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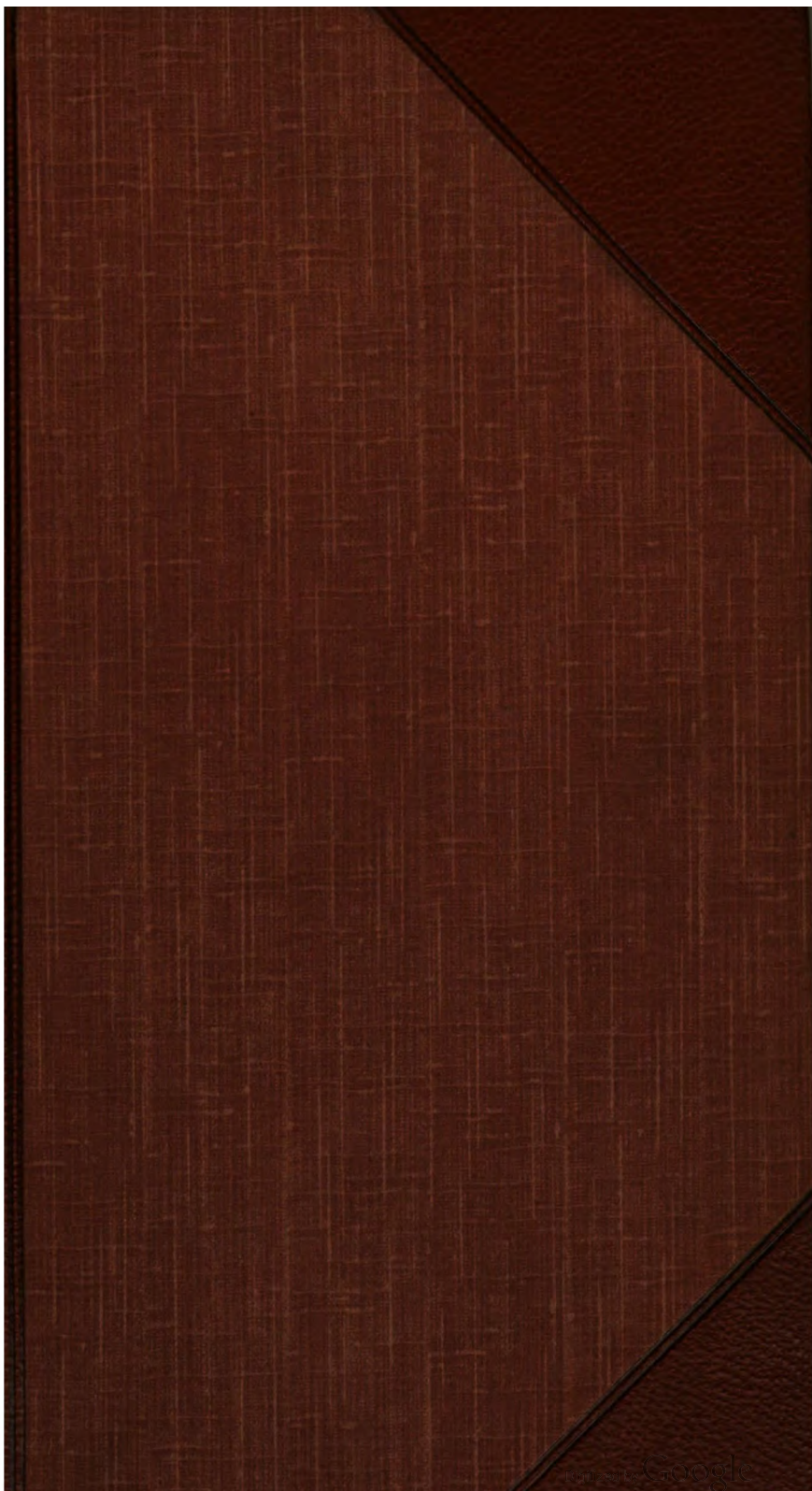
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