountains. Here (Rupar), the royal army encamped. In the

1 Ferishta gives him the name of Islām Khān. MBM is here erroneous. It reads کونه اندهب امرا لوگی را اقتاع سپهرند.

2 MBL ملک سلطانِ شریعت همبہر ہے برام جوہریہ سے ماتر رجب چرہ قدرہ سے MBM and JNS سلطانِ شریعت در مائی ملک MBM and JNS المذکور بالشکر خاصة خبرِ در سرمرب رفی MBM and JNS etc.

3 MBL and MBM MBM reads ستلار MBM reads رئی برم JNS reads تاز وب از درومی برم JNS reads: In Umballa district, Punjab; situated on the south bank of the Sutlej, 43m. north of Umballa City.

5 MBL MBM MBM reads: In Elliot (page 51) Tarasari. In Tabakat-i-Akbari, Lahori. Badaoni (ibid.) states that Sārang Khān, meeting with reverses, fled to the hills (بکوستان در آمد). Ferishta, p. 511, supports Badaoni.

6 MBL MBM MBM reads: Tab-i-Akb. اندراني JNS reads خراج علی ماربندرا: we have adopted Elliot, vol. iv, page 51.

7 MBL MBM MBM reads جھیت JNS makes it جھیت: Jat in Gurgon district, Punjab, 48m. south-west of Delhi.

8 MBL azəəb.
meantime, Malik Khair-ud-din Khānī was (also) sent with a force to quell the rebellion of Sārang. In the month of Ramzān (Sep.-Oct.) Malik Khair-ud-din reached Rupar, and therc the forces united, and marched into the mountains in pursuit of the impostor. Sārang Khān’s followers were vanquished and helpless, but as the mountains were not easy of conquest the victorious army went back after some time. Malik Khair-ud-din Khānī took his way to the capital, and Zirak Khān went to Sāmāna, leaving Sultan Shāh Lodī¹ with a force in possession of the thanah Rupar. So the (royal) army was dispersed.

In Muḥarram, 823 H. (Jany.-Feb., 1420 A.D.), the aforesaid Sārang Khān joined Malik Tūghān Ra’īs Turk-bāchā, when Tūghān treacherously got the former into his power, made him a prisoner, and later put him to death.² That year Rāyāt-i-Ālā remained in the capital and sent away Malik Tāj-ul-Mulk with a strong contingent against Etawah. Marching through the town of Baran,³ this army came into the country of Kol, and after extirpating the rebels in that quarter, it moved to Etawah and there destroyed the village of Dehli, one of the strongholds of the unbelievers. It then marched against Etawah and besieged Rai Sabir,⁴ who sued for peace and paid his annual revenue and tribute. The victorious army (then) proceeded to the country of Chandwār, which it plundered and laid waste. From thence it passed on to Katehar,⁵ where Rai Harsing, its chief, paid revenue and tribute. Triumphant and victorious, Malik Tāj-ul-Mulk then returned to the capital. In the month of Rajab (July-Aug., 1420 A.D.), news arrived that, Tūghān Ra’īs had for the second time raised the

¹ MBM سلطانشاه كودي.
² On discovering that his colleague possessed a large quantity of jewels, Mullick Tughhan caused Sarang Khan to be assassinated. Ferishta, 511.
³ In Bulandshahr district.
⁴ In Elliot (52), Rai Sarwar; and Saru in Tabākat-i-Akbari. Ferishta (ibid., p. 512) calls him Soomur Ray. Badaoni(p. 288) has Rai Sir. Ranking (380) Rai Sipar.
⁵ MBL. کنپیر. MBM کابنر.
standard of insurrection, and that, having laid siege to the fort of Sirhind, pillaged the tract lying between Mansurpur and Pail. Rayat-i-ʿAlā again sent Malik Khair-ud-din Khāni with a powerful force to coerce the rebel. The latter proceeded to Sāmāna. From thence, the joint forces of Majlis-i-ʿAli Zirak Khān and Malik Khair-ud-din ran after the insurgent, who being apprised of their approach, crossed the Sutlej near Ludhianā and stood facing the Imperialist from the other side of the river. But the waters were at a low ebb, and the royal force went across. Meeting with reverses, Tughān ran away to the territory of Jasarath Khokhar. The aṅkā’ belonging to the fugitive was bestowed upon Zirak Khān, and Malik Khair-ud-din wheeled round to Dehli.

In the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.), Rayat-i-ʿAlā set out towards Mewāt. Some of the Mewātīs were besieged in the kollah (fortress) of Bahādur Nāhir, while sundry others, extended their hands of fellowship to Khizr Khān. Rayat-i-ʿAlā encamped himself near the kollah and the people of Mewāt offered him resistance. The fortress capitulated at the first onset and the besieged retired towards the mountains. Having razed the fortress to the ground, Khizr took his way to Gwālior. Meanwhile, on the 8th Muḥarram, 824 H. (Mon., 13th Jany., 1421 A.D.), Malik Tāj-ul-Mulk breathed his last, and the office of vizir and the affairs of the state were entrusted to Malik-ul-Shākb Malik Sikandar, the eldest son of the deceased. Reaching Gwālior, Rayat-i-ʿAlā invested the chief of the place, ravaged the country and returned to Etawah, exacting tribute from the Gwālior raja. Rai Sabir,
the ruler of Etawah was dead, and his son made his submission
and consented to pay tribute and accept servitude. The auspicious Rāyāt-i-Ālā falling
sick during the campaign, returned to Dehli,
where he passed away on the 17th Jamāḍī-ul-auwal, 824 H. (Tues., 20th May, 1421 A.D.).

Verse

Every evening is followed by the morning.¹
At last there comes an end to every labour.²

May God, the Great and the Glorious, immerse the pure soul
(of the deceased sovereign) in the (ocean of) divine mercy: and
may He, also, in the name of Naib-ul-Mukhtar (Prophet Muḥammad)
and his descendants who are immaculate,—keep the memory of the
Bādshāh, the refuge of the world, everlasting till the end of the
universe and the cessation of the progeny of Adam!

Account of Sultān-i-Āzam—wa-Khudāīgān-i-Mu‘āzm—Mu‘iz-
dud-duniyā—wa-ud-din Mubārak Shāh, May his kingdom and
sovereignty be eternal and may his command and dignity
be most high!

Three days prior to his approaching death, on the 17th Jamāḍī-
ul-auwal, 824 A.H.³ (Tuesday, 20th May, 1421
A.D.), Khizr Khān, May the blessing of God be on
his tomb! nominated his worthy and favourite
son⁴ heir-apparent, and made him sit on the
imperial throne with the approbation of all the
Amīrs and Māliks. After the death of Rāyāt-i-Ālā, the people in
general made a fresh acknowledgment of obedience (to the new suc-
cessor). The Amīrs and Māliks, the prelates and chiefs, the judges
and all those who were given an office in the reign of the defunct

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¹ JNS and MBM read از ہزارھما: MBL reads میں کسی

² آخر ہزارھما: مرہ ہزارھما: است

³ JNS and MBM read: MBM نسیم 1n Elliot (IV, 53), 18th Jamāḍī-ul

⁴ JNS and MBM read: مرہ نسیم ہزارھما: وہار ہزارھما: است

Δ: lit. every ascent is followed by a descent.

Δ JNS and MBM read: MBM نسیم ہزارھما: In Badaoni, 821 A.H. Ferashta says “three days after his death”.

Δ JNS and MBM read: مرہ نسیم ہزارھما: and هزارھما: است

Δ literally means, necessary: requisite.
Khizr Khan, May he have a good resting place! were confirmed in their (respective) offices, fiefs, parganas, villages, pensions and allotments: the new Sultan even increased them of his own accord. The fiefs in the districts of Hisar Firoza and Hansi were taken from Malik Rajab Nahir, and entrusted to Malik-ul-sharik Malik Badah, the Sultan's nephew. Malik Rajab obtained the fief of the district of Dibalpur. News now arrived that, Jarsath Shaikha Khokhar and Tughan Ra'is had raised the standards of rebellion. The cause of Tughan's resistance to authority was, that a year previous to this incident, in the month of Jamadi-ul-awwal, 823 A.H. (May-June, 1420 A.D.), Sultan Ali, King of Kashmir, who took his cohorts to Thatha, had on his way back been opposed by Jarsath, when the Sultan's army was driven pell-mell, a portion being still in Thatha, and a part only came out. Incapable of sustaining the attack, it made a stampede: Sultan Ali was made captive, and his baggage and provisions were plundered. Excited with victory and exultant at the strength of his battalion, an imprudent rustic that he was, Jarsath displayed (symptoms of)
intoxication and fool-hardiness, and began cherishing imaginary visions of the conquest of Dehli.\(^1\) Being informed of the death of Khizr Khan,\(^2\) he went across the Beah\(^3\) (Beas) and Sutlej\(^4\) with a column of cavalry and infantry and fell upon Rai Kamal-ud-din Main\(^5\) at Talwandi.\(^6\) Rai Firoz was constrained to betake himself to the desert.\(^7\) Jasrath next ravaged the territory from Ludhiñana\(^8\) to Rupar\(^9\) on the Sutlej. A few days after, he crossed the Sutlej again and led his army to Jalandhar.\(^10\) Zirak Khan was invested in the fort of Jalandhar, and Jasrath having encamped on the bank of Beni,\(^11\) at a distance of three kuroh from the town,\(^12\) made a false negotiation for peace.\(^13\) At length, agreement was arrived at between the contending parties on terms that, the fort was to be given up and left over under the care of Tughan,\(^14\) that Majlis-i-‘Ali Zirak Khan was to take a son of Tughan to Dehli,\(^15\) and that Jasrath was to send an embassy (to His Majesty) and return home.

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\(^1\) JNS and MBM read جشتر مذکور مردی کوئنا اندیش و رستنی بود برادر شد و مشتی حشرات کرد خریش جمع دید ماخولیا دهلی در سرا انتادند and كرده and كرده respectively, and adds شهر before دهلی.

\(^2\) بنگرگي رات اعلی

\(^3\) JNS: کورا آب بیابه.

\(^4\) MBL: ستاند.

\(^5\) MBL: میمن.

\(^6\) Badauni reads Kamal-ud-din Mubin.

\(^7\) 20 miles S.S.W. of Ludhiana.

\(^8\) MSS. read جول: Elliot reads “desert”: Badaoni simply writes “Rai Firoz fled before him.”

\(^9\) MSS. read أوربر: Rupar, a subdivision of Ambala, district Punjab: Between 30° 45' and 31° 13' N. and 76° 19' and 76° 44' E., 50 miles N.E. of Ludhiana.

\(^10\) It was the original capital of the Raiput kingdom of Katoch.

\(^11\) MBM: جشتر که سکا بیستی جبهرے مذکور نیزول نکرد.

\(^12\) MBM: و بیسی.

\(^13\) مذاکرہ اصلاح درمیانی آورد.

\(^14\) Fereshta says Jasrath appointed Tughan as the general-in-chief of his troops.

\(^15\) مک نظر بر اولم سکا مذکور برابر کرده در حضرت برد.
Accordingly, on the 2nd Jamādi-ul-ākhir, 824 A.H. (Wed., 4th June, 1421 A.D.), Zirak Khān emerged out of the fort of Jalandhar and encamped on the bank of the Beni, at a distance of about three kuroh from the army of Jasrath: next day, Jasrath with the whole of his entourage ready (to receive him) approached Zirak Khān, but he (Jasrath) broke the sanctity of contract, and under proper escort carried him off a prisoner over Sutlej to Ludhiana.¹ Then, on the 20th Jamādi-ul-ākhir (Sunday, 22nd June, 1421 A.D.), he left the place by successive marches for Sirhind, where he arrived in the middle of the rainy season. Malik Sultan Shāh Lodi,² the Amir of Sirhind, was besieged in the fort of Sirhind,³ and although Jasrath put forth best efforts to take the fortress he failed, as God guarded it. When the statement of affairs supplemented by a request for succour from Sultan Shāh Lodi reached the Sultan,⁴ he left the city (Dehli) in spite of the rainy season in the month of Rajab (July, 1421 A.D.),⁵ and made for Sirhind; with successive marches he reached Kohila,⁶ near Sāmānā,⁷ when Jasrath hearing of his advance raised the siege on the 27th Rajab (Monday, the 28th July) and fell back to Ludhiana. He released Zirak Khān,⁸ who went to Sāmānā and joined the King. The Dehli army now advanced towards Ludhiana, where Jasrath having forded the Sutlej⁹ encamped in front of the victorious army, (on the other bank of the

¹ MBL and MBM لدھیانہ JNS لدھیانہ.
² Ferishta says Islām Khān.
³ Sirhind (or Fetehgarh), in Patiala State, Punjab, situated in 30° 88' N. and 76° 27' E. The spelling Sirhind is modern, and due to a fanciful derivation from Sir-hind, the "head of India" due to its strategic position. Sahriand is said to mean the "lion forest", but one tradition assigns its foundation to Sāhir Rao, a ruler of Lāhore. Imp. Gaz., Punjab, II, 309 et seq.
⁴ خداوند عالم پناہ.
⁵ بنارگ خا مہ رجب.
⁶ JNS کوہیل: MBL and MBM کوہیل: Elliot, Kohila: May be identified with mod. Koi or Khoi, a village in Patiala State, Punjab, 48 miles south of Ludhiana.
⁷ Sāmānā, in Patiala State, Punjab, 17 miles south-west of Patiala town.
⁸ مسند عالمی زبردکشان: Ferishta is of opinion that Zirak Khān contrived to effect his escape: Badauni states جسریہ نہ زبردکشان را گذار گذاشت.
⁹ MBL ابادانی، Ludhiana river.
river). As Jasrath had secured all the boats on the river, he retarded the progress of his adversaries across the stream. For forty days they fought with each other, remaining posted in their respective places. But with the appearance of Canopus the waters subsided, and the Sultan moved to Kabulpur. Jasrath, too, keeping himself to the river bank made a pari passu progress. On the 11th Shawkat (Thurs., 9th Oct.) Khudawand-i-’Alm sent Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, Majlis-i-’Ali Zirak Khan, Malik-ul-SharK Mahmud Hasan, Malik Kali, and other Amirs with strong reinforcements and six elephants to cross the river higher up at Ruabar. They forded the river in the morning, and, on the same day, Khudawand-i-’Alm (with the main body of the army) advanced to the place where his avant-courier had crossed the stream before. Keeping himself to the river bank, Jasrath made a parallel move. When the tidings that the Imperialists had crossed the river reached him, Jasrath in a fit of nerve stationed himself at a distance of four kuroh from the ford. Crossing the river with his baggage, attendants and elephants, the Sultan approached the rebel, who without making any show of resistance took to his heels. The King’s forces pursued the enemy closely, capturing all their equipage and slaying many a horse and footmen. Jasrath beat a hasty retreat towards Jalandhar with his brave cavalry, and on the day following, he crossed the Beah. At the advent of the victorious army near the Beah, the fugitive ran precipitately towards the Ravi. In chase of the enemy, the Sultan crossed the Beah at the base of the hills and reached the Ravi near Bhowa. Jasrath crossed Jahnaw and entered Tilhar, situated in the mountains. Rai Bhim, the chief of Jammu, was
honoured with an interview by the Sultān and received the eminence of being appointed as (a Imperial) guide. The Rāi went across Jānhāo, and demolished Tilhar which was Jasrath’s strongest place, imprisoning many of those who had sought refuge there. Safely and securely laden with booty, the Sultān, then found his way to Lāhore.

In the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 825 (Dec.-Jany., 1420-21 A.D.), the shade of the blessed fortune and the shadow of the Imperial umbrella fell upon the deserted city of Lāhore, which was bereft of any living soul, save the inauspicious owls which had made it their abode. After a time, the Sultān turned his attention to the restoration of the city, and under his royal favour building was reconstructed. He stayed there encamped by the side of Rāvī for nearly a month, engaged in repairing the fort and the gates. When the repair work was brought to a completion, the fief of Lāhore was bestowed upon Malik-ul-Shark Mahmud Hasan, and a contingent of two thousand horses was placed under him. Having made suitable arrangements for the upkeep of the army and the fort, His Majesty returned to Dār-ul-Mulk Dehli.