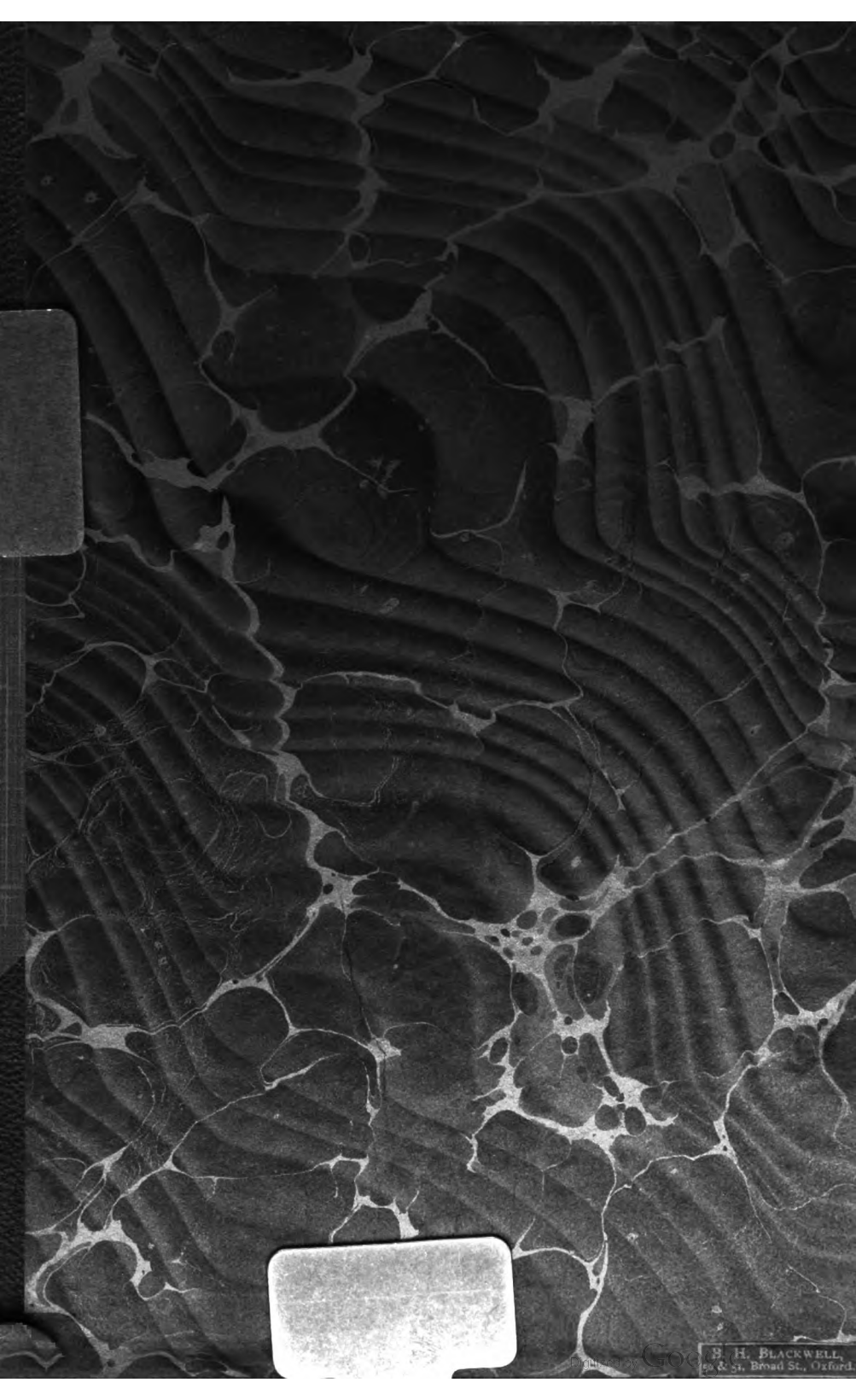
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