In Jamādi-ul-auwal (Apr.-May) of the aforesaid year (825 A.H., 1421 A.D.), Jasrath Shaikhā crossed the Jānhāo and the Rāvī with a large body of infantry and cavalry and proceeding to the auspicious Mubārakābād Lāhore encamped near the tomb of Sheikh-ul-Mushaēkh Sheikh Ḥasīn Zanjānī. On the

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1. شرف پا بیوسر مشرف گشت
2. پیشوا شدہ 2
3. سامہ معاون دوست و گلا پھر سلطنت خداوند عالم پناب
4. بعد مدتی معلم روزی با آبادی آورده
5. MBM and MBL: دو ہزار سوار: In Elliot (IV, 50), 2,000 horses.
6. JNS میما و مہما کردر: استعداد لشگری و حصار کری میما کردر سفر
7. JNS پرده خود بدلی طرف دارالملک دویل بار کشت should be میں
8. MBM, MBM and Elliot, Jamādi-ul-akhir. JNS جمافی لاول
9. JNS: The "happy city" of Lāhore was called Mubārakābād after its restorer, the Sultān.
11th Jamādī-ul-ākhir (Tues., 2nd June), the two forces opposed each other in the mud fort.  

1 By the grace of God and the prosperity of the Emperor, the refuge of the world, Jasrath was overthrown.  

2 The triumphant army, in pursuit of the fugitives, issued out of the mud fort, but did not advance very far, so that, the contestants kept to their respective positions. Next day, Jasrath sacked all those places.  

3 Being powerless, Jasrath ran towards the Rāvī on the 16th (Sunday, 7th June), of the aforesaid month, collected the wise men of the spot, and fell back the next day, one kurōh off Lāhore. On the 21st of the month (Friday, 12th June), an engagement took place in the mud fort, when the Royalists by the Grace of God, and the prosperity of the Sulṭān came out victorious, and gave chase to the retiring force. Jasrath returned to his army.  

4 In this way did the battle continue outside the fort for a month and five days, but at last, Jasrath losing his heart made off towards Kālānor.  

5 Rāi Bhīm, who had come to the fort of Kālānor for rendering aid to the royal forces, excited the enmity of Jasrath (against him), and when the latter approached Kālānor, fighting went on between them but neither side could claim a victory. Ultimately peace was declared in the month of Ramzān (Aug.-Sep., 1422 A.D.). Jasrath then retired to the banks of the Beāh in order to mobilise his forces from the Khokhars, who had been friendly to him. Sikandar Tuḥfā now arrived (from Dehli) with an innumerable army at the ford of Būhī.  

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1 حصار خام.
2 Badaoni (200) says—بعد پنچ ماه جسرت...لاہور در امرز...تا یک ماه هر روژ—بمقصد گرونا شہر حملہ میکرد ہے اور آخر الامر به مقصود ترسیدہ باز گشتہ...  
3 Elliot reads “Jasrath held his ground.” The Text runs—روز دیگر جسرتہ—مذکر ممکن تا نہ.
4 گرو دست.
5 JNS and MBM سہ کروهی: Elliot “one Kos”.
6 JNS دربہ خوش جسرتہ مذکر باز گشتہ هم در برہہ خوش نژول کردہ  
MBM نژول خوشی.
7 On the Kirrān in the Gurudaspur district, Punjab, 17 miles west of Gurudāspur town. Here Akbar ascended the throne.
8 Jasrath attacked Rāi Bhīm for having betrayed his retreat to the King.
9 Badaoni says Puhi (پوہی): Ferishta, Liī’ī (لئی) : Ranking (384 f.n. 1), Puni.
to join forces with Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan, who had been deputed before by the Emperor against Jasrath. Failing in constant persistence, Jasrath fled across the Rāvi and Jānhāo with his followers, and proceeded to the hills of Tilhar. Malik-ul-Ṣhark Sikandar crossed the Beāh at the ford of Būhī, and on the 12th Shawwāl (Tues., 29th Sep., 1422 A.D.), he arrived at the auspicious city of Lāhore. Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan met him at a distance of three kuroh outside the fort.

Previous to this, Malik Rajab, Amīr of Dībālpur, Malik Sulṭān Shāh Lodī, Amīr of Sirhind, and Rāi Firoz Main joined Malik Sikandar. The aforesaid army proceeded along the Rāvi, and forded that river between Kālānār and the town of Bhīm. On reaching the frontiers of Jammū, they were joined by Rāi Bhīm. Afterwards, some of the Khokhars, who fell asunder from Jasrath at the bank of Jānhāo were worsted, and the royal army retraced their way to the happy city, Mubārakābād. In the meantime, His Majesty issued firmāns that, Malik-ul-Ṣhark Maḥmūd Ḥasan should go to the fief of Jānlandhar, and having got ready (his followers), should return and join him. Malik Sikandar was entrusted with the civil administration of the auspicious city, and in obedience to the royal mandate, he proceeded with an army to the fort. The Emperor having recalled Maḥmūd Ḥasan and the other Amīrs, removed Malik Sikandar from the vizirate and appointed Malik-ul-Ṣhark Sarwar-ul-Mulk in his stead, as the governor of the city. The son of the latter succeeded him in the office of governor.

1 طاقت مقاربون نبرد
2 Badaoni says Tilwārā.
3 Dipālpur (Dībālpur, Debālpur) in Montgomery, district Punjab, 30° 40' N, 73° 32' E, a place of historical importance, and identified by Cunningham with Daidala of Ptolemy.
4 JNS بهجر. MBL and MBM بهجر.
5 MSS. read حض جمیون.
6 فرمان عاہی همایون.
7 مستعد شدہ.
8 ملک سکندر ثانہ شهر میسون نگاهدار.

MBL. MBM. JNS agree with MBM.
In the year 826 A.H. (1422-23 A.D.), His Majesty, the refuge of the world, drew up his forces and resolved upon marching against Hindustān. In the month of Muḥarram (Dec.-Jany., 1422-23 A.D.), he entered the territory of Katehar, and exacted revenue and taxes. Meanwhile, Mahābāt Khān, Amīr of Bādāon, who had been in great fear of the late Emperor, Khizr Khān, May his tomb be sanctified!, was honoured with an interview and special favours. The Sulṭān then crossed the Ganges and ravaged the territory of the Rāthors, putting a large number of the turbulent infidels to the sword. For some time the Imperialists encamped on the Ganges, and then His Majesty left Mubāriz, Zirak Khān and Kamāl Khān with a detachment at the fort of Kāmphīlah to suppress the Rāthors. The son of Rāi Sabīr, who had joined His Majesty, and had moved about in his suite, now took alarm and went off. Malik-ul-Shark Malik Khair-ud-dīn Khān was sent after him with a vast army, but he failed to overtake the refugee. Khair-ud-dīn, however, laid waste the territory (of the Rāi) and descended upon Etāwah. The Sulṭān, too, with successive marches led his army to Etāwah, where the turbulent infidel had thrown himself into the fort. The son of Rāi Sabīr, being worn out submitted at last, and promised to pay him as of old, revenue and also to render him services. The Sulṭān returned victorious to Dehli in

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1 In the early Muhammadan period the tract now known as Rohilkhand or the Bareilly Division of the United Provinces, was called Katehar. It was named after their inhabitants, the Katehriyā Rajputs who, as the tribal traditions point out, came from Benares or Tirhut, in the 13th and 14th centuries.

2 Bādāyun of Bādāon, is a district in the United Provinces. It became an important post in the northern boundary of the Sulṭānate of Dehli, and its governors were chosen from distinguished soldiers who had constantly to face revolts of the turbulent Katehriyā Rajputs. Acc. to Ferishta it was Mahābāt Khān who had been entrusted with a commission against the tribe of Rathor Rajputs.

3 Badaoni says مهابات خان بدالني كد بأخضر خان باتي شده ور.

4 The Rāthors are a clan of Rajputs. Badaoni writes در نواحي كورهغرف شمساباد ولاب بندواران (؟) را تاخت.

5 JNS: MBL and MBM: In Farrukhābād district, United Provinces, 27° 35' N. 79° 14' E. In Mahābharat, it was the capital of South Panchala, under King Drupada.

6 ملك الشرق ملك خبر الدين خان.

7 Rāi Sarwar: Elliot, Rāi Sarwar.

8 Ferishta says “the Raja's son was delivered as a hostage for his father's future good conduct into the king's hands.”
Jamādi-ul-ākhir, 826 A.H. (Apr.-May, 1423 A.D.). From Jalandhar came Malik MAhmud Hasan with a large body of followers to wait upon His Majesty, and he was received with great distinction. The office of ‘Arīz-i-Mamālīk was taken from Malik Khair-ud-dīn Khāni and given to Malik-ul-Shark MAhmud Hasan. Worthy, righteous and trustworthy, MAhmud Hasan assiduously took to the affairs of the State, and his dignity was on the increase. In Jamādi-ul-auwal (Apr.-May) of this same year, a battle was fought between Jasrath Shaikha and Rāi Bhīm, in which the latter was slain, and a large number of his horses and arms fell a prey to Jasrath. On ascertaining the death of the Rāi, the victor united a small force of the Mughals with his own, and sacked Dībalpur and Lāhore. Malik Sikandar, who was on the alert, immediately ran after Jasrath and the latter retreating crossed the Jānhāo. Meanwhile, news arrived of the death of Malik ‘Alā’-ul-Mulk, Amir of Multān.

It was rumoured that, Sheikh ‘Ali, the vice-gerent of the prince and the son of Sar’atmash, was moving forward from Kābul with a large army to make an incursion into Bhakhar and Siwistān. To stem the tide of Mughal invasion and suppress

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1 JNS and MBM read Jamādi-ul-ākhir. MBL, Jamādi-ul-auwal. Elliot agrees with JNS and MBM.
2 ‘Arīz-i-Mamālīk is the officer through whom petitions are presented to the Sultān: Elliot has “Pay Master of the Forces.” Ferishta, “Buxshy of the forces.”
3 MSS. read: Elliot, Bhīm.
4 JNS Maḥīsh: copyist’s error for Maḥīsh: Ferishta says “Jasrath formed an alliance with “Amoor Shaik Ally, a Mughal chieftain in the service of Shaik Mirza, governor of Kabul.”
5 MBL: Elliot.
6 JNS and MBM: Elliot.
7 Ferishta is of opinion that Sheikh ‘Ali was prevailed upon to make the incursion by way of creating a diversion, in order that, by drawing off the King’s forces from the capital, for the defence of Sindh, his own views on Dehli might be facilitated. Badaoni makes no mention of Sheikh ‘Ali’s invasion.
8 In Dera Ismail, district Punjab: situated on the left bank of the Indus; Lat. 31° 37’ 43”, Long. 71° 5’ 82’.
the outbreak, His Majesty placed the districts of Multān and Siwis-
tān under the charge of Malik-ul-Shark Malik Mahmud Hasan, and sent him with a big army, and with all his family and dependents
to Multān. Reaching Multān, he restored order among the populace,
and bestowed upon each of them suitable rewards, pensions and
allowances. The people of the place preserved a tranquil mind and
became happy; the inhabitants of the city and the country led a
quiet and secure existence. Mahmud Hasan renovated the fortress
at Multān that had been damaged in the struggles with the Mughals,
and assembled an army around him.

In the meantime, news came to His Majesty that, Alb Khan,
Amir of Dhār had led his army to Gwalior. The Sultan hastened
thither with a big army, and on his reaching the district of Bianah,
the son of Auḥad Khan, Amir of Bianah, who having assassinated
Mubarak Khan, his paternal uncle, raised the banner of insurrection, laid waste the fort of
Bianah, and retired to the brow. The Emperor struck his camp at the base of the said
hill, and after a time, being hard pressed the rebel paid his revenue and tribute, and put his neck into the collar of obedience. Rayat-
i-Ālā then, moved towards Gwalior against Alb Khan. This chief
had secured the (usual) fords of the Chambal, and the royal army passed over the said stream
by another (new) ford. Malik Mahmud Hasan and sundry other nobles, such as, the Mewatis,
and ʻUṣrat Khan, who were the leaders of the victorious army, plundered the baggage of Alb Khan, and brought many of his men, horse and foot as prisoners before the Sultan. Taking into account that both parties were Musalmans, His Majesty spared the prisoners' lives and set each of them free. Next day, Alb Khan despatched envoys to make overtures to the King. Learning that Alb Khan was reduced to a state of weakness and compulsion, and disapproving any further design (of hostility) against his co-religionists, the Sultan consented to make peace on condition of Alb Khan sending in tribute and retiring from Gwalior. On the following day, Alb Khan forwarded his gifts to the Emperor and turned his way towards Dhar. The King stationed himself for some time on the banks of the Chambal, levying contributions upon the infidels according to old custom, after which he safely returned to his capital, laden with booty, in Rajab, 827 A.H. (May-June, 1424 A.D.), and took to administration.

In the month of Muharram, 828 A.H. (Nov.-Dec., 1424 A.D.), the Sultan moved towards Kathekar. When he reached the banks of the Ganges, Rai Har Singh joined the Sultan and was honoured with great compassion, but as he had put off paying his quota of tribute for three years, he was detained for a few days. In short, the royal forces went across the Ganges, took the rebels of those parts to task, and continued their progress of Rajputana. The origin of the name "Meo" is disputed, some deriving it from Mewat, which is said to be the Sanskrit Mihā-vatī, rich in fish; while the Meos derive it from Maheo, a word used in driving cattle. Throughout the period of Muhammadan rule the Meos were the Ishmaelites of their own country and of the upper Doab, and harried again and again by the Kings of Delhi from 1239 to 1827. During the troubled times of Timur's invasion, Bahādur Nāhar founded the subdivision of the Mewattis called Khān-zādāh, members of which for many years ruled Mewat. Imp. Gaz., U.P., I, 223. The MSS. read ممود حسن و بعض امرأ ديگر-جکانچیه میوان و نصرت خان.

1 Yārā Ralph.

2 Badaoni says 827 A.H.

3 JNS and MBM: Kāthār: Badaoni writes Kumāon and Kāthār.

4 Fīrishta says Nursingh. Tab-i-Akb. reads Nursingh.

5 Here JNS is illegible, eaten up by worms. MBL and MBM read اور را موت. سه سال و چند روز در قید افتد: کرد؟ مدنی داستند.
to the hills of Kumāyān. Here they halted for some time, but when the weather became sultry, they retired homewards along the banks of the Rahab. Crossing the Ganges near Kampil they made for Kanauj, but owing to a severe famine having broken out in the cities of Hindustān, the Imperialists moved no further.

Information relating to the insurrection of the Mewātis reaching the Sulṭān, he set out with successive marches against Mewāt, and carried fire and sword through their country. The Mewātis deserted their country and took refuge in Jahrah, their point d’appui. This retreat being invulnerable and the provisions running short, the Sulṭān laden with booty, retired to his capital where he arrived in the month of Rajab (May-June, 1425 A.D.). The Amir and Mālik were permitted leave, and His Majesty abandoned himself to amusement and pleasure.

The following year, 829 A.H. (1425-26 A.D.), the Sulṭān proceeded to Mewāt when Jallu and Kaddū, grandsons of Bahādur Nāhir, and several Mewātis who had co-operated with them having laid waste their own territories, retreated to the hills of Andwar. After a siege lasting for several days when the Imperialists pressed hard, the besieged evacuated Andwar and made off to the mountains of Alwar. The Emperor levelled the fort of Andwar in the dust, and hastened to Alwar. On his approach, Jallu and Kaddū shut themselves in the fort, and the victorious army followed them.

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1 JNS reads آب رحم.
2 MHL: قصة كنيل MBM: قصة غنگ JNS: قصة كنيل.
3 Badaoni writes “reduced the fortresses of Indor and Alwar.”
4 MBL: كل خليق را خراب MBM: كل ولايت را خراب كرده JNS agrees with MBM. Elliot, “Having driven off all the population.” Tab-i-Akb., “Having laid waste and depopulated their country.”
5 JNS reads جلور قدر.
6 Alwar or Ulwar, in Rajputana, bet. lat. 27° 4’ to 28° 13’ and long. 76° 7’ 77° 14’.
7 JNS reads دهورا، a copyster’s error for دهرة. Ferishta is more precise when he says, “the grandsons of Bahādur Nāhir, retreated to the hills of Alwar, and defended the passes with much obstinacy.”
At last, being reduced to a state of deep depression, they begged for mercy and were granted with quarter. Subsequently, Kaddū was exalted with the eminence of being permitted to kiss the feet (of His Majesty), but as he was on the point of running away towards the mountains he was captured and committed to custody. The powerful lord and the centre of the universe (i.e., the Sulṭān) ravaged Mewāt, and its adjacent territories and for a time took up his quarters there, but owing to the scarcity of supplies he retraced his steps to Dehli, where he arrived in the month of Sha'bān (June-July, 1426 A.D.).