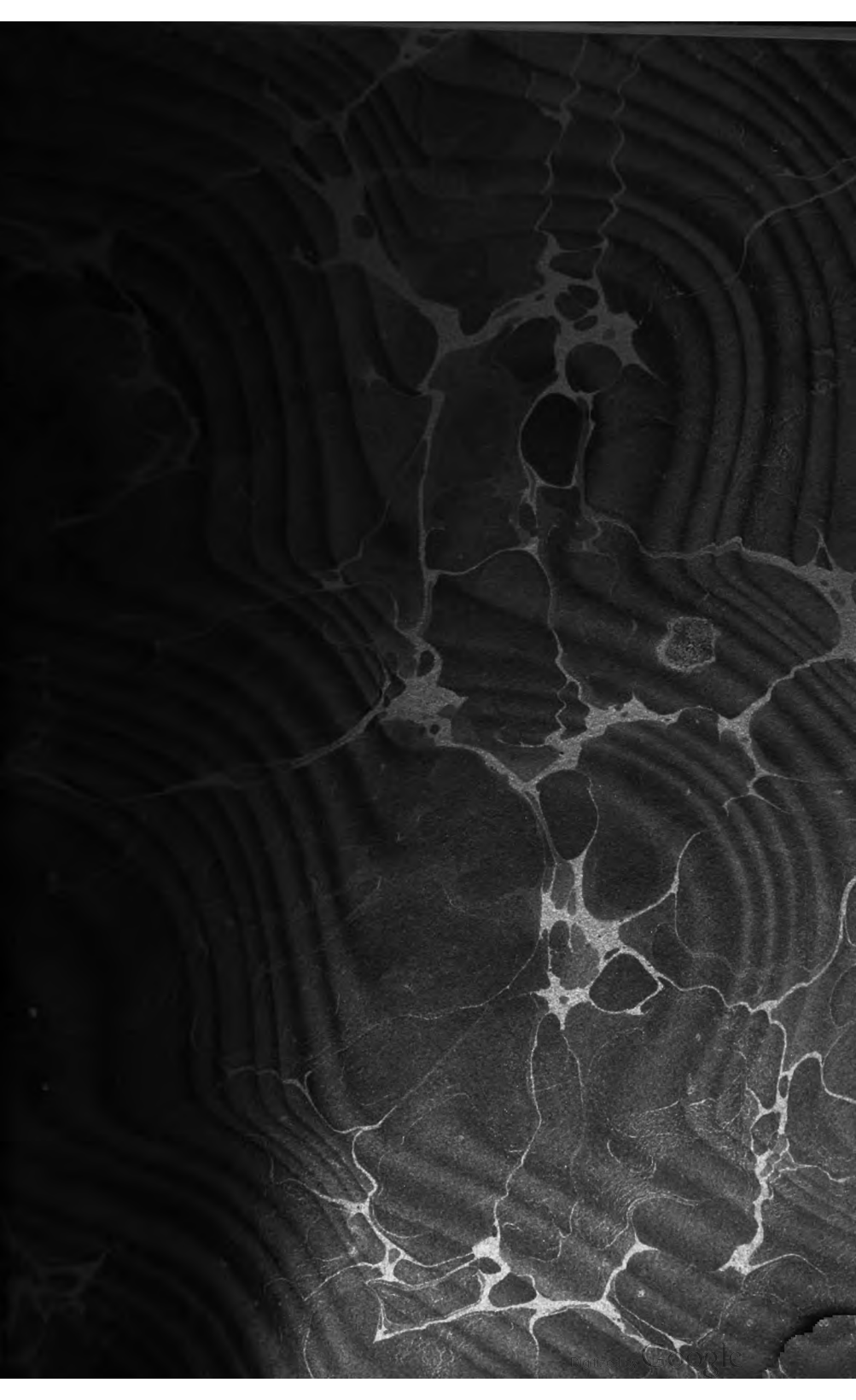
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# THE HISTORY OF INDIA.







*Amicus*

THE HISTORY OF INDIA,

BY HENRY ROSTRIANS.

FROM THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

SELECTED FROM THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.

AND WITH A PREFACE BY THE EDITOR.

BY

JOHN DOWSON, M.R.A.S.,

SECRETARY OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

TURNER AND CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1880.

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*Amelia*

THE  
HISTORY OF INDIA,  
AS TOLD  
BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

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THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

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EDITED FROM THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS  
OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.,

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE,

BY

PROFESSOR JOHN DOWSON, M.R.A.S.,

STAFF COLLEGE, SANDHURST.

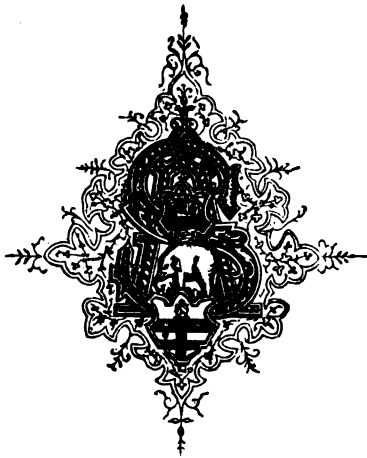
VOL. II.

L O N D O N :  
TRÜBNER AND CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1869.

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STEPHEN AUSTIN



PRINTER, HERTFORD.



## PREFACE.

---

IN this volume the history of Muhammadan rule in India is commenced. The first volume was, from the nature of the materials, introductory in its character; this opens with the accounts of the earliest inroads of the Ghaznvide conquerors. The copious extracts which it brings together from the oldest and most approved of the native historians supply ample means for tracing the rise and progress of that power which was destined to bring the whole peninsula under its sway, and to stand for seven centuries a conspicuous and brilliant example of the strength and weakness, the crimes, vices, and occasional virtues of Musulmán despotism.

The history is here carried down to the year 1260 A.D., embracing the consecutive annals of the Ghaznivides, the Ghorians, and the Slave Kings, as far as the end of the reign of Násiru-d dín. The lives of the other Slave Kings will be drawn from the *Tárikh-i Fíroz Sháhi* of Zíáu-d dín Barní, which, as its name implies, is a work more particularly devoted to the reign of Fíroz

Sháh, and must, from the date of its composition, occupy a place in the next volume.

The portion of history over which this volume extends may be considered as nearly complete, though some scattered notices of the period embraced will be drawn occasionally from later writers, and Khondamír's account of the Ghaznivides will appear hereafter as the principal extract from the *Habibu-s Siyar*.

Since the publication of the first volume of this edition, some animadversions have appeared in print upon the absence of any recognition of the assistance rendered to Sir H. M. Elliot in the preparation of the materials for this work; and one or two special claims have been made for acknowledgments of aid contributed and work done. The Editor is informed, by those best acquainted with the circumstances, that Sir H. M. Elliot was especially anxious to acquit himself of all obligation for assistance so rendered to him; but still, care has been and will be taken to acknowledge fully every contribution deserving of notice. It so happened, however, that the whole of the matter in the first volume, with the exception of two anonymous translations, was the work of Sir H. M. Elliot himself, his munshis, or the present Editor.

Sir H. M. Elliot was assisted by many friends, both English and native, in his search for rare works, and

notably by Dr. Sprenger; but at this distance of time it is impossible to do more than make a general acknowledgment of the fact. The notices, bibliographical and biographical, all appear to have been written by Sir H. M. Elliot himself, with the exception of those of the geographers and a few distinguished by brackets, which are the work of the Editor. There remain the translations, and it is in these that the greatest aid was received. Many of the contributed translations are by English officers, both civil and military; and many more by munshis. They differ greatly in merit; some are valuable, others require the Editor's incessant attention from beginning to end,<sup>1</sup> and in two instances it has been found necessary to entirely reject the work done. Under these circumstances, the Editor has resolved to make no general acknowledgment, but to give the translator's name whenever that name carries with it sufficient assurance, or when a translation proves to be accurate, and in want of little or no editorial revision. By this arrangement, the translator will bear the responsibility of his own work; and the extent and value of the aid rendered will be fully understood and appreciated by the reader. In cases of translations which require to be

<sup>1</sup> In pages 70 and 88 will be found two short passages showing the quality of one of these translations—a fair specimen of many others.

checked and amended throughout, no name has been or will be given. The original translator cannot lay claim to the revised work, and there are few who would like their names to appear as the authors of translations obnoxious to correction.

To set this question entirely at rest, the Editor here gives a complete list of the translations which appear in the first and in the present volume, with the names of those who are responsible for them. From this it will be seen that no one has any real ground of complaint. The list is confined to the translations, because all else is the work of Sir H. M. Elliot or the Editor, except a few contributions specially and scrupulously recognized where they appear.

## VOL. I.

## GEOGRAPHERS.

The bibliographical notices are by the Editor, excepting the notice of the *Ashkálu-l Bilád*, No. V., which is chiefly by Sir H. M. Elliot.

- I.—*Salsilatu-t Tawárikh*—Translated from Reinaud's French version by the Editor.
- II. III.—*Ibn Khurdádba* and *Mas'údí*—Translations printed in the old volume revised by Editor.
- IV.—*Istakhrí*—Editor.
- V.—*Ashkálu-l Bilád*—Partially revised by Editor.
- VI.—*Súru-l Buldán*—None.
- VII.—*Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*—The old translation revised after a collation of the various MSS. by the Editor.
- VIII.—*Idrísí*—Translated from Jaubert's French version by the Editor.
- IX.—*Kazwíní*—Editor.