Next year, in Muḥarram, 830 a.h. (Nov.-Dec., 1426 a.d.), the King proceeded to Bianaḥ, and coerced the Mewāṭis on the way. Muḥammad Khān, son of Aḥad Khān, Amīr of Bianaḥ, shut himself up in the fort. He destroyed the city, retired to the fortress situated on the summit of the mountains, and held out for sixteen days. On the 2nd Rabi‘-ul-akhir (Fri., 31st Jany., 1427 a.d.), the royalist faced Muḥammad Khān; accompanied by his numerous army and the notable veterans, the Sulṭān made an ascent on the hill by a pathway situated in its rear. Getting wind of this (incident), the son of Aḥad Khān lost his power of resistance and went hors de combat inside the fortress. Discerning his rank unsteady and the fortress in confusion, Muḥammad Khān gave up offering resistance and having come outside his strongholds

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1 Tabakat-i-Akbari and Ferishta relate that they (Jallu and Kaddū) were imprisoned.
2 In Elliot (pp. 62-63) the portions that follow have been taken from Tabakat-i. Akbari as the pages of the MS. used by Elliot were lost at this place.
3 Some folios are missing in MBM. The lines from “But as he was on the point of running away” to “It now reached the ears of the Emperor” in page 215 are omitted in the text.
4 خداان گفت: مصداق
5 Elliot, 11th Muḥarram.
6 بقیت کوره با لشکر منصرع معاشره میکرد.
7 JNS: میخیت در راز کوره MBV and MBM: میخیت در راز کوره.
8 Ferishta relates that, owing to the desertion of part of the garrison, Muḥammad Khān had to surrender.
9 JNS: قلعه خلخلي دید MBV: قلعه خلخلي دید.
with a turban round his neck kissed the dust. 1 The Sultān, the centre of the universe and the just, and in habits like Naushirwān, promised him safety, the Khān (in return) offered whatever hard cash, valuable goods, arms, furnitures and cattle he had stored in the fort to the victor 2 who remained there for a few days (more). By the order of the Sultān, the family and dependents of Muḥammad Khān were taken out of the fort, despatched to Dehli and allowed to live in the palace of Jahān-panah. 3 The charge of the fief of Bīanah was handed over to Mūkbil Khān, a slave of the Sultān, and the vice-gerency of the said district and parganah Sikri 4 was vested on Malik Khair-ud-dīn Tūhfa.

His Majesty then proceeded to Gwālior. On his arrival the Rāi of Gwālior, Thankī 5 and Chandwār made their submission and paid tribute as of old. At the desire of his friends, the Sultān safely returned to Dehli, laden with booty and reached his palace in the month of Jamādi-ul-akhir 6 (Mar.-Apr., 1427 A.D.). He then changed the territory of Māhmūd Ḥasan, 7 giving him charge of Ḥīsār Fīrozā and transferring Multān to Malik-ul-shark Rājāb Nādir. Shortly after, Muḥammad Khān seceded from the Sultān, and effected his escape to Mewāṭ with his wife and children. Some of his attendants who had been dispersed rejoined him. It transpired that, Malik Mūkbil had

1 Fersīhta states, “with a rope about his neck (he) was led into the royal presence.”

2 JNS reads—

3 JNS and MBL read

4 Later became known as Fatehpur; now a district in the Allahabad Division, United Provinces, lying between 25° 25’ and 29° 16’ N. and 80° 14’ and 81° 20’ E. According to tradition, the Rājās of Argal held a large part of the district as tributaries of the Kanauj Kingdom before the Muhammadan conquest. Nothing definite is known of the history of the district during the early Muhammadan period when it formed a part of the Kingdom of Korah.

5 MSS. have

6 In Elliot, Jamādi-ul-auwal.

7 JNS and MBL read
set out with his whole force for Mahr Mahāwan, leaving Malik Khair-ud-din Tuḥfa in the fort and the Khittā of Bianah empty (of soldiers). Reposing trust in the inhabitants and the chiefs of (that) country, (Muḥammad Khān) went to Bianah with a small force, when he was joined by the people of the Khittā and the country. Subsequently, the fort (Bianah) capitulated and the soldiers that had been stationed there were withdrawn to Dehli. The Emperor took Bianah from Malik Muḳbil, and entrusted it to Malik Mubāriz with orders to suppress the rebellion of Muḥammad Khān. At the advent of the Imperialists, the rebel retired into the fort, and Malik Mubāriz took possession of Bianah and its adjacent countries. Entrusting the defence of the place to some of his followers, Muḥammad Khān ran away to join Sulṭān Ibrāhim Sharkī. The Sulṭān summoned Malik Mubāriz to his presence for advice, and in the month of Muḥarram, 831 A.H. (Oct.-Nov., 1427 A.D.), he ordered his army off to Bianah.

On the way, there came an epistle from Kādir Khān, the ruler of Kalpi, communicating the approach of Sharkī, at which the powerful lord and the centre of the universe, made a change of front and went out to meet the invader. It got wind that, Sharkī having laid waste Bhūṅgāon, was working his way to Bādāオン. The Sulṭān forded the Jaun (Jamuna) at Nūh-

1 MBL مهر مبَر: JNS agrees with MBL. Tab-i-Akb. and Elliot (Mahāwan). Mod. Mahaban, in Muttra district, United Provinces, near the left bank of the Jumna, 27° 27' N. and 77° 45' E.
2 جبرت طله شد—Elliot reads, "to account for the escape of Muḥammad Khān."
3 In Jālaun district, United Provinces. Lat. 28° 8' N. and Long. 79° 45' E.
4 Sharkī was at that time advancing with an army against Kalpi.
5 JNS ملک مبارز را نیز برای مصلحتی (ب) د یک حضرت طلب شد—Elliot reads, "to account for the escape of Muḥammad Khān."
6 In Jālaun district, United Provinces. Lat. 28° 8' N. and Long. 79° 45' E.
7 MBL reads بہوجانہ; Badaoni has بہوجانہ; Elliot, Bhūkanā. Ranking (386), Bhūṅgāon, 9½ miles east from Mainpuri at the junction of Agra and Grand Trunk Roads.
Patal,\(^1\) sacked Chartoli\(^2\) and from thence, he led his army to Atrolī.\(^3\)

Advent of Mukhtasş Khān and his defeat.

It now reached the ears of the Emperor\(^4\) that, Mukhtasş Khān,\(^5\) brother of Ṣharkī, had arrived at Etāwah with a large contingent and numerous elephants. Upon this, the King detached from the main body Malik-ul-Shark Maḥmūd Ḥasan\(^6\) with 10,000 brave and experienced horsemen and sent him against Mukhtasş Khān. Maḥmūd Ḥasan and his battalion descended upon the place where the army of Ṣharkī had pitched their camps. When the Khān was apprised of this news he fell back on his brother, but Maḥmūd Ḥasan halted there for some time more with the object of making a night attack upon the adversaries. As the latter were on the look-out, he returned and rejoined the Dehli army. Ṣharkī, too, advanced along the banks of Ab-i-siyāh\(^7\) to Burhānābād, in district Etāwah. To meet his enemy, the Sulṭān evacuated Atrolī and pitched his camp at Mabīn Kotāh,\(^8\) where the belligerents remained only a short distance apart. Discerning the valour of the Emperor, and the strength and vastness of his army, Ṣharkī retired to Rāpri\(^9\) in the month of Jamāḍi-ul-auwal (Feb.-Mar., 1428 a.d.). There he crossed the Jaun at Gudrang,\(^10\) and marching on towards Bianah, he encamped on the river of Katehar.\(^11\) In pursuit of the

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\(^1\) JNS: Badaoni, Nūh Patal.

\(^2\) MBL: Nūn Bānīl; Badaoni, Ḥaroli.

\(^3\) In Aligarh district, United Provinces, 16 miles from Aligarh town; Elliot's translation from Tabāṣkat-i-Akbarī here ends.

\(^4\) Elliot calls him Mokhlis Khān.

\(^5\) Līb Bayyā.

\(^6\) JNS and MBL: Kānārā bāb Sīyāh Gūfāmə. Badaoni has Kānārā Ab Sīyāh Gūfāmə; Ferishta, Kaly Nye, referring to Kālī Nādī, properly Kālindī, a river in United Provinces, rising in Muzaffarnagar.

\(^7\) MBL: Bāb-i-Konən; JNS has Mālī Konən: Badaoni simply Konən; Ferishta, Mālykotā; and Elliot, Pāyn Kotāh.

\(^8\) Ferishta says Rābery. Rāpri, in Shikohābād tahsil of Mainpuri district, United Provinces, has always been important as commanding one of the crossing of the Jumna.

\(^9\) JNS reads: MBL and MBL: Gūrīmır. Badaoni has: Ab Kīnəmə; Elliot and Badaoni, "river of Katehar.

\(^10\) JNS and MBL: Badaoni has: Ab Kīnəmə; Elliot and Badaoni, "river of Katehar."
retreating force, the powerful lord and the centre of the universe, crossed the Jaun with successive marches at Chandwâr and halted at a distance of four kuroh from the enemy. The vanguard of the Imperial army made constant raids upon their opponents, carrying off prisoners, cattle and baggage. This state of things continued for twenty\(^1\) days, the belligerents remaining at a short distance from each other. Drawing out his equipage, footmen and cavalry, Shârâkî presented a bold front on the 7th Jamâdi-ul-âkhir\(^2\) (Wed., 24th Mar., 1428 A.D.). His Majesty, Malik-ul-Shark Sarwarul Mulk\(^3\) the vizir, Sa’iyid-us-Sâdât Sa’iyid Sâlim\(^4\) and several other prominent chiefs remained in the camp in safety, while some others were sent against the enemy, such as, Malik-ul-Shark Malik Mahmud Hasan, Khân-i-Khân-i-‘Azam Fâth Khân, son of Sultân Muza’affar, Majlis-i-‘Ali Zirak Khân, Malik-ul-Shark Malik Sultân Shâh. who received of late the title of İslâm Khân, Malik Chaman,\(^5\) the grandson of Khân-i-Jahân, Malik Kâlû Khânî, master of elephants. Malik Ahmad Tu’hâ and Malik Mu’âbil Khân. The action commenced at noon and continued till sun-down, and when night fell\(^6\) the combatants withdrew to their respective encampments. Neither side retreating, fighting continued till the end.\(^7\) There were many wounded on the side of Shârâkî, so that, when on the next day, he saw the strength of the royal forces, he marched off towards the Jaun. On the 17th Jamâdi-ul-âkhir (Sat., 3rd Apr., 1428 A.D.), he forded (the river) at Gudrang,\(^8\) made his way to Râpîrî and from thence retraced his steps to his own country. The Emperor pursued him to Gudrang, but the contending party being Muhammadan. he

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\(^1\) MBM and JNS, 20 days: MBL, 22 days.

\(^2\) MBL, JNS and MBM read 17th: Elliot has 17th: Ferishta says 17th Jamad-us-sany.

\(^3\) MBL: ملك عالم سالم.

\(^4\) MBL: ملك حميس.

\(^5\) MBL: ملك حميس: JNS.

\(^6\) The author here indulges in a verbose style—میان کسی کرگر مداخله معارفه از: نم روز طی وقت شام رزت هم در میں تالا بالد ته سلطان سیبیر از ناحیه نم روز در حدود شام ناخست وبنزلف عین حمیه (؟) عظم نوزل پرداخت جهل رسید در چشما شان تاریک نود.

\(^7\) آن وقت بر سبک مقاومت باری نام ماند.

\(^8\) MBM and MBL: گذرگاه.
refrained himself from any further chase. He then took his way to Hath Kant, and after exacting customary tribute from the Rāi of Gwālior and the other Rāis, moved in the direction of Bianah along the course of the Chambal. Maḥmud Khān Auḥadi, who had befriended Sharkī, being frightened out of his wits, shut himself up in the fortress, situated at the summit of the hill. The Emperor laid siege to the fortress that was excessively lofty and most impregnable. Nevertheless, it was due to the prosperity of His Majesty, the centre of the universe, that the low born tribe suffered losses, and their vanity disappeared before the fury of the victorious forces; their hands were powerless against the assailants and their feet unable to flee. The siege, thus continued for a week; at length, they allowed the invaders to claim the victory and sought for mercy. Full of clemency and pity for the Musalmans, the Sultān, May God make him supreme! forebore to punish Muḥammad Khān and granted him forgiveness; firmāns were issued to the soldiery ordering them to evacuate the fort.

On the 26th Rajāb (Tuesday, 11th May, 1428 A.D.), Maḥmud Khān marched out with his attendants and went off towards Mewāt. Bandagi-Rāyāt-i-Ālā remained there for some time to set in order the wasted city, and with a view to the administration and upkeep of the district of Bianah he appointed as its governor Malik-ul-Shark Malik Maḥmud Hasan, who had exhibited bravery and loyalty in the government and the defence of the frontiers, and was successful in the accomplishment of many great duties. He had, thus, signalised the opening years of the Sultān’s rule by waging a war against Jsrath Shekha Khokhar; (again) when he held the command at Lāhore, he had made a stand against the Sheikh-zādāh, the deputy of

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1 MBL: هبتکانت: MBM: بادکارتی: JNS: مشتکانت: Tab-i-Akb. ستکانت: Badaoni
2 MBM: جبینل.
3 JNS: بالامی قلعہ کورہ: MBM and MBM omit کورہ.
4 MSS. have باد غوری ابسان آر آتیش قبر لشکر منصور فرو نشست.
5 MBL and MBM: جنانیه در میدا حال جلوس با یسرته.
6 JNS reads مبران جلوس: میدا محل معاصره کرده.
the Prince of Khorāsān, and hindered him from making an ingress to Multān. He was now appointed as the commandant of the said fort (of Bianah) with its adjoining territories. The aḵṭār of Bānāh and all its dependencies were placed under his control.

At the desire of his well-wishers, His Majesty worked homewards along the bank of the Jaun (Jamuna), and reaching the capital on the 15th Shaʿbān, 831 A.H. (Sunday, May 30, 1428 A.D.), took up his residence in Sīrī. Then he bade farewell to the Amīrs and Mālikṣ to their fiefs, and gave himself up to pleasure and merry-making.

This prayer went up to the Eternal Sultān, the Everlasting and Durable Sovereign, May His dignity be glorified and His magnificence be exalted, that this Emperor (Mubārak Shāh), in rank equal to Solomon, be kept permanent till the end of this world and the progeny of Adam be in existence, on the imperial seat and on the throne of the country. Accept this, Oh Lord of the Universe!

In the opinion of this humble supplicant (the author) few words, in accordance with the customary invocation of blessing made by the authors and writers (of histories and chronicles), be (also) said in favour of the Emperor, the protector of the universe, towards the close of this work. Though neither a single rose from the thousands in the garden of the Emperor and the rose garden of

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1 Elliot reads, "the Prince-Deputy of the Sultān of Khorāsān." The personage referred to is the general of Shah Rukh.

2 JNS reads از درگاه سلطان از ایلام بادشاه لم بیرل ولا یزال حلب قدّرتہ و علب مظمته درخواست آمد. MBM reads از درگاه سلطان از و بادشاه لم بیرل حلب قدّرتہ و علب کلمتہ از درگاه سلطان از بادشاه لم بیرل.

3 No name is more famous in the east than Solomon, the son of David. It is said that not only mankind, and animals, but even the elements and the Genii were under his obedience. His throne was magnificent beyond idea.

4 دما کوئی

5 امکان انشا و ارباب املا.
his youth has blossomed forth, nor a single story out of the thou-
sand tales about his wars and conviviality has the nightingale of his
(i.e., author's) nature sung,¹ this work, perforce, has now been
brought to a finish. If the petitioner continues to exist, he deems
it proper that, the future victories, the acts of valour and stories
instrumental to the everlasting prosperity of the sovereign should
be annually preserved and incorporated in this book. May it so
please the Almighty God, who helps to bring everything to an end and
easily encompass it.²

In the month of Shawwāl of the aforesaid year (July-Aug.,
1428 A.D.), (the Sultan) imprisoned and then
put to death Malik Kaddū Mewātī for his hav-
ing lent countenance to Sāhrkī and exchanging
presents and envoys with him.³ Malik Sar-
war-ul-Mulk was ordered off with an army to Mewāt to coerce the
rebels and confiscate their territory. Having laid waste most of
their towns and villages that flourished in the desert, he retired to
the mountains.⁴ Jalāl Khān, brother of Malik Kaddū, and the
other chiefs, viz., Ahmad Khān, Malik Fakhr-ud-din, Malik 'Ali and
their relations, collected all their horsemen and foot-soldiers within
the fort of Andwar.⁵ When Malik Sarwar-ul-Mulk encamped

¹ MBM omits it.
² It is apparent how Yahjīyā wanted to finish off his work with usual eulogies
and benedictions upon his patron. Thus he concluded his account with the events
happening in 1427 A.D., when the Sultan returned to his Capital from the punitive
expeditions against the rulers of Gwalior and Mewāt. But on second thought, for
reasons best known to himself—it might be as he has himself admitted that the
work unless continued would remain incomplete, or that, he recovered from his ill-
ness which had probably led to a temporary cessation of his writing with little
prospect of continuing it—he took up the thread of his narrative and put off the
conclusion.
³ MBL: Malik Qaddu Mewā; MBM: Qaddu Mewā; JNS illegible: reads like
Elliot IV. 66, "Afterwards he had him (Kaddū) put to death." There is no
reference of Mallu.
⁴ In Elliot, "the inhabitant of the city" have been made the subject.
⁵ The three MSS. read: In Elliot and Firishta, Alwar.
himself near the above fort, the besieged, failing to offer resistance, held out the olive branch under the pledge of sending contributions to His Majesty.1 In conformity to the peace clause, Malik Sarwar-ul-Mulk having exacted revenue, tribute and hostages paced his way back to the capital with his forces.

In the month of Zil-ka'da, 831 H. (Aug.-Sep., 1428), the report went that, Jasrath Khokhar had besieged Kalānor. Malik-ul-Shark Malik Sikandar Tuḥfā, Amir of Lāhore, marched towards Kalānor to give relief to the besieged. Jasrath quitted his position at Kalānor and moved on a few Kuroh; a conflict took place between him and Sikandar, from which, by the decree of the Most High God, Jasrath came out triumphant. Courting defeat, Malik Sikandar fell back on Lāhore, while Jasrath on his way through Kalānor crossed the Beāh near Jālandhar and sacked the place. Impregnable as the fort of Jālandhar was, the invader failed to take it, and retreated to Kalānor carrying off the men of the locality.

Being apprised of this event, the Sultan ordered Majlis-i-ʿĀlī Zirak Khān, amir of Sāmāna, and Islām Khān, amir of Sirhind,2 to proceed with their army in aid of Malik Sikandar. But before they arrived at the "happy city" of Lāhore, Malik-ul-Shark Malik Sikandar had marched out to Kalānor, and there uniting with his own forces all the horse and foot belonging to Rāi Ghālib Kalānori, he ran after Jasrath and met him near Kāngra, on the bank of the Beāh. Jasrath, who was prepared for action, drew up his forces, and the fight commenced. By the Grace of Most High God, the forces of Islām came off with flying colours and Jasrath's army was destroyed. Dispersed and defeated and leaving behind him the spoils of war that had been secured at Jālandhar, Jasrath made his retreat towards Tilhar3 and re-

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1 که مال بر طریق گروامکان در حضرت فرسند.
2 MBL and MBM سیموند;
3 MBL reads نیکہ: JNS and MBM تیلہر.
garded the defeat as a gain. Malik-ul-Shark Malik Sikandar\(^1\) then returned to Lāhore, the auspicious city.

In the month of Muḥarram, 832 h. (Oct.-Nov., 1428 A.D.), Malik-ul-Shark Malik Maḥmud Ḥasan\(^2\) having suppressed the infidels of Biaṇah who having joined with Maḥmud Ḵān Auḥadi had fomented rebellion,\(^3\) quitted that district and went to Dehli to pay his respects to His Majesty, the blessed and the powerful. He was honoured with the eminence of kissing the feet (of the Emperor) and became the recipient of extreme favour and the fief of Ḥiṣār Firoza.\(^4\)

Subsequently, Bandagi Rāyāt-i-ʿĀlā resolved upon marching into the mountains of Mewāt and pitched his camp at the top of Hauz-i-khās. The amīrs and maliks came from the four winds and joined the Sultān. Marching forward, the Sultān proceeded to Hindwārī,\(^5\) and halted there for some time. Jalāl Ḵān Mehwātī and the other Mewātīs being subjected to a great stress promised to pay, as of old, tribute and taxes, while some of them were granted the honour of paying homage.

In Shawwāl (July-Aug., 1429 A.D.), Rāyāt-i-ʿĀlā, laden with spoils of war, found his way to Dehli. He did not launch into any further campaign that year. The same year, tiding came of the demise of Malik Rajab Nādir, amīr of Multān; the fief of Multān was restored to Malik-ul-Shark Maḥmud Ḥasan, who received the title of ‘Imād-ul-Mulk\(^6\) and was sent to Multān with a numerous army.

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\(^1\) In JNS the presence of  between Malik-ul-Shark and Malik Sikandar is due to copyist’s mistake.

\(^2\) In JNS the  between Malik-ul-Shark and Malik Maḥmud Ḥasan should be deleted.

\(^3\) The text in JNS is defective: it runs—ملک الشرق وملک محمود حسین نهاد کفار ولایت بیانه با که محمود خان اوحدی جمع شده بنیاد نهاد بودند فورشانده از خط بیانه برای یابی‌رسی حضرت در شهر آمد

\(^4\) In Badoniu (I, 293) the fortress of Firozah. Ranking, 387.

\(^5\) MBM: JNS and MBL: Elliot, Hindwārī.

\(^6\) "Pillar of the State", i.e., minister.
In the year 833 H. (1429-30 A.D.), Bandagi Rāyāt-i-Ālā led his army by successive marches to Gwālior via Bianah. Inflicting penalty on the offenders of Gwālior, he passed over to Hathkānt. The Rāi of Hathkānt was defeated and he made away to the mountains of Jālbahār. His territory was harried and most of the unbelievers of that country were made prisoners. From thence the army proceeded to Rāpri, and the fief of Rāpri was taken from the son of Hasan Khān and made over to Malik Ḥamza. Richly laden with plunder, the Sultān then safely returned to the capital in the month of Rajab of the abovementioned year (Mar.-Apr., 1430 A.D.). During the march Sa’iyid Sālim was struck with illness and he died. His remains was placed in a coffin, carried to Dehli with promptness and interred there. To sum up, for thirty years was Sa’iyid Sālim in the service of the late Khizr Khān, May his tomb be sanctified, owning several fiefs and parganas in the Doab, besides the fort of Tabarhindah (Sirhind). Rāyāt-i-‘Ālā had also bestowed upon him the khilfa of Sarsuti and the akhṭā of Amroha. A covetous man as the defunct Sa’iyid was, he had in the course of time amassed a huge sum of money and made a good stock of grain and other commodities in Tabarhindah.

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1 MBL مثبت: MBM مثبت: MB: Fershta, Hulkant: Elliot, Hathkānt. Hatkant is said by Abūl Fazl to be the chief town of Bhadāwar, a district S. E. of Agra.
2 MBL, JNS and MB: Jālbahār: Elliot IV, 68, Jalhār.
3 Fershta has Rabery: MBL and MBM: Rāpī: JNS: Badaoni, Rāpī.
4 JNS and MBM: بحوارا: Badaoni writes, “having taken the Rāpī dist. from the son of Hasan Khān it gave it to Malik Ḥamza.”
5 The text in MBM is erroneous. It reads, سالم مروح مفرج خضر خان: اقuestas و بلزنات خارج قلعة تهيدا درمان دواب
6 اقuestas: Badaoni (294) has اقuestas and तबरहमद दादूत.
7 Sarsuti or Sirsa, a district in Hijār Division, Punjab, between the rivers Sutlej and Ghaghār.
8 In Moradabad District.
9 Modern Bhatiānda (also known as Gobindgarh) situated in Patiala State, Punjab. It appears in the early Muhammadan historians as Batrinda, often incorrectly transposed into Tabarhind. In the early Muhammadan period the country round formed an important fief of the Dehli empire.
Following his demise, the akhā's and parganas that he possessed were distributed among his sons, the eldest of whom received the title of Saʿiyid Khan and the youngest that of Shujaʿ-ull-Mulk.

In the month of Shawwāl (June-July, 1430 A.D.), Pulād Turkbāchā, a slave of Saʿiyid Sālim, came near Tabarhindah at the instigation of Saʿiyid's sons, and there stirred up an insurrection. Rāyāt-i-ʿĀlā took into custody the sons of the late Saʿiyid and sent Malik Yusuf Sarup and Rāi Hinū Bhattī to allure Pulād to their side and to lay hold on the late Saʿiyid's wealth.

When they gained access to the fort of Tabarhindah, Pulād, on the very first day, sought a conference and offered terms of peace. He sent them provisions and lulled them into security, but on the following day, he emerged out of the fortress with his adherents, and made a sortie. Being informed of this perfidy and fraud, Malik Yusuf and Rāi Hinū took the field. Though the royalists were covered with iron, yet by the decree of God, they had to yield the palm to the infamous Pulād and were scattered like drops at the first onset. The victor pursued the vanquished to the distance of a farsang. The imperial forces made their way to the district of Sarsuti, and whatever baggage tents, cash and goods they possessed fell a prey to Pulād.

On receiving intimation of this news, Rāyāt-i-ʿĀlā became thoughtful; he then set out in person for Tabarhindah, and after a prolonged march reached Sarsuti, where the amirs and maliks of the vicinity leagued with him. Pulād made vast preparations for standing the siege, and gathering strength and reinforcements, fortified himself in Tabarhindah.

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1 In Badaoni, Malik Yusuf Sarwar: Elliot has Yusuf Sarup.
2 MBL, JNS and MBM read رائی بہتیز: Badaoni has Hansu Bhattī; Ferishta, Rai Hubbu. Elliot agrees with Badaoni.
3 مذاکرو ملاقات کرد.
4 بی عم کردانید.
5 Equivalent to about 18,000 ft. in length.
6 استعداد حصار گنبدی سبب ذاتیبدان ستمچگی و تقویت در حصار معصر کشت.
Majlis-i-‘Ali Zirak Khan, Malik Kalu, keeper of the elephants, Islam Khan and Kamal Khan threw a cordon round the fort. Malik-ul-Shark ‘Imad-ul-Mulk, amir of Multan, was summoned (by the Sultan) to advise upon the suppression of Pulad’s insurrection. In the month of Zil-hijjah (Aug.-Sep., 1430 A.D.), ‘Imad-ul-Mulk left his army in Multan, and hastened to Sarsut with a small following, where he was honoured with the royal interview. But before this, Pulad had expressed himself that, he had reliance on the promise and protection of ‘Imad-ul-Mulk and that if the latter would accompany him, he would put his neck in the collar of obedience and make himself eminent by the glory of kissing the feet (of His Majesty). To win over Pulad, Rayat-i-Ala sent ‘Imad-ul-Mulk to Tabarhinda. Out came Pulad from his shelter, and he had an interview with ‘Imad-ul-Mulk and Malik Kalu in front of the gate. An agreement and a stipulation were arrived at on terms that, on the next day, Pulad would emerge out of the fort, and pay his respects to Bandagi Rayat-i-Ala. But as Pulad suspected ‘Imad-ul-Mulk of deep designs and got frightened of his army, he determined to hold out. Malik-ul-Shark ‘Imad-ul-Mulk returning to His Majesty was sent back to Multan in the month of Safar.

1 MBL زیرک خان و ملک و منکه گالر.
2 MBL شعلنة پیل MBM and JNS.
3 Elliot reads جرادة.
4 MBL قول و دست راس ملک MBM قول و دست ملک استماد MBM و استماد ملک JNS.
5 بیری ترتب.
6 A lacuna occurring in Elliot’s Manuscript the portions that follow have been taken by the editor of Elliot’s papers from Tabakat-i-Akbari.
7 The lines “Pulad would emerge. . . . provisions of the people of the locality” (p. 228) are missing in MBM.
8 MBL مبانی لشکر کسی او را بترسانیده مبانی لشکر JNS. Ferishta writes, “One of ‘Imad-ul-Mulk’s attendants being acquainted with Pulad, hinted to him privately, that though ‘Imad-ul-Mulk was a man of honour and would certainly adhere to his promise, yet the king might not be so scrupulous.”
9 Ferishta (I, 524) writes, “the king finding the reduction of the place would occupy time, and thinking so large an army unnecessary for the siege, permitted ‘Imad-ul-Mulk to return to his Government at Multan.”

Badaoni says (p. 294):—

اوا بعد از غلب امان از حصار بیرون آمد—عمادالملک را دید با اعتماد نکرد
و ترسیده بحصار زنده و جنگ اکرم.
834 H. (Oct.-Nov., 1430 A.D.), while the latter safely set out for Dehlí leaving orders for Khán-i-ʿAzam Islám Khán, Kamál Khán, and Rái Firoz Main to carry the investment of Tabarhindah. Malik-ul-Shark Ḥimád-ul-Mulk, returning to Tabarhindah, instructed the aforesaid amírs and malíks, and himself carried on the siege to such a length that not a soul could emerge out of the fort, and thus, when the siege was firmly established, he retired with successive marches to Multán. Pulád offered resistance for six months. Some time prior to this, Pulád had despatched his servants to Sheikh ʿAlí Mughal at Kabul soliciting his assistance in return for ready money and goods. Leaving Kabul with a big army, Sheikh ʿAlí came in aid of Pulád in the month of Jamádí-ul-akhir (Feb.-Mar., 1431 A.D.), near ‘Ain-ud-dín Khokhar at Talwarā, on the bank of the Jilum. Amír Mużaffar and Khájéká, the nephews of Khokhar, collected a numerous army from Seor and Sakunat and co-operated with the prince. From thence, the prince took with him the people of Seor and the Khokhars, and proceeded to Tabarhindah. On the way, Malik Abu-l-Khair Khokhar, too sought an interview with him. Malik ‘Ain-ul-Mulk and Malik Abu-l-Khair Khokhar were appointed to act as his guides. He proceeded along the Beāh, and passing through the district of Kasur forded the Beāh at Būhī. He then ravaged the country of Rái Firoz. With a view to bring together his companions, the Rái left the environs of Tabarhindah without leave

1 In Ferishta, Kaly Khán.
2 MBL: تبرمندة
3 MBL: قضية محامرة استحكام بذبرونة
4 MBL: شبیع زاده على مغل
5 JNS reads سیرو و سکرتن
6 Elliot has, “In the month of Jamádí-ul-auwal Shaikh ʿAlí went to Tabarhindh”.
7 34 m. south-east of Lāhore.
8 Ferishta writes, “(Sheikh ʿAlí) ravaged the country of those chiefs who held estates in the Punjab, and who were conducting the siege of Surhind (Tabarhindh)”.