## HISTORIANS.

- I.—Mujmalu-t Tawárikh—Sir H. M. E. and the Editor.  
 II.—Biládurí—Sir H. M. E. and the Editor.  
 III.—Chach-náma—A munshi, revised by the Editor.  
 IV.—Ma'súmi—Page 237 to 240 by Sir H. M. E., all the rest by Editor.  
 V.—Tárikh-i Táhirí—Lt. Perkins.<sup>1</sup>  
 VI.—Beg-Lár-náma } A munshi, revised by the Editor.  
 VII.—Tarkhán-náma }  
 VIII.—Tuhfatu-l Kirám—Anonymous, but revised by the Editor and found to be accurate.  
 Appendix.—Sir H. M. E., excepting where brackets show the Editor's work.

## VOL. II.

- I.—Tárikhu-l Hind } Sir H. M. E.  
 II.—'Utbí }  
 III.—Baihakí—From page 61 to 129 by a munshi, and although said to have been revised, it required very extensive correction by the Editor; page 129 to 154 by Sir H. M. E.  
 IV.—Jámi'u-l Hikáyát—A munshi, whose style had been improved by an Englishman, but the translation needed a thorough revision by the Editor.  
 V.—Nizámu-t Tawárikh—Sir H. M. E.  
 VI.—Kámilu-t Tawárikh—Editor.  
 VII.—Táju-l Ma-ásir—Sir H. M. E.  
 VIII.—Tabakát-i Násirí—Page 266 to 359, a munshi, revised and sundry long gaps filled up by the Editor; page 360 to 383<sup>2</sup> by the Editor.  
 IX.—Jahán-Kushá—Sir H. M. E.

<sup>1</sup> This translation bore no name, but the Editor has reason for believing it to be the work of Lt. Perkins. It was checked by the Editor and found to be very correct.

<sup>2</sup> Translations of this and of sundry other portions of the *Tabakát-i Násirí* had been made by an English officer; but the Editor, with every desire to make use of them and save himself labour, was obliged to reject them. Prefixed to the translations were the following notes, the later one written after Sir H. M. Elliot's death. These of themselves will show that no harsh judgment has been exercised:—

"This translation is imperfect. By allowing myself great latitude in guessing at the author's meaning, supplying words, sometimes whole passages, I have succeeded in making it appear a somewhat connected narrative. Had I marked in the margin

## APPENDIX.

The various Notes are the work of Sir H. M. Elliot, excepting where the brackets show the Editor's additions, or special references are made to the sources of information, as in Notes B. and E.

Note C.—The translations of the extracts were made by munshis, and have been revised by the Editor.

Note F.—Majma'i Wasáyá—A munshi, unrevised.

Nigáristán,  
Zínatu-l Majális, } A munshi, revised by the Editor.

Note G.—Mir-át-i Mas'údí—Translated by R. B. Chapman, Esq., B.C.S.

Note H.—Extracts translated by Sir H. M. E.

all the passages which were doubtful, I find I should have to mark the whole translation almost ; I have therefore only marked those which are more especially obscure, and when the meaning appeared to be of more than usual importance.

"N. B.—This translation was done and the remarks in the margin made under the impression that it would be looked over by Sir H. M. Elliot."

---

 PORTRAIT.

*The Portrait prefixed to this volume has been copied from a sketch made by an amateur on the occasion of one of Lord Dalhousie's official receptions. As chance would have it, this is the only likeness of Sir Henry Elliot extant, otherwise, neither the formal costume nor the profile face would have recommended themselves as best calculated to convey an effective representation of the author.*

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## ERRATA.

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Page 76, line 3 from the bottom, substitute "Manjurán" for "the wine-drinkers (mai-khurán)."—A subsequent passage shows the true reading.

Page 129.—For "July, 1033" read "July, 1034."

" 157.—For "(This last contains only) *the first two kisms*," substitute  
"— part of the first kism as far as Chapter 25, where it ends abruptly."

„ 204.—For No. "IV." read "V."

„ 249.—To note add, "See Vol. I. p. 445."

„ 276.—In note 2, for "words" read "word."

„ 485.—For Appendix "E" read "F."



# HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

## I.

### TARÍKHU-L HIND

OF

### ABU RÍHÁN AL BÍRÚNÍ.

ABÚ RÍHÁN<sup>1</sup> MUHAMMAD BIN AHMAD AL BÍRÚNÍ AL KHWÁR-IZMÍ, was born<sup>2</sup> about A.H. 360, A.D. 970-1. He was an astronomer, geometrician, historian, and logician. He was so

<sup>1</sup> Raihán would be more correct, according to the Kámús. In Brigg's *Frishta* (p. 113), the name is strangely perverted into "Anvury Khán."

<sup>2</sup> The place of his birth is disputed. His earliest biographer is Shahrazúrí, who, in his *Tawdrikh-i Hukamá*, written shortly after Bírúni's death, says that he was born at Bírún, in Sind, "a beautiful city full of excellent and marvellous things." He has been followed by Háji Khaifa, by Ibn Abú Ussaibiah, and by Abú-l Fidá, on the authority of Ibn Sa'id. M. Reinaud also states that he was a Sindian. Yet, where is this city of Bírún in Sind? There is a Nírún, or Nírún Kot, near the site of the present city of Haidarábád, corresponding in position with the Bírún indicated by Abú-l Fidá, which probably has had its first letter altered by a transposition of the vowel point. But M. Reinaud (p. 196) is distinct in condemning Capt. McMurdo and other English writers who, following Idrísí, read Nírún for Bírún. Abú-l Fidá's reading cannot be disputed, for he not only gives, but describes the nature of, the diacritical point, and all that can be said against him is that he never was in India; and that he derived his information from others. (See Vol. I. Appx. p. 396.) In the *Kitáb-i Ansáb* by Sam'ání, a book of very great authority, written A.H. 562, A.D. 1166, Bírúni is derived from the Persian, and made to apply to any one born out of Khwárizm. Some authorities distinctly assert that he was born at Bírún, a town of Khwárizm, but I know not if the existence of such a town has been established. Bírúni in his *Indian Geography* takes little notice of Sind, and says nothing of his birthplace. [The passage quoted from the "Quarterly Review," (*infra* p. 3) seems to decide the question, for Bírúni is there said to be a native of Khwárizm, and the whole tenor of the article confirms the statement.]

studious that Shamsu-d dín Muhammad Shahrazúrí, his earliest biographer, tells us "he never had a pen out of his hand, nor his eye ever off a book, and his thoughts were always directed to his studies, with the exception of two days in the year, namely Nauroz [New Year's day at the vernal equinox], and Mihrján [the autumnal equinox], when he was occupied, according to the command of the Prophet, in procuring the necessities of life on such a moderate scale as to afford him bare sustenance and clothing." [As a logician he obtained the sobriquet of "*Muhakkik*" or "the exact," on account of the rigorous precision of his deductions].<sup>1</sup>

[Abú-l Fazl Baihakí who lived about half a century after Al Bírúní, says, "Bú Rihán was beyond comparison, superior to every man of his time in the art of composition, in scholarlike accomplishments, and in knowledge of geometry and philosophy. He had, moreover, a most rigid regard for truth;" and Rashídu-d dín, in referring to the great writer from whom he has borrowed so much, says "The Master Abú Rihán al Bírúní excelled all his cotemporaries in the sciences of philosophy, mathematics, and geometry. He entered the service of Mahmúd bin Subuktigín, and in the course of his service he spent a long time in Hindustán and learned the language of the country. Several of the provinces of India were visited by him. He was on friendly terms with many of the great and noble of that country, and so acquired an intimate knowledge of their books of philosophy, religion, and belief. The best and most excellent of all their books upon the arts and sciences is one resembling the work of Shaikh Raís Abú 'Alí ibn Siná (Avicenna). It is called Bátakal, or in Arabic Bátajal; this book he translated into Arabic. From this work also he extracted a great deal which he made use of in his Kánún Mas'údi, a work upon mathematics and geometry, named after the Sultán Mas'úd. All that the sages of India have said about numbers, ages, and eras (*taváríkh*), has been exactly given by Abú Rihán in his translation of the Bátakal."]

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 29.