15
from the other amirs and marched out. Sheikh 'Ali was at a non-
plus. When he came within ten kuroh distance
from Tabarhindah, Islam Khan, Kamal Khan
and the other amirs raised the siege and retired
to their own homes. At the approach of Sheikh
'Ali, Pulad issued out of Tabarhindah, and making an interview
with him, paid the stipulated amount of two lacs of tankas. Sheikh
'Ali left Tabarhindah, carrying with him the ladies and the children
of Pulad, and devastated on the way most of the territories of Rai
Firoz. He, then, crossed the Sutlej at Tirhanah, imprisoned the
inhabitants of the tract from Jalandhar to Jaran—Manjhar,
and returned along the banks of the Beah. Crossing the Beah in
the month of Rajab (Mar.-Apr., 1431 A.D.), May God increase its
dignity, he marched to Lahore, where Malik-ul-Sharq Malik Sikandar,
its amir, offered him the usual customary annual tribute and
gave him a send-off. Thence, passing through Kasur, he halted at
Tilwara opposite Dibalpur, the renowned city. He desolated the
country in the course of twenty days that he stayed there. Being
informed of the return of Sheikh 'Ali and of his having devastated
the territory of Rai Firoz and the akta of Jalandhar, Malik-ul-
Sharq 'Imad-ul-Mulk advanced with a strong force to a distance of

1 This fact is not mentioned in Elliot (70).
2 شیخ علي مذکر خیره نر گشت.
3 MBL. Sutlej.
4 MBL: JNS. جالر: Mod. Zira, in Firozpur dist. Punjab, Lat. 30° 58',
Long. 75° 2' 45'.
5 MBL and JNS: Elliot, Makhjahir. Mod. Makhu in Firozpur dist.
Lat. 31° 6', Long. 75° 5'.
6 رجب قدرت.
7 MBL. تلوارہ شہر لاہور.
8 JNS and MBM: در تلوارہ شہر لاہور: MBL omits.
9 زرعت آن دیبا را ... خراب سخت.
10 Ferialhta (525) says "40,000 Hindus were computed to have been massacred,
besides a great number carried away prisoners."
forty kuroh, and took up his quarters at Talumba. Terror-stricken, Sheikh 'Ali returned along the Râvi to Talumba and there deeming himself unsafe moved to Khatibpur. Râyat-i-'Alâ sent letters patent to 'Imâd-ul-Mulk ordering him to leave Talumba and go to Multân, in order to avoid an encounter with Sheikh 'Ali. On the 24th Sha'bân (Mon., 7th May, 1431 A.D.), he proceeded accordingly to Multân. Being emboldened at the relinquishment of Tabarhindah by the amirs and the maliks, and at his successful sack of the country, Sheikh 'Ali, fearless of the violence and perfidy of the fraudulent sphere, crossed the Râvi at Khatibpur, went towards Multân, which was desolate owing to the drying up of the Râvi, and destroying the habitations on either banks of the Jilum, came to a distance of ten kuroh from Multân. Malik-ul-Shârk 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, had despatched Malik Sulîmân Shâh Lodi to serve as a piquet. Sheikh 'Ali Mughal advanced with his forces, and the opponents meeting each other, the battle commenced. At last, Lodi was killed; of his soldiers, some died in the battle and some retired to Multân. On the 3rd Ramzân (Tues., 15th May, 1431 A.D.), the holy month, Sheikh 'Ali occupied Khasruâbâd, and on the following day, collecting all his forces and making them ready for war, he went near the namâzgah (the place of worship) in Multân. 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, too, prepared himself for action, and presented a front. Some of his foot had marched ahead; being worn out in the orchards, his


2 MBL and MBM: JNS reads خیربز: Badaoni: خیربز: Tab-i-Akb. خیرابز: Ferishta and Elliot, Khatibpur.

3 MBL: ملک سلیمان شه لودی: Tab-i-Akb. agrees with JNS.

4 MBL: پاز غشته: JNS omits پاز غشته. Elliot omits پاز غشته.

5 MBL: باد لودی: JNS omits باد لودی.

6 Ferishta, 4th Ramzân.

7 Ferishta and Elliot, Khairâbâd: Badaoni, Khasruâbâd.

8 Elliot has 25th Ramzân.

9 JNS reads نریک نمازگاه خطہ ملتن: Elliot has "against the gates of Multân."
army failed to come back to the fort, and was compelled to retire to Khasruābād. Every day his soldiers took away by force the cattle and provisions of the people of the locality, and of those living on the banks of the Jilum. With all his equipage and retinue ready for war, Sheikh ‘Ali advanced against the gates of Multān on the 25th of the month (Wed., 6th June). The army of ‘Imād-ul-Mulk, and the people inhabiting the city made a sally. In the conflict which ensued in the garden, the assailants lost the goods, cattle and ladder that they brought with them. Defeated and subdued, the infantry returned to its sphere of influence. On Friday, the 27th of the same month (8th June, 1431 A.D.), they returned and opened a fresh assault. Dismounting his horsemen in order to push through the gates of the city, ‘Imād-ul-Mulk fell upon his enemy with his horse and foot, and the latter unable to withstand his attack made off. Some were put to the sword, while some succeeded in falling back to the main body. Being routed again that day, they did not venture to make any further assault upon the place.

As a matter of fact, when these transactions were reported to Rāyāt-i-‘Ālā, he sent Majlis-i-‘Ālī Khān-i-‘āzam Fatḥ Khān, son of Sultān Muẓaffar Gujrātī, Majlis-i-‘Ālī Zirak Khān, Malik Kālu, keeper of the elephants, Khān-i-‘āzam Islām Khān, Malik Yusuf Sarwar-ul-Mulk, Khān-i-‘āzam Kamāl Khān, Rāi Juljain Bhattī with a large following to reinforce ‘Imād-ul-Mulk. On the 26th Shawwāl (Sat., 7th July) of the abovementioned year (834 H., 1431 A.D.), the (aforesaid) amīrs and maliks reached the khitṭa of Multān, and there remained encamped for some time. They proceeded on Friday, the

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1 The extract from Tabakat-i-Akbari in Elliot here terminates.
2 JNS reads 'ālī. 3 جنس گوسریو نردن. 4 MBL: مجلس خان اعظم نفر خان JNS: مجلس عالی خان اعظم.
5 JNS: خان اعظم اسلام خان MBL: خان اعظم اسلام خان.
3rd Zil-ka'\textquotesingle da (13th July, 1431 A.D.), and approaching the prayer-house, made an attempt to enter the \textit{kotlah} (fortress) of 'Ala'-ul-Mulk. Being informed of this, Sheikh 'Ali drew up all his cavalry and infantry in battle array, and met his adversaries. The royal forces were also ready for the encounter. 'Im\textsuperior-d-ul-Mulk was in the centre; Majlis-i-'Ali Fath Kh\textacute{a}n, Malik Yusuf and R\textacute{a}i Him\textacute{u} on the right; Majlis-i-'Ali Zirak Kh\textacute{a}n, Malik K\textacute{a}\textacute{l}u, Kh\textacute{a}n-i-\textsuperscript{a}zam Isl\textacute{a}m Kh\textacute{a}n and Kh\textacute{a}n-i-\textsuperscript{a}zam Kam\textacute{a}l Khan on the left. Catching sight of the imperialists, Sheikh 'Ali dispersed in confusion from a distance, and when the former opened the assault, the latter made a stampede, and so hasty was his retreat that he durst not look behind. While endeavouring to escape, several of the chiefs were put to the sword. Sheikh 'Ali with the remnant of his army took shelter in the fortification, which had been raised round the baggage.

When the victorious army approached the fortification, the enemy being unable to resist them made their way to the Jilum, in which many were drowned, and many, at the divine order, reached the army of Fira\textacute{w}n, and of the survivors some were killed and some imprisoned. Receiving a wound, H\textacute{a}j\textacute{i} K\textacute{a}r perished among the drowned. Sheikh 'Ali and Amir Mu\textsuperscript{a}f\textsuperscript{a}r safely crossed the stream, and retired with a small cavalry to Seor, their arms, baggage and equipments fell into the hands of the victors. Such a dire calamity never befall any army in any previous occasion, or in any other reign. Those who took to the water were drowned, and those who participated in the engagement were killed; neither flight nor fight availed to save them. So that thou wouldst say, each and all entered, suddenly and by chance, the orifice of death. "\textit{For him we are, and to Him we return!}"

1 MBL and JNS: رائى هنبر.
2 MBL and MBM: \textit{آب جيلم غرق شوند}; JNS: جمله در آب جيلم در آمدادن.
3 JNS: نفرمون بقرمان آپویي; MBM and MBM: نفرمون بقرمان آپویي بلشگر نفرمون رسيدند. نفرمون means Pharaoh; in general, any cruel tyrant.
4 MBL: حاجچکار. JNS: حاجچکار.
5 JNS and MBM read سیون: MBL: صور: Badaoni has: \textit{Tabakat-i-Akbari, Shor; Ferishta, Shewar; Ranking, Shiwar.}
6 The lines, "So that thou wouldst say......wind", have been left out in Elliot's History.
It is evident to all having exact knowledge and strong experience that, the active Heavens and Time, the great charmer, display curious feats out of the bi-coloured sheets and the multi-coloured veils before the vain and the short-sighted!

Couplet.

Ugly in appearance is this world full of deceptive colour, Each morning it appears with captivating decorations!

Let it not be concealed from the eye of observation of every intelligent man that, one from inadvertence of youth ought neither be misled by this coqueting harridan (i.e., the world) who has a semblance of a girl of fourteen, nor should he put his trust upon the flattery and fraud of this deceptive assassin, nor should he pin his faith upon this whore! What valiant champions of kingdom and Emperors seated on the throne of sovereignty hath she not removed from their capitals and thrones, and enclosed them in the biers!

Many a young damsel from the garden of elegance and bride from the meadow of beauty hath she taken out of their spring season, (youth) and hath dealt upon them whirlwind-like blows of autumn and imprisoned them in the dust of destruction!

Distich.

Each atom that thou observeth in the dust, So many Solomons blown away by the wind!
To return to our story: 1 Malik-ul-Sharīk ʻImād-ul-Mulk *alias* Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan, and other amirs ran in pursuit of Sheikh ʻAlī to Seor on the 4th Ḥilāl-ka'da (Sat., 14th July, 1431 A.D.), Amīr Muẓaffar 2 made preparations for standing the siege in the fort of Seor and to fight it out. Defeated and discouraged, Sheikh ʻAlī retired to Kabul with few adherents. In the meantime, the imperialists in pursuance to the royal mandate, gave up the siege of Seor, and took their way to the capital. It was for this reason that, Multān was taken from Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan, 3 and bestowed upon Malik Khair-ud-din Khanī in fief. But this act of transfer was imprudent and inconsiderate as some insurrection broke out in Multān, an account of which will be given in the subsequent pages. 4

In the month of Rabī‘-ul-auwal, 835 H. (Nov.-Dec., 1431 A.D.), it was made known to the Sultān that Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa had taken the route of Jālandhar. Jarsrath Shaikhā Khokhar came down with a strong detachment from the hills, 5 and having forded the Jilum, the Rāvī and the Beāh approached Jālandhar on the bank of the Benī. 6 Malik Sikandar was unwary, but he encountered the enemy with a small following. At the first onset, he met with defeat, and by divine pre-ordination and the inevitable decree of God, his horse 7 having got stuck in the mire he was carried into captivity by Jarsrath. Some (of Sikandar’s men) were slain in the battle, and some retreated

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1 JNS and MBM: باز ایم برم قصْتُ. MBL omit.
2 "Nephew of Sher ʻAli"—Tābakāt-i-Akbari.
3 Feraishta writes that the king becoming zealous of the popularity of ʻImād-ul-Mulk called him to court.
4 JNS: کیفیت سباق و در اخیر سباق اوراق مشرع در قلع ابد MBM: کیفیت سباق و در آخر سباق اوراق مشرع MBM: کیفیت سباق و در آخر سباق اوراق مشرع.
5 MBM: تیلار MBM: چز کور MBM: چز کور.
6 JNS has: بیش MBM: Elliot, Par'.
7 JNS and MBL: پای اسپ او.
to Jalandhar. Jasrath carried off Sikandar and some others who had been made prisoners with him, and marched in triumph to Lahore to which fortress he laid siege. Sa’iyid Najm-ud-din, lieutenant of Sikandar and Malik Khushkhabr his slave, held the fort and offered battle. The strife continued day to day. Meanwhile, Sheikh ‘Ali brought together a party of accursed wretches, and ravaged the environs of Multan. He made prisoners the people of Khatibpur and of several other villages on the bank of the Jilum as he descended that river. On the 17th Rabî-ul-auwal (Fri., 23rd Nov., 1431 A.D.), he reached Talumba, and on the pretext of making peace with its people, he put them to death and kept their chiefs prisoners. He then permitted his detestable followers to get possession of the fort. The day following, the whole of the Muslims became captive in the hands of the impure, irreligious and imprudent heretics. Though many good men of the locality were prelates, Sa’iyyids and kâzîs, neither any respect for the Musalman religion, nor the fear of God could restrain that accursed, cruel and inauspicious-faced wretch! Young women and children were carried off from their families and dragged to his house. Of the people, some were made food for the unsparing sword, and some let off. The fortified and the strong fortress of Talumba was levelled to the ground. ** May God, glorified be his name! Uproot the foundation of the accursed (infidel) in the manner resembling (the saying of God) “I have raised to the dust their high mansions”, and may He keep in perpetuity, so long the world exists, the ruler of the Muslims and their religion! **

Meanwhile, Pulad Turkbâchâ marched out of Tabarhindah with his retinue and devastated the country of Râi Firoz. When the Râi was informed of this, he encountered the invader with his infantry and cavalry, and a conflict ensued. By God’s decree, the

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1 MBL and MBM: MS. has خطبيپر in Badaoni خطبيپر.
2 MBL omits “in the hands of . . . . . heretics.” JNS and MBM retain it.
3 JNS: The insertion of, is due to the copyist’s error.
4 The portion within the asterisk is omitted in Elliot.
Râi met with his death; Pulâd severed off the Râi's head and carried it to Tabarhindah. A good many horse and an ample supply of grain fell in the hands of Pulâd. On receipt of this information, Bandagi Hazrat Râyât-i-'Alâ (the Emperor) took the route of Multân and Lâhore on Jamadi-ul-auwal¹ (Jany.-Feb., 1432 A.D.), and appointed Malik Sarwar² as an advanced guard to put down the rebellion. At the approach of the army (royal) to Sâmâna, the infamous and depraved Jasrath raised the siege of the fort, and retreated to the hills of Telhar,³ carrying with him Malik Sikandar. Sheikh 'Ali also, in fear of the imperialists, fell back on Bartot.⁴ Malik-ul-Shârk Shams-ul-Mulk was deprived of the fief of Lâhore⁵; and it devolved upon Khân-i-'Azam Nuşrat Khân Gurg-andâz.⁶ Malik Sarwar brought the family of Shams-ul-Mulk out of Lâhore, and sent them to the capital. Thus the fort of Lâhore and the aktâ⁷ of Jâlandhar came under the control of Nuşrat Khân.

In the month of Zil-hijjah (July-Aug., 1432 A.D.) of the year, Jasrath appeared with a large army from the hills and advanced to Lâhore; a battle took place between him and Nuşrat Khân, in which the former being defeated turned on his heels. Bandagi Râyât-i-'Alâ (the Sulthân) encamped himself near Panipath on the bank of the Jaun. Thence, in the month of the auspicious Ramzân (May, 1432 A.D.), he ordered off Malik-ul-Shârk 'Imâd-ul-Mulk with strong reinforcements to

¹ In Ferishta, 1st Jamadi-ul-auwal.
² JNS مملک صروف: In Ferishta, Survur-ul-Mulk; Badaoni reads مملک بوسف.
³ JNS and MBM تیلیم: MBL بابردت.
⁴ MBL باردارت: In Ferishta (p. 527), Kabul: Badaoni writes جسوم بجاپ... کرک پایه و ششپی علی نیز بجاپ ولایت خون رفت.
⁵ Badaoni writes Jâlandhar.
⁶ کرک کرک: بجاپ and and mean rhinoceros and wolf respectively: Briggs reads the epithet Goorg andaz and says that it was so given to the chief, probably, from his having personally got the better of a wolf. Badaoni writes کرک انداز.
Bianah and Gwalior for coercing the rebellious infidels. The Sultan, with the appearance of fortunate aspect of constellation, safely made his way to the capital.

In Muḥarram, 836 H. (Aug.-Sept., 1432 A.D.), the Sultan marched from the capital to Sāmāna to punish the disaffected people of the neighbourhood. He, then, proceeded to Panipath with a strong detachment. Meanwhile, intelligence was brought to him that Makhdum-i-Jahān (the crown mother) was taken ill. On the receipt of this intelligence, the Sultan immediately returned to the capital, with a few horse, leaving his army and baggage in charge of the amirs and maliks (at Panipath). A few days after his return his mother died. After performing her funeral obsequies, he remained for ten days in the capital, and then rejoined his army.

The Sultan ordered Malik Sarwar to proceed with a contingent against Tabarhindah, which was ably defended by Pulād Turkbāchā, who made an ample provision of grain and other requisites which he had secured from the country of Rāi Firoz. The fort was invested and operations were begun. When the preparation was complete, Malik Sarwar-ul-Mulk placed Majlis-i-‘Āli Zirak Khān, Islām Khān and Kahūn Rāj in command and proceeded with a few escort to effect a union with Rāyāt-i-‘Ālā at Panipath.

The Sultan, the refuge of the world, having laid aside the intention of proceeding on his intended expedition, took the siefs of Lahore and Jālandhar from Nuṣrat Khān, and bestowed them upon Malik Allah-dād Kākā Lodi. When Malik Allah-dād reached Jālandhar, Jasrath who was prepared and ready (for action), crossed the Beāh and came to Bājwāra. A battle followed, in which Almighty God conferred victory on the former, and the latter, being worsted, retired to the mountains of Kothi.

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3  There was a gap at this place in Elliot’s MS.: Bājwārah, 25 miles N.E. of Jālandhar, and 1½ m. east of Hoshiārpur.
In the month of Rabī‘-ul-auwal (Oct.-Nov.) of the year (836 A.H., 1432 A.D.), the Sultan marched his army to the hills of Mewāt, and with successive marches arrived at Tā’orū.\(^1\) Jalāl Khān Meo, on receipt of this news, shut himself up with a large army in the fortress of Andwar,\(^2\) one of the strongest citadels belonging to the Mewātis. Next day, the Sultan undertook preparations for its assault, but before his forces drew near, Jalāl Khān set fire to the fort, came out of it and set out towards Kotlāh. Most part of the provisions, materials and grain, which the Rāi had kept in stock in prospect of the siege, fell into the hands of the royalists. Rāyāt-i-Ālā moved onwards, and having encamped himself at Tajārah devastated the greater part of Mewāt. Failing to hold his own against the victors, Jalāl Khān tendered his submission on promise of paying usual revenue and taxes; he abandoned his rash proceedings and was pardoned. Malik ʻImād-ul-Mulk, also, joined the Sultan at Tajārah with a strong force composed of horse and foot from Bīnāh. Rāyāt-i-Ālā, May God increase his dignity, then sent Malik Kamāl-ul-Mulk,\(^3\) and all the amirs and maliks from Tajārah to bring the infidels of Gwālior and Etāwah to a coerced obedience, and he himself returned with an escort to the capital, where he arrived in the month of Jamādi-ul-auwal (Dec.-Jany., 1432-33 A.D.).

After he (the Sultan) had sojourned in the capital for a few days, advices were received that Sheikh ʻAli was advancing with a numerous army against the amirs who had invested Tabarhindah. The Sultan became thoughtful, for he apprehended, lest these amirs, alarmed at the news, should abandon the siege, as it had been done before. Malik-ul-Shark Malik ʻImād-ul-Mulk was sent to bring relief to the amirs and consequent to his arrival at Tabarhindah, they were emboldened and strengthened. In fine, Sheikh ʻAli advancing

\(^1\) MBM, MBL تأو روپ: JNS reads تأو رور: In Elliot, Tāorū: Tabakat-i-Akbari, Nādir.
\(^2\) MBL and JNS اندرو.
\(^3\) MBL and MBM كمال الدین: JNS كمال الملك: In Elliot, Malik Kamāl-ul-Mulk.
rapidly from Seor\(^1\) entered the country on the banks of the Beāh, and having taken many prisoners from Sāhnīwāl and other places, went to the auspicious city of Lāhore. Malik Yusuf Sarwar,\(^2\) Malik Ismāʿīl, nephew of Majlis-i-ʿAlī Zirak Kān, and Malik Rājā, son of Bahār Kān\(^3\) had been left in charge of the fort of Lāhore. The fort was laid siege to, and the fight commenced. The people of the city (Lāhore) were off their guard; consequently, Malik Yusuf and Malik Ismāʿīl left the city by night and fled. Sheikh ʿAlī despatched a force in their pursuit. Many of the horsemen fell under the attack of the accursed pursuers, and many were taken prisoners, including Malik Rājā. On the following day, the accursed Sheikh ʿAlī\(^4\) made all the Musalmans of the city, both men and women, prisoners. This vile, irreligious fellow had no better object or occupation than that of ravaging the seats of Islām and of making the Musalmans captive. "Oh God! assist those who helped the religion of the Prophet, and disgrace those who discredited his religion!" God, the Most High and the Helper of the Muslim religion, increased the malevolence of that accursed fellow. As a matter of fact, after making prisoners of the men of Lāhore, Sheikh ʿAlī remained there for some time, and renovated (the ramparts of) the fortress\(^5\) which had been damaged at places. Then leaving about 2,000 men, horse and foot behind, with the means of standing a siege, he marched towards Dībālpūr. Malik Yusuf Sarwar-ul-Mulk was about to abandon the fort of Dībālpūr and flee, as he had abandoned that of Lāhore, but Malik-ul-shark ʿImād-ul-Mulk at Tabarhindah, being informed of his intention, sent Malik-ul-umarā Malik Aḥmad, his brother, with a large army, to hold the fort of Dībālpūr. Before this, Sheikh ʿAlī had made his escape through a thousand and one difficulties from Malik-ul-shark and the dread of that chief still ruled in his heart, so he was unable to go to Dībālpūr.

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\(^1\) MSS.  
\(^2\) MBL مبسوت صرب: JBNS agrees with MBM: Elliot, Sarwar; Badaoni, Malik Yusuf Surūrū-Mulk.  
\(^3\) MBL بہار کان: Elliot, Bihār Kān.  
\(^4\) In JNS شده: آئ مسلم بعضی شده (؟) يعنی شيخ علي is copyist’s mistake.  
\(^5\) بالارد سر عمارت کرد.
In Jamādi-ul-akhir (Jany.-Feb., 1433 A.D.), Mubārak Shāh received intelligence of the conduct of the vanquished. Fierce and brave, the Sultan unhesitatingly marched his numerous soldiers to Sāmāna. There, he waited some days for Malik-ul-shark Kamāl-ul-Mulk. When that chief, with the force at his command, joined the Sultan, the latter left Sāmāna, and proceeded via Sannām to Talwandi (belonging to) Rāi Firoz Maīn, where he encamped. Malik-ul-shark ʿImād-ul-Mulk and Islām Khān Loū who had been sent to Tabarhindah, (here) joined Rāyāt-i-Ālā (the Sultan). Giving orders to the other a.mīrs not to evacuate the fort, the Sultan hastened on, and forded at Būhī. When the enemy heard of these movements, he was at his wits’ end and took to flight. The royal forces reached the vicinity of Dībālpūr, and crossing the Beāh, encamped on the bank of the Rāvī, when the accursed foe had already crossed the Jilum. Malik-ul-shark Sikandar Tuḥfa now received the title of Shams-ul-Mulk, with the fiefs of Dībālpūr and Jālandhar. Despatching a strong force against the enemy who was invested in the fort of Lāhore, the Sultan safely proceeded to the fort of Seor, which was in the possession of the enemy, and went across the Rāvī near Tālambha, sending Malik-ul-shark in pursuit of the foe (Sheikh ʿAli). But the latter fled precipitately without casting a look behind, and a large number of horse and much baggage and goods which he had got in boats, fell into the hands of Islām. Amīr Muẓaffar, nephew of Sheikh ʿAli, was in command of the fort of Seor, and he defended the place for a whole month; being worn out at last, he opened

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1 در رکاب علی آمره پیروستند.
2 تا از گرد حصار دور نشوند.
3 MS. Badaoni (297), پرهی: Elliot (77), Pohi.
4 There is a Lacuna in JNS: the text reads: جالندھر یافت محر بردن نامرد.
5 آن مقبور.
6 MBL and MBM: طلبند. JNS: Elliot, Tulamba.
7 Fereishta, Muẓaffar Khān.
negotiations for peace. In the month of Ramžān (Apr.-May, 1433 A.D.), *May it have blessing!* he gave his daughter to the king’s son and paid a large tribute. In the month of Shawwāl (May-June, 1433 A.D.), the accursed (Mughals) who had been besieged in Lāhore capitulated to Malik-ul-shark Shams-ual-Mulk, and the latter took possession of the fort. *When the expedition of Seor came to a successful issue and Lāhore was conquered, the Emperor, the refuge of the world, took his way to Dehlī. *The same month, the triumphant Sultān, attended by his brave and numerous soldiers, went on a pilgrimage to (the tombs of) great and holy persons near Multān. At the renowned city of Dībālpūr, he left in charge of Malik-ul-shark Kamāl-ul-Mulk, his elephants, foot soldiers, equipage and the other necessaries. After the completion of the pilgrimage to the holy saints and the management of public affairs in those tracts in the course of few days, the Sultān contended and happy, quickly returned to Dībālpūr, and made a halt for some time.

Conferment of the fort of Lāhore upon Sheikh ‘Ali.

Lāhore and Jālandhar given to ‘Imād-ul-Mulk; Sikandar Tūfka got Bīanah in exchange for Lāhore which was given to ‘Imād-ul-Mulk.

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1 *Perishta* writes, *"he gave his daughter to the king."*

2 The Text runs:—

3 The portion within the asterisk is omitted in Elliot.
Dehli on the day of 'Īd. The amīrs and maliks of Dehli, all the retinue and the bāzār people received the eminence of kissing the feet of His Majesty, the refuge of the world. Attended by felicity, happiness and a daily-increasing royal train, the Sultān reached Dehli in an auspicious moment.

On the 1st Zil-ḥijjah (July-Aug., 1433 A.D.), Malik-ul-Shārk Kamāl-ul-Mulk arrived (in Dehli) with his army. The duties of Diwān and Vizir were not effectively discharged by Sarwar-ul-Mulk so he was divested of Kār-i-āshrāf. As Malik-ul-Shārk Kamāl-ul-Mulk had proved himself trustworthy, useful and loyal, the Kār-i-āshrāf was transferred to him, and the office of Vizir was conferred upon Sarwar-ul-Mulk. Both carried on the affairs of the state in concert, but they did not hit off well. The officers (of the state) consulted Kamāl on state matters, so Sarwar-ul-Mulk’s thoughts turned towards blood. The previous deprivation of Dībal-pūr rankled like a thorn in his heart. In the garden of Fortune, no other rose blossomed forth except that unfortunate rose, and that incautious fellow now resolved upon effecting some revolution in the state. Some villainous infidels, such as, the sons of Kāngu and Kājo Khatri, whose families since the days of their fore-fathers had been patronised and protected by the royal house, and each of whom had been the possessors of large attendants, vast territory and great power, some treacherous Muslims also, like Mirān Sadr, the nāb-i-‘ārif-i-mamālik, Kāżī Abdus Šamad, the Royal Chamberlain, leagued with him, and made deliberations together. They did not find an

1 Badaoni writes, ‘Id-i-Kurbān.
2 JNS reads بَا دِوآت و كِبْكِه رُز أئِزْوُر بَرْقِتِ سَعَد و وَقَت مِمْمِن دِورُون در آمَد.
3 اسْحَابِ صَنَاصِبَ و دِينَانَ و زِوَارَتِ در هِمْ کَارَها رَجُع اورُدَنَد.
4 This portion has been omitted in Elliot.
5 ازْ قَلِبِي نَدِيبِ دِربَنَتْ نَدِيبِ شَد.
6 Elliot (78), Mirān Shahīb: Badaoni (p. 268) and Ferishta (p. 529), Mirān Sadr.
7, MFS. read خاص حاضِب: In Elliot, Khān Hajib.
8 دربِنِ خُوضُ بَرْنَدَ و اسْنَدْعا مِي نَمُورُنَد.
opportunity; but, neither any fear of God nor the shame of man restrained them from vain thoughts and foolish deed.

To sum up, the Emperor, the refuge of the world, had determined to construct a city on the banks of the Jaun, and on the 17th Rabi’-ul-auwal, 837 H. (Sunday, 1st Nov., 1433 A.D.), he laid the foundation of a city at Kharābābād-i-dunyā, and named that ill-omened city Mubārakābād. 1 Little did the Sulṭān know how shaken was the strong foundation of his (existence), and how it (his life) had turned its face towards departure. 2 Much of his time and care he devoted to the completion of this work of construction. In the aforesaid month, advices were received of the reduction of the fort of Tabarhindah by the amirs who had been sent against it, and of the death of the evil Pūlād whose head had been cut off and sent to Sulṭān through Mirān Ṣadr. Next day, the Sulṭān marched out on pretence of hunting, to settle and bring order in Tabarhindah. Soon after, he returned in good health and spirits to Mubārakābād. The travellers from Hindustan brought intelligence of a war having broken out between Sulṭān Ibrāhim and Alb Khān, 3 on account of Kālpi. Previous to this, His Majesty had decided to march his army there; and on hearing this intelligence, his course was decided. Orders were sent forth in every direction to the amirs of the capital and the maliks of every country, to collect their army with all speed, and to reinforce the Emperor. Like the stars round the moon a big force was collected 4 round the Emperor; in the month of Jamādi-ul-akhīr (Jany.-Feb., 1434 A.D.), the Sulṭān in conformity to the desire of

1 Elliot, Oct. 31, 1435 A.D.
2 JNS reads—شهري خراب آباد دنیا بنیاد نهاد و ان سهر شرم مبارک باد نام نهاد
Badaoni, p. 298, writes—شهري بنادر و مبارک آباد که در معنی خراب آباد بود نام نهاد
"He founded a city which he called Mubārakābād, but which in reality, was Kharābābād (ruined city)."
3 "He was the governor of Kālpi and he had obtained the title of Sulṭān Hooshing": Badaoni.
4 JNS لشکر کثیر گرد بادشا چه سفارش بر کوده ماته؟...
the nobles and the grandees, set out (for Hindustan) with the royal paraphernalia and the victorious banner, and encamped for a few days at the chautraḥ (raised square place) of Shīrgāh.

Verse.

Not aware was he of the pre-ordination of Fate,
It drew a line of policy on the page of pleasure.¹

Bereft of ceremony and escorted by few attendants the Emperor, the refuge of the world, made his way to Mubārakābād to witness the progress of the building.² The vile Sarwar-ul-Mulk, who was awaiting an opportunity, set to work the wicked infidels and the treacherous Miran Ṣadr, lest his secret machinations should be disclosed. A time of privacy was what his plans required.

On Friday, the 9th Rajab, May God increase its dignity, 837 H. (Fri., 19th Feb., 1434 A.D.), the Sultān reached Mubārakābād with only a few escort, and was preparing for Juma’ prayers,⁴ when Miran Ṣadr craftily removed the amīrs who were on guard, and like a cunning fox and a blood-thirsty jackal, brought his wretched infidels armed and mounted on horse on pretence of leave-taking. Sadhāran⁵ Kāngū stood with his party outside the door to prevent any outside relief. The Emperor, possessor of the world and fierce in hunting lions, having entire confidence in them, paid no heed to these preparations; he had been exceedingly kind and generous to these foes of God and enemies of himself. Suddenly, rushed out from the ambush the evil-destined Sidh Pal,⁶ the grandson of the accursed Kaju, and dealt with his sword such a ruthless blow upon the royal cypress and the bouquet of youth, (the Emperor), that his water of life flowed upon the dust of death. Each

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¹ JNS خط مشتبه: MBL and MBM خط مشتبه.
² بادشاه عالم بناء که بیکا؟ بجھت جہد عمارت شهر.
³ Elliot, 19th Jany.
⁴ Ferishta writes, “The King went to worship at a mosque lately built in the new city.”
⁵ MBL and JNS سدھارن.
of those irreligious mad fellows, such as Rānu the black, his assistants and confederates, at the sight of whose vileness even the Black-Demon is repugnant, and before whose noise the sound of hell wait with anxiety, (then rushed out) martyred the righteous Emperor with their dagger and javelin. "For Him we are and to Him we return!"

1 It is perfectly apparent to those having true knowledge and insight of truth, that this cruel sphere breaks the bond of sincerity, and the discordant time fails to redeem his pledge of assistance. Firstly, like one given to drinking, it sometimes bestows, without rhyme or reason, gifts upon people devoid of ability: secondly, like an infant, who is not ashamed of what it does, it takes back the gift (from its recipient) for no fault of the latter. Every chief who wants to wax strong and powerful is hurled in the dust of ignominy, and those who are after honour and dignity are reduced to the dirt of impurity.

Verse.

Who shall long for this worldly wealth! 2
To whom has it been faithful so that it may be to us!

The aim of this composition and the use of such figurative expressions are to show that, men of wealth and possessors of dignity and retinue, ought neither be deceived by this deceptive dominion and the faithless world, nor they be outwitted by the favour and the connection of this perfidious sphere, nor should trust it for reasons mentioned above. Those with eyes should take lesson!

Verse.

Those things, that they have said in Shahnāmās,
Of Rustum,3 the brass bodied and Isfandiyār;
That the Masters of country should take note,
The world is the memorial of most people.

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1 The portion that follows is not to be found in Elliot.
2 JNS مصعب گینی. مBL and MBM دولت گینی.
3 Rustam zal, Rustum, the son of Zal, was the most renowned hero among the Persians, and was said to have been a general under Cai caus, and his successor Cai Khosrou, whilst others place him in the reign of Khishtaep (Darius Hystaspes).
The sovereignty of late Mubarak Shah extended for a period of over thirteen years, three months and sixteen days. *God knows the truth!*

An account of Sultan-ul ‘Ahad-ul Zamân 1 Muhammad Shah, May his empire and sovereignty endure for ever, and may his command and dignity be exalted!

Character of Muhammad Shah.