He was indebted to the Sultán of Khwárizm for the opportunity of visiting India, for he was appointed by him to accompany the embassies which he sent to Mahmúd of Ghazní. Al Farábí and Abú-l Khair joined one of these embassies, but the famous Avicenna, who was invited to accompany them, refused to go, being, as it is hinted, averse to enter into controversy with Abú Rihán, with whom he differed on many points of science, and whose logical powers he feared to encounter. [On the invitation of Mahmúd, Abú Rihán entered into his service, an invitation which Avicenna declined. It was in the suite of Mahmúd and of his son Mas'úd that] Abú Rihán travelled into India, and he is reported to have staid forty years there; but if we may judge from some errors that he has committed in his geographical description of the country, such as placing Thánesar in the Doáb, it would appear that he never travelled to the east of Lahore.<sup>1</sup> Abú Rihán died in A.H. 430, A.D. 1038-9.

He wrote many works, and is said to have executed several translations from the Greek, and to have epitomised the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. His works are stated to have exceeded a camel-load, insomuch that it was supposed by devout Muhammadans that he received divine aid in his compositions. Those most spoken of are astronomical tables, a treatise on precious stones, one on *Materia Medica*, an introduction to astrology, a treatise on chronology, and the famous *Kánúnu-l Mas'údí*, an astronomical and geographical work frequently cited by Abú-l Fidá, especially in his tables of Lat. and Long. For this last-work he received from the Emperor Mas'úd an elephant-load of silver, which, however, he returned to the Royal Treasury, "a proceeding contrary to human nature," according to the testimony of Shahrazúrí.

[An accomplished writer in a late number of the "Quarterly Review," observes: "Abú Rihán a native of the country (of Khwárizm) was the only early Arab writer who investigated the antiquities of the East in a true spirit of historical criticism," and he proceeds to give some examples of his knowledge of ancient

<sup>1</sup> See note Vol. I. p. 353.

technical chronology which are of the highest importance in establishing the early civilization of the Arian race. According to this reviewer, Abú Ríhán says, "the solar calendar of Khwárizm, was the most perfect scheme for measuring time with which he was acquainted, and it was maintained by the astronomers of that country, that both the solar and the lunar zodiacs had originated with them; the divisions of the signs in their systems being far more regular than those adopted by the Greeks or Arabs. \* \* \* Another statement of Abú Ríhán's asserts that the Khwárizmians dated originally from an epoch anterior by 980 years to the era of the Seleucidæ (equal to B.C. 1304), a date which agrees pretty accurately with the period assigned by our best scholars to the invention of the Jyotisha or Indian calendar."<sup>1</sup> This most curious and interesting information, for which we are indebted to the writer in the "Quarterly," raises higher than ever the reputation of Abú Ríhán, and must intensify the desire so long felt for a complete translation of his extant works.]

The names of his writings are given in full by Reiske in the Supplement to the *Bibl. Or.* on the authority of Abú Ussaibiah. The work by which he is best known, and which to the cultivator of Indian history is the most important, of all his works is the *Tárikhu-l Hind* in Arabic. A manuscript of this work, or of a portion of it, is in the Imperial Library, Paris (*Fonds Ducaurroy*, No. 22), and from this MS. M. Reinaud extracted two chapters which he published in the *Journal Asiatique*, and separately in his "*Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde antérieurement au xi. siècle de l'ère Chrétienne.*" [The work, according to M. Reinaud, was written in India in 1031 A.D., and he observes upon it—"Cet écrit est un tableau de l'état littéraire et scientifique de la presqu'île, au moment où les armées musulmanes y pénétrèrent pour la première fois. On y voit successivement apparaître les principaux travaux littéraires, philosophiques et astronomiques des Indiens, le tableau de leurs ères, la manière

<sup>1</sup> "Quarterly Review," No. 240, p. 490.

dont ils comptaient les jours, les mois, les années et les cycles.”<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Rawlinson possesses a MS. of a part of Al Bírúní’s works,<sup>2</sup> and there is a manuscript of some portions thereof mentioned by M. Hænel as existing in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris. This MS. appears to be the one noticed by D’Herbelot in the article *Athar*, [and to be the same as that “which was formerly much referred to by M. Quatremère under the title ‘Athár el Bákieh.’”<sup>3</sup>] The *Tárikhu-l Hind* is not known at all in India, and M. Reinaud states that it is not mentioned in any of the bibliographical works in Arabic which have come under his observation. It will be seen hereafter that Abú-l Fazl Baihakí attributes to him another work, “A History of Khwárizm,” which is noticed by M. Fraehn in his catalogue.<sup>4</sup>