Muhammad Shah (bin Farid Shah bin Khizr Khan 2) was an affable and kind sovereign, with every laudable quality: in nature praiseworthy, perfect in accomplishments and devoid of unlaudable traits in character. 3 Over his august forehead was manifest the mark 4 of sovereignty, and his fortunate countenance diffused divine splendour. 5

When Mubarak Shah, the august Sultan and martyr, *May the blessing of God be on his tomb and may he ever dwell in Paradise!* 6 received the eminence and glory of martyrdom, the mischievous infidels and the depraved Miran Sadr came near Sarwar-ul-Mulk and enlightened him on the event. Sarwar-ul-Mulk and his associates were filled with delight and vain-glory. Later on, with the assent of the amirs, maliks, imâms, Saiyids, grandees, people, ulemas and Kazis, the Sultan ascended the throne when an auspicious constellation was in the ascendant, on Friday, the 9th

Rustam was one of the twelve champions of Persia, called ”*duwazdeh rokh*”. His single combat with Isfandiyar, the son of Darius Hystaspes, of the first dynasty of Persian kings, is highly celebrated in the East. It lasted for two days: when finding the brazen body of his antagonist had a magic charm against arrows, he killed him with the blow of a mace. Rustam was afterwards put to death by Bahaman or Ardeshir Dirazdest (Artaxerxes Longimanus), son of Isfandiyar.

1 The Sultan of the age and time.
2 JNS reads ذکر سلطان العهد و الزمان محمد شاه بن خضر خان برادر زاده و پسر خرائنة مبارک شاه بن خلد الله الملك و سلطانه و علی امده و شاهانه بادشاهی حلبیم و کرمیه, etc.
3 MBL and MBM write محمد شاه بن فرد شاه بن خضر شاه بادشاهی حلبیم و کرمیه, etc.
4 آثار بادشاهی, etc. همه خصائص محمد (نا مصون) از طبیعی و مفرط 5
5 MBL reads: انوار فضل آلی و اسرار نامتناهی نامتناهی.
6 JNS and MBM omit “May he dwell in Paradise”: MBM reads it.

Although, Sarwar-ul-Mulk had tendered fealty to him he showed self-importance and headstrongness,¹ so much so, that he took possession of the cash, treasure-troves, royal studs, and the armoury. The title of Khân-i-Jahân was conferred upon him, and that of Mu’in-ul-Mulk upon Mirân Šadr. The wretched unbelievers became self-conceited and vain, and their motives were actuated by self-interest: at length, they got their deserts.²

In fine, Malik-ul-Shář Kamál-ul-Mulk,³ worthy of a proper khânate and royalty⁴ went inside the city with all the amírs, maliks, baggage, elephants, infantry and attendants and⁵ made an acknowledgment of obedience. He wanted to exact retribution for the murder of Mubârak Shâh, his own patron, from the conceited and vain infidels, vile Sarwar-ul-Mulk, traitor Mirân and their confederates, and friends, but could not get an opportunity for action. Ultimately, this important affair was brought about by the Divine Providence, the Generous King, from the hands of Asaf⁶ the second, the chosen of God, the Warrior in the field of bravery,⁷ the Chief Traveller in (the path of) dispute, brought to pass this difficult task with such celerity and easiness⁸ as has never been related in any (other) tale or history. Although, Rustam of the romance, out of revenge for Siavesh,⁹ laid waste the house

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¹ Text runs: خرد را درمان دیده خودراپی کریم گرفت.
² Text runs: آخر لامر دیدند انجیده دیدند و وانند انجیده.
³ He was the deputy Vizir: Ferashta calls him Kaly Khân.
⁴ که در خرد خانی و سراوار جهانباني است.
⁵ بیع: بیعت کردن properly to agree with, to receive a promise or pledge for the settling of a bargain.
⁶ Asaf or Asa’f (Ben Berkhiya), a great man supposed by the Arabians to have been Solomon’s grand vizir. He is said to have obtained from God the highest degree of perfection, and is therefore constantly supposed by the Muslims as a model of excellence.
⁷ JNS سردار و وزندگانی بدامت: سردار و وزندگانی مبادعت.
⁸ بیدین: بیدین و بیدین آسانی دمواری، بد اگی.
⁹ JNS سیا و حبش an error for سیارش, father of great Cyrus.
of Afrasiyab, nevertheless, it took a long time and required no small effort on his part for the consummation of the desired result. A detailed account as to how the retribution was made has been related later on in general terms.

To return to our narrative; on the day following, Sarwar-ul-Mulk called for some of the attendants of Mubarak Shâh, each of whom was a person of rank and dignity, on the pretence of exacting fealty (from them). He placed them under confinement, and put Malik Surâ, the amîr of Kôh, to death in the maidan: Malik Karmehand, Malik Mu’ûbil, Malik Fatûh, Malik Bîrâ were (also) shut up. That unprincipled traitor did his level best in uprooting the family of Mubarak Shâh; he (further) laid his hands on the ak‘tâ’s and parganas of the country: some of the ak‘tâ’s, (such as) Bianah, Amroha, Narnol, Kuhram, and some parganas in the Doâb, he conferred upon Sidhpal, Sadhâran and their kinsmen. Rânu, the Black, the slave of Sidhpal was ordered off to Bianah with a big force and the whole of his family to obtain possession of the shikik Bianah. In the month of Sha‘bân (Mar.-Apr., 1434 A.D.) he approached Bianah (Wed., 24th Mar., 1434 A.D.), and on the 12th of the month he entered it. Halting there for the night, that incautious (fellow) wanted to seize the fort, (belonging to) the great Sultân. Next day, with all his equipage and retinue well equipped and made ready, that unsuccessful infidel rode onwards. When Yusuf Khân Auhadi received

1 Afrasiyab appears to have been rather a family surname, like the Pharaoh’s, the Ptolemys’ or the Caesar’s. Rustam being one of the generals of the great Cyrus, the defeat of Afrasiyab must have happened above 150 years after the conquest of Persia by the first of that name. The first Afrasiyab is much celebrated in Persian poetry. Scythian or Turk by birth, he invaded Persia, killed its King Nuzar, and reigned there for 12 years, about seven centuries before the Christian era; but was afterwards driven beyond the Oxus by a famous chief, called salzer (or golden hair).
2 In Elliot, Malik Ma’şhûm. 3 MS. نورگ : In Elliot (81), Malik Kanauj.
4 In Moradabad district, U.P. 5 In Patiâla State, Punjab.
6 Ferashteh writes, “Ranu, a slave of the Vizier” (Sarwar-ul-Mulk).
7 In Bharatpur State, Rajputana. 50 m. S.-W. of Agra.
8 جن.
an intimation of this, he drew up his forces from Hindwan, and suddenly made himself ready for an encounter with a large number of foot and horse. Near the ḥagira (mausoleum) of the Prince, the opponents drew up their respective forces in battle array, and the conflict took place. The treacherous, wicked and vile infidels lost their power of remaining (in the battle-field) and at the very first onset they made a stampede. The accursed Rānu, the Black, and many others were made food for the unsparing sword. The impure head of the unlucky fellow was cut off the body and hung up at the entrance. The whole of his family, the females and the young children, became prisoners in the hands of the army of Islām. The Most High God, the Protector of the Islāmic religion, conferred victory upon Yusuf Khān and rendered him assistance in taking a bloody vengeance for the assassination of Mubārak Shāh on the dirty and depraved fellow (Rānu).

To sum up, when the evil disposition of Sarwar-ul-Mulk and the malefactions of the defeated infidels was rumoured in the country, several amirs and maliks, who had been brought up and raised to honour by the late Rāyāt-i-‘Ālā Khīr Khān, now went into rebellion. The inconsiderate Sarwar-ul-Mulk set about giving them counsel, and fomented strife and disturbances. It was reported that, (the following Amīrs, such as,) Malik Allah-dād Kākā Lodi, amir of Sambhāl and Ahār, Miyan Chaman, the holder of Badāōn and grandson of late Khān Jāhān, Amir ‘Ali Gujrāti, Amir Kik Turkbacha were bent upon making opposition. Malik-ul-Shārk Kamāl-ul-Mulk, Khān

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2 Tab-i-Akhb., Kakā Lodi: Badaoni, Kalā Lodi.
3 20 m. N.-E. of Bulandshahr.
4 In Fērishtā (533), Malik Joomun: Tab-i-Akhb.
5 Malik Čeem: Badaoni agree-with Tab-i-Akhb.
6 Ferishta, Meem Ally Guzrāti.
7 MBL and JNS: Ibid., Ameer Khān Toork: In Elliot (81), Kambal Turkbacha.

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6 Ferishta, Meem Ally Guzrāti.
7 MBL and JNS: Ibid., Ameer Khān Toork: In Elliot (81), Kambal Turkbacha.
i-’Aẓam Sa‘iyid Khān, son of Sa‘iyid Sālim, were appointed to bring
the rebels to obedience, and Malik Yusuf, the
son of Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Sadhāran1 Kangu went along with them. In the month of the
holy Ramzan (April-May) (Kamāl) wheeled his
column into line, and marching out encamped
himself at the top of Ḥauz-i-Rānī.2 A few days after, he marched
his forces and halted on the banks of the Jaun, and crossing the
river at Kichā,3 he reached and halted at Baran, intent upon his
schemes of retribution. Gaining intelligence of the approach of the
victorious army (Kamāl), Malik Allah-dād, de-
sirous as he was to avoid an action, attempted
to cross the Ganges for some other place; but
when he was enlightened as to Malik-ul-Shark Kamāl-ul-Mulk’s
real intention of exacting a full revenge, he was reassured4 and
encamped at Ahār. At this, Malik Sarwar-ul-Mulk sent out Malik
Hoshiyār, his slave,5 under the pretence of assisting Malik-ul-Shark
Kamāl-ul-Mulk.6 Soon after this, Malik Chaman also drew up
his forces from Badāoūn by way of attending to7 Malik Allah-dād,
and joined him at Ahār. Malik Yusuf and Hoshiyār and Sadhā-
ran who were terror-stricken, (now) became more pusillanimous and
found themselves reduced to straits.8 Per-
plexed and ill-at-ease, like the ball tossed from
post to pillar and throwing the ball of bravery
out of their hands, they fled headlong to the capital in fear of the
victorious army. On the last day of the holy Ramzan (Apr.-May),
of the year (837 h., 1434 A.D.), Malik Allah-dād, Miyān Chaman and
the other amirs who had joined them, went over to Kamal-ul-Mulk. When a considerable force had, with great pomp, collected round him, on the 2nd Shawwāl (Wed., 12th May), he (Kamal) crossed (the Ganges) at the ford of Kicha. Being informed of this, Sarwar-ul-Mulk, although in reduced circumstances, made preparations for standing a siege.\(^1\) Next day, came out the King of the Heavens having unsheathed his sword, the Sun, from the scabbard, the spheres that is (ever) contrary to agreement. Malik-ul-Shark Kamal, the sun of the sphere of dominion, drew out his dagger of retribution and faced his adversaries. He encamped his army in the plain and the orchards. The wretched infidels and the scoundrel Hoshiyar, accompanied by a group of associates and well-wishers sallied forth and participated in the battle. When the belligerents came vis-à-vis, the malcontents suffered defeat; and became\(^2\) discomfited. Distressed and afflicted in mind and body at the defeat, they retired to the fortifications. Those who were short-sighted, unsheathed their dagger of boasting, and indulged themselves in vain talks; laying aside their arms they fell upon the imperialists. Many were put to the sword, and many were made prisoners. Next day, (Kamal-ul-Mulk) issued out of the groves and pressing on, encamped near the fortress of Siri. Most of the amirs and maliks of the surrounding country united forces with him. In the month of Shawwāl (May-June, 837 H., 1434 A.D.), the fortress was so closely blockaded that no one could come out of it. In spite of the repeated assaults made by the besiegers and several breaches in the fortifications, the garrison, owing to the impregnability of the fortress held out for three months. In the month of Zil-hijjah, of the year (July-Aug., 837 H., 1434 A.D.), Zirak Khan, amir of Samana, breathed his last, and his fiefs were bestowed upon Mahmud Khan, the eldest son

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\(^1\) “Sarwar-ul-Mulk took post in the citadel of Siri,” Perishta, ibid.

\(^2\) MSS. have 

\(^3\) اگنداد و بی سهر سواران (؟) لشكر منصور کشند
of the deceased. To sum up all, although His Majesty kept up a show of alliance with the besieged, he was desirous of taking revenge for the murder of Khān-i-shāhid Mubārak Shāh, but found no opportunity. The garrison, in their turn, were apprehensive lest the Emperor gaining an opportunity should betray them. Thus, each became suspicious of the other.

On the 8th Muharram, 838 H. (Sat., 14th August, 1434 A.D.), the traitor Sarwar-ul-Mulk, and the sons of perfidious Miran Sadr broke into the royal apartments one by one with designs upon the Emperor, intending to send him down in the fire of violence. The Sultān, the refuge of the world, being ready and on the alert, managed the affair with skill and dealt a blow from the dagger of punishment upon the traitors. The treacherous Sarwar-ul-Mulk was done to death with the blows of the sword and dagger, and the sons of Miran Sadr were taken prisoners and slain in front of the Darbār. When the wretched infidels were informed of this, they shut themselves up in the fortress and made preparations for war. The Emperor conveyed this information to Malik-ul-Shark Kamāl-ul-Mulk, directing him to come into the city with a party of his followers. Accompanied by other amīrs and maliks Malik-ul-Shark entered (the city) by the Baghdād gate. Sidhpul, the accursed, set fire to his own house, making his wife and children fuel for hell. He then came out and died while fighting. Sadhāran Kāngu and the other Khatris who had been pinioned were led off to the tomb of Khān-i-shāhid Mubārak Shāh and driven to death. Malik Hoshiyar and Mubārak, the Kotwal, were taken captive and decapitated in front

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1. بوقت فرست و هنگام خلوت.
2. In Ferishta (1, 535), 840 H.: Badaoni writes 838 H.
3. با خاطر بر مکر باندیشته غدر.
4. This part of the sentence has been wrongly transcribed by the copyist in JNS.
5. کار از حمامایت و از فرط نهایت گذاشت.
6. زن و فرزنده خو را هم در دو نزغ گودائید.
7. Ferishta, Khatris.
8. MS. خطیبہ: so has Badaoni; Elliot, Khatira.
of the Red-gate. In fine, on the next day, Malik-ul-Sharq Kamal-ul-Mulk and all the amirs and maliks who waited outside (the city) took the oath of allegiance to the Sultan, the refuge of the world, and concurred with one another and with the people in general they enthroned him (Muhammad Shah). Malik-ul-Sharq Kamal-ul-Mulk received the Vizirate and the appellation of Kamal Khan. Malik Chaman was dubbed Ghazi-ul-Mulk, and the fiefs of Amroha and Badain were confirmed on him.

Malik Allah-dad refused the title of Khan for himself, but obtained the title of Dariya Khan for his brother. Malik Khunraja Mubarak Khani was named Ikbal Khan and was confirmed in the fiefs of Hisar Firoza. All the amirs and maliks were favoured with high dignity and rich gifts; and every person who held offices or fiefs, or villages or grants, or pensions received confirmation, and even an increase of their possessions. The eldest son of Sa‘iyid Salim was entitled Majlis-i-‘Ali Sa‘iyid Khan, and the younger one Shuja‘-ul-Mulk. Malik Madh Alam, his sister’s son, was entitled ‘Ala‘-ul-Mulk, and Malik Rukn-ud-din was designated Nasir-ul-Mulk. They also received golden girdles, ranks, drums and fiefs. Malik-ul-Sharq Haiji Shudani was made governor of the capital.

When the administration of the kingdom was put in order, the Sultan determined on going to Multan. In the month of Rabii-ul-akhir (Nov.-Dec.), of the year 838 H. (1434 A.D.), he encamped at the chabutra of Mubarakpur, and issued farmans to the amirs and maliks ordering them to appear before him with their forces ready. Malik-ul-Sharq (Imad-ul-Mulk) made his allegiance, and received
(in return) valuable presents and great honours. (When) Malik-ul-Shark approached the Sultan, most of the amirs and maliks who delayed their coming now came to His Majesty. Majlis-i-'Ali Islam Khan, Mahmud Khan, son of Zirak Khan, Khan-i-'Azam Asad Khan, Kamal Khan, 2 Mahmud Khan, son of Nasrat Khan, Yusuf Khan Au'had, Ahmad Khan, grandson of Bahadur Khan Mewati, Ikbal Khan, amir of Hisar Firoza, and Amir 'Ali Gujarati were honoured with marks of favour and God knows the truth. 3

THE END.

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1 MBM and the MS. used by Elliot terminate here.
2 MBL writes كمال خان نسبهُ بهادر خان مول اقبال خان امبر حصار فیروزہ, etc.
4 MBL ends with the king Mubarakshah's birth date, 23rd Rajab. 1550 A.D.
5 JNS ends with the king Mubarakshah's birth date, 23rd Rajab. 1550 A.D.
6 JNS ends with 1st Ramzan, 1629 A.D. 1038 H.
7 MBL and JNS come to a close here.
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ERRATA.

P. 1, line 6 for the mankind : read the human kind.

,, 1. 23 ,, chosens ,, chosen ones.

P. 3, 1. 4 ,, his sovereignty ,, and his sovereignty.

,, 1. 22 ,, misfortunes ,, the misfortunes.

,, 1. 24 ,, yourself ,, thyself.

,, 1. 27 ,, your ,, thy.

P. 4, 1. 12 add "and reported by trustworthy narrators" after "author".

,, 1. 18 ,, sympathised ,, read sympathised with.

P. 5, 1. 5 ,, vested on ,, vested in.

,, 1. 5 delete "the" before Sultān.

,, 1. 8 for on ,, read in.

,, 1. 13 ,, marched to ,, marched on.

,, 1. 20 ,, on ,, in.

P. 7, 1. 18 ,, put forth battle ,, put up a fight.

P. 8, 1. 6 add he before made.

,, 1. 19 delete the before brother.

P. 9, 1. 9 for in the army ,, to the army.

P. 12, 1. 10 ,, forage in ,, forage for.

P. 13, 1. 2 ,, in ,, on.

P. 14, 1. 4 ,, few ,, a few.

,, 1. 13 ,, the archery ,, archery.

P. 16, 1. 16 ,, Rely thee ,, Rely thou.

,, 1. 17 ,, the Jupiter ,, Jupiter.

,, 1. 22 ,, real facts ,, the real facts.

,, 1. 28 ,, disturbance ,, disturbances.

P. 17, 1. 27 ,, demonstrations ,, manifestations.

P. 18, 1. 11 ,, who laid ,, who had laid.

,, 1. 15 ,, Bakhli ,, Pakhli.

,, 1. 20 ,, had ,, and had.

P. 20, 1. 17 ,, ordered for an ,, ordered an.

P. 21, 1. 2 ,, The God ,, God.

,, 1. 10 ,, late ,, the late.

,, 1. 19 ,, a pleasure ,, pleasure.

P. 22, 1. 4 ,, the Amir ,, Amir.

P. 23, 1. 20 ,, entered from the two sides of the "Jami‘Masjid from its two sides."
P. 24, line 5 for now advanced .. read advanced.

P. 25, l. 30 delete the line and .. Likewise, it (Heaven) throws a halter round each head.

P. 26, l. 18 for the Kāzī .. Kāzī.

P. 27, l. 15 .. with him .. towards him.

P. 28, l. 6 .. the confidential .. a confidential.

,, l. 7 delete of the Sultān.

,, l. 8 for requesting .. request.

,, l. 21 .. attempted .. and attempted.

,, l. 22 .. a bad .. bad.

,, l. 27 .. a clever .. clever.

P. 29, l. 29 .. after him .. him.

P. 30, l. 8 .. refused .. and refused.

P. 31, l. 14 .. Ḥauẓrānī .. Ḥauẓ-rānī.

P. 32, l. 1 .. place .. a place.

P. 32, l. 33 read durbash (a two branched and ornamented baton).

P. 33, l. 2 for them .. read it.

,, l. 4 .. laid .. and laid.

,, l. 10 .. Doab .. the Doab.

P. 35, l. 8 .. so far .. as far.

,, l. 10 .. the other Amirs .. other Amirs.

,, l. 11 .. combined themselves .. combined.

,, l. 21 .. urging to .. urging.

,, l. 23 .. did .. acted.

P. 36, l. 5 .. in .. to.

,, l. 16 .. souvenir .. souvenirs.

,, l. 22 .. equipage .. equipages.

P. 39, l. 14 .. a chase .. chase.

,, l. 21 .. on the gibbet .. to the gibbet.

,, l. 22 .. Saryu .. the Saryu.

,, l. 29 .. on a boat .. in a boat.

P. 40, l. 32 .. against .. with.

P. 41, l. 18 .. that equally .. equally.

P. 48, l. 3 .. tone .. tune.

P. 49, l. 1 .. ordered for .. ordered.

,, l. 2 .. near .. to.

,, l. 2 .. to .. at.

,, l. 21 .. the grandson .. grandson.

,, l. 23 .. having been .. having.

P. 50, l. 23 .. bestowed with .. bestowed.
P. 51, line 8 for at .. read in.
   ,, 1. 12 ,, imprisoning .. ,, imprisoned.
P. 53, l. 8 ,, for it .. ,, for.
   ,, 1. 22 ,, near them .. ,, to them.
   ,, 1. 26 ,, near Shāist Ḳhān .. ,, Shāist Ḳhān.
   ,, 1. 28 ,, mounted on a .. ,, mounted a.
   ,, 1. 29 ,, both made .. ,, each made.
P. 54, l. 4 ,, a nature .. ,, nature.
   ,, 1. 5 ,, him .. ,, them.
   ,, 1 27 ,, upon .. ,, in.
P. 56, l. 2 ,, is it .. ,, are they.
   ,, 1. 23 ,, near .. ,, to.
   ,, 1. 27 ,, near .. ,, to.
P. 57, l. 6 ,, dealt upon .. ,, dealt.
   ,, 1. 19 ,, died while a .. ,, died a.
P. 58, l. 1 ,, in prison .. ,, to prison.
P. 59, l. 6 ,, the Hindustan .. ,, Hindustan.
   ,, 1. 11 ,, near those .. ,, to those.
   ,, 1. 25 ,, Rahab .. ,, the Rahab.
P. 60, l. 15 ,, both sides .. ,, each side.
   ,, 1. 17 ,, both .. ,, each.
   ,, 1. 20 ,, fell victim to a .. ,, fell a victim to disease.
   disease
   ,, 1. 30 ,, their .. ,, his.
P. 61, l. 21 ,, advising .. ,, advised.
P. 65, l. 18 ,, securing .. ,, secured.
P. 66, l. 26 ,, went near .. ,, went to.
   ,, 1. 28 ,, beards .. ,, beard.
P. 67, l. 9 ,, near .. ,, to.
   ,, 1. 24 ,, deserted their .. ,, joined.

side for
   ,, 1. 27 delete near Arkali Ḳhān.
P. 68, l. 6 for tyrant-heaven .. read tyrant heaven.
   ,, 1. 8 ,, vaults .. ,, vault.
P. 69, l. 22 ,, and despatched .. ,, and they were despatched
   ,, 1. 23 ,, joined with .. ,, joined.
P. 70, l. 9 ,, taken .. ,, were taken.
P. 71, l. 9 ,, joining .. ,, joined.
   ,, 1. 14 ,, the princes .. ,, princes.
P. 72, l. 5 ,, prisoners .. ,, prisoner.
   , l. 11 , was .. ,, were.
P. 73, line 18 for before read in.
P. 74, l. 15 ,, rich ,, a rich.
P. 75, l. 21 ,, to ,, for.
P. 76, l. 13 ,, on ,, to.
P. 79, l. 4 ,, victim ,, a victim.
    l. 11 ,, Alb ,, Alp (elsewhere also).
P. 80, l. 12 delete near.
    l. 14 for the face ,, face.
    l. 14 ,, in qualities ,, who was in qualities.
    l. 17 ,, apartment ,, apartments.
    l. 19 ,, had been bereft ,, was bereft.
P. 82, l. 1 ,, to an ,, into.
    l. 6 ,, Till ,, So long.
P. 86, l. 4 ,, in ,, to.
P. 87, l. 5 ,, in ,, on.
P. 89, l. 6 ,, near ,, towards.
    l. 7 ,, a sedition ,, sedition.
    l. 15 ,, near ,, to.
    l. 20 ,, wrote ,, wrote to.
    l. 25 delete out.
    l. 27 ,, out.
P. 90, l. 10 for near Nāṣir-ud-din where Nāṣir-ud-din was staying.
    l. 15 ,, would seize ,, will seize.
    l. 17 ,, rage ,, a rage.
    l. 17 delete near him.
P. 91, l. 14 delete at.
P. 92, l. 5 for receiveth ,, receivest.
    l. 17 ,, for five ,, five.
P. 93, l. 16 ,, Gurshasab ,, Gurshasp.
    l. 24 ,, was co-operated ,, co-operated.
P. 94, l. 1 delete the.
    l. 21 ,, near.
    l. 25 ,, out.
P. 95, l. 22 for near ,, to.
    l. 28 ,, by ,, through.
P. 96, l. 3 ,, playing ,, plying.
P. 99, l. 6 ,, in course ,, in the course.
P. 100, l. 15 delete the whole line he posted a Dhāwah at every
    and Kuroh from Dehli to Deogir.
P. 100, line 20 for rest-houses and read a rest-house and a monastery.
monasteries

P. 101, l. 17 and margin, for Gurshasab

P. 102, l. 5, To him, Him.

P. 103, l. 13 delete back.

P. 105, l. 1, to.

P. 106, l. 8, were, was.

P. 107, l. 20 delete with.

P. 109, l. 11 for extent the, extent (raging) the.

P. 110, l. 1, belts and dresses, belt and dress.

P. 111, l. 10, Zagirdars, Jagirdars.

P. 112, l. 4 delete near him.

P. 114, l. 2 for Dihu'i, Dabho'i.

f.n. 2, Muhammedan, the Muhammedan.

P. 115, l. 7, with, of.

P. 117, l. 29, had, has.

P. 120, l. 6, was, were.

P. 122, l. 15, near, to.

P. 124, l. 27, Thou dost, you.

P. 125, l. 12, near, with.

P. 126, l. 1, from, with.

P. 102, l. 2, for at, in.

P. 103, l. 16, the defeated.

P. 105, l. 2 for a equal, an equal.

P. 106, l. 9, prisoners, prisoner.

P. 109, l. 13 delete the.

P. 110, l. 9, one.

P. 111, l. 11, they never, he had never.

P. 112, l. 24, before, in.

P. 114, l. 2, for Dihu'i, Dabho'i.

f.n. 2, Muhammedan, the Muhammedan.

P. 115, l. 7, with, of.

P. 117, l. 29, had, has.

P. 120, l. 6, was, were.

P. 122, l. 15, robe, robes.

P. 124, l. 27, Thou dost, you.

P. 125, l. 12, near, with.

P. 126, l. 1, from, with.
P. 126, line 7 delete himself.
   " l. 8 for the       .. read his.
   " l. 9 " turbans    .. " turban.
P. 128, l. 7 " different kinds of .. a different kind of umbrellas
   umbrellas
P. 129, add to the note on Ekdalah:
   Mr. Stapleton by his recent exploration in situ
   confirms Westmacott's suggestion that Ekdalah is the
   place of that name in the Dinajpur district, 15 miles
   west of Ghoraghat and 23 miles north of Pandua.
P. 131, line 2 for Budhi       .. read the Budhi.
   " l. 15 " favours and affection .. " favour and affection.
   " l. 20 " which .. " as.
P. 133, l. 7 " to .. " for.
P. 134, l. 17 delete in lieu of.
P. 136, l. 6 for were .. " be.
P. 137, l. 2 " Sataldar .. " the Sataldar.
   " margin " on .. " to.
P. 139, line 10 " tanks .. " tankas.
   " l. 25 delete off.
P. 141, l. 24 for the chief .. " chief.
P. 142, l. 12 " below .. " be low.
P. 143, l. 19 " upon .. " to.
   " l. 19 " he .. " and.
   " l. 23 " the latter .. " he.
P. 147, l. 1 " near .. " to.
P. 149, l. 16 delete with.
   " l. 17 for was .. " had been.
   " l. 18 " upon .. " to.
P. 150, l. 14 " till .. " to.
   " l. 21 " in .. " to.
   " l. 32 " the .. " a.
P. 151, l. 8 " off .. " from.
   " l. 14 delete it.
   " l. 17 " off.
P. 152, l. 9 " a.
   " l. 13 for over .. " on.
P. 153, l. 6 " near .. " to.
P. 155, l. 12 " both .. " each.
P. 157, l. 5 " gates .. " gate.
P. 157, line 21 delete a.

P. 159, l. 2 for as . . . read of.

,, l. 11 ,, Hindusthanies . . ., Hindusthanis.

P. 162, l. 12 ,, It . . ., The disease.

P. 163, l. 1 ,, was . . ., were.

,, l. 2 ,, it was . . ., they were.

,, l. 20 ,, paraphernalias . . ., paraphernalia.

,, l. 22 ,, it . . ., his illness.

P. 168, l. 9 ,, Doab . . ., the Doab.

,, l. 11 delete else.

P. 169, l. 5 for on . . ., under.

,, margin ,, upon . . ., to.

P. 171, line 26 delete a.

,, l. 28 ,, to.

P. 172, l. 13 ,, his.

P. 173, l. 10 ,, a.

,, l. 13 for Samarkand . . ., for Samarkand.

,, l. 23 ,, now advanced . . ., advanced.

,, l. 30 ,, in . . ., into.

,, margin ,, from Doab . . ., of the Doab.

P. 175, line 9 ,, returned . . ., he returned.

,, l. 20 ,, the other . . ., other.

P. 176, l. 3 ,, a chase to . . ., chase up to.

,, l. 23 ,, from . . ., of.

P. 178, l. 13 ,, the army . . ., his army.

P. 179, l. 15 ,, Dahinda . . ., the Dahinda.

,, l. 19 ,, who . . ., which.

P. 180, l. 2 ,, are . . ., be.

P. 181, l. 22 ,, a prisoner . . ., prisoner.


P. 184, l. 8 ,, hardly pressed . . ., hard pressed.

,, l. 9 ,, a tribute . . ., tribute.

,, l. 19 delete with.

P. 185, l. 28 ,, himself.

P. 187, l. 2 for a . . ., An.

P. 188, l. 2 ,, the progenitor . . ., progenitor.

,, l. 4 ,, in . . ., to.

,, l. 6 delete ,

,, l. 20 for upon . . ., to.

P. 189, l. 5 ,, late . . ., the late.

.. l. 15 delete the.
P. 190, line 3 for (Sultān Mahmud) read (Sultān Mahmud’s).

P. 191, margin, bestowed with, bestowed.

line 17 delete the.

P. 192, l. 1 for into, in.

P. 193, l. 15 ,, murdered, had murdered.

l. 22 ,, a chase, chase.

P. 194, l. 19 ,, on, of.

P. 195, l. 14 ,, formed, had formed.

P. 196, l. 8 ,, Sutlej, the Sutlej.

l. 21 `(Rupar), (at Rupar).

P. 197, l. 14 ,, a prisoner, prisoner.

P. 198, l. 1 delete that.

l. 2 for pillaged, had pillaged.

l. 17 ,, hands, hand.

l. 18 delete himself.

P. 199, l. 29 ,, an.

P. 200, l. 9 for standards, standard.

l. 12 delete ,

P. 201, l. 12 for terms, the terms.

l. 12 delete, after that.

l. 13 ,, over.

P. 202, margin for besiege, besieges.

line 8 ,, Sutlej, the Sutlej.

l. 21 ,, to, on.

P. 204, l. 2 ,, a Imperial, an Imperial.

l. 14 ,, building, the building.

l. 15 ,, Ravi, the Ravi.

l. 17 delete a.

l. 19 for horses, horse.

P. 205, l. 6 ,, all those places, that place.

P. 207, f.n. 5 ,, Mahabharat, the Mahabharat.

P. 208, l. 14 delete, and put, after Jasrath.

P. 209, l. 13 for on his reaching, read when he reached.

l. 14 ,, having, had.

l. 19 put, after pressed.

P. 213, l. 4 for furniture, furniture.

P. 215, l. 22 ,, on the river, on the bank of the river.

P. 218, l. 2 delete as the.

P. 231, l. 7 for to, of.

P. 242, l. 23 ,, be, to be.

l. 24 delete they.
P. 243, line 18 for came near . . . read came to.
P. 244, l. 21 ,, brought . . . ,, who brought.
   ,, l. 22 ,, easiness . . . ,, ease.
P. 247, l. 17 ,, was . . . . ,, were.
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