The *Tárikhu-l Hind* treats of the literature and science of the Indians at the commencement of the eleventh century. It does not bear the name of the author, but we learn from it, that he accompanied Mahmúd of Ghazní; that he resided many years in India, chiefly, in all probability, in the Panjáb, studied the Sanskrit language, translated into it some works from the Arabic, and translated from it two treatises into Arabic. This statement is confirmed by Abú-l Faraj, in his “Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Authors.” Bírúní says, towards the end of his preface, “I have translated into Arabic two Indian works, one discusses the origin and quality of things which exist, and is entitled Sankhya, the other is known under the title of Patanjali,<sup>5</sup> which treats of the deliverance of the soul from the trammels of the body. These two works contain the chief principles of the Indian creed.”<sup>6</sup>

Neither the original nor the translation of this work [presumed

<sup>1</sup> [*Mém. sur l’Inde* p. 30.]

<sup>2</sup> [This fact, and the general character of the article in the “Review,” which probably no one else in Europe could have written, afford sufficient indication of the writer, Sir H. Rawlinson.]

<sup>3</sup> [“Quarterly Review,” No. 240, p. 490, note; *Mém. sur l’Inde*, p. 30.]

<sup>4</sup> *Indications Bibl.* p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> [See Note, next page.]

<sup>6</sup> Reinaud’s *Fragments*, p. xiii.

to be that] of Patanjali has descended to us ; but as M. Reinaud observes, the declaration quoted in the preceding paragraph serves to indicate the author of the *Tārīkh-u-l Hind*, which other circumstances would have rendered extremely probable. Rashīdu-d dīn, in his history, quotes as one of the works to which he is indebted for his information, an Arabic version of "the Bātakal," made by Al-Bīrūnī.<sup>1</sup> Binākitī also mentions this translation of the

<sup>1</sup> [The Sanskrit work translated by Abū Rihān has, upon this identification made by Reinaud, been unhesitatingly believed to have been the production of the sage Patanjali, a well-known philosopher and Vedic commentator and grammarian (Müller's Sanskrit Lit. p. 235.) The description given of that work by Abū Rihān accords very well with the sage's writings; but the specimens which we have of the work in the published fragments of Al Bīrūnī, and in their reproduction by Rashīdu-d dīn are of a very different character. The latter writer says it was a book upon the arts and sciences, containing all that the sages of India have written about numbers, ages, and eras, and accordingly we find the book cited upon questions of chronology and geography. In the Extract printed by M. Reinaud, the word is given distinctly as "Bātanjalī," but I have not found it so written in any of the MSS. of the Jāmi'u-t Tawārīkh or of Binākitī. The MS. of the E. I. Library says "the name of the book is باسکل which in Arabic they write باسجل In the passage translated and printed in Vol. I. p. 44, it is written باسكل and in another باسجل The Lucknow MS. has باسكل and باسجل The Arabic MS. is equally explicit and says—

ولفظه باتجل معربة واصلها باتكل

"The word Bātajal is the Arabic form of what in the original is Bātakal." (Judging from analogy there is but one letter between the *atīf* and the *jīm*, for the *t* is so found written in words about which there can be no doubt, as تقرر) Here we have the remarkable fact that the Arabic form of the name (Bātajal or Bātanjal) is more like the presumed Sanskrit original (Patanjali) than the word Bātakal or Bātankal, which is given as the exact or nearest transcription of that original word. Mr. Morley found the word written Bānatakal or Bātanakal in two manuscripts of Binākitī (Jour. R. A. S. VI. 26). In the R. As. Soc.'s copy of Binākitī it is written باسكل A Persian note prefixed to the MS. No. 16 of the R. As. Society, and translated by Dr. Duncan Forbes, says, "After Abū Rihān had made thorough proficiency in the sciences of the Indian philosophers, he translated from the Indian language into the Arabic tongue, the book of Pātankal, or Pātanjal [باسكل] which is a collection of all the sciences, and one of the most valuable works of the sages of Hind. \* \* \* To this work he gave the name of Pātanjal, [باپانجل] a copy of which he carried away with him."—(Forbes, Jour. R.A.S. VI. p. 38.) This note would seem to have been drawn from Rashīdu-d dīn's notice of Abū Rihān above quoted—and the spelling of the name of the book is identically the

work, and says that Bírúní included the translation in the Kánúnu-l Mas'údí,<sup>1</sup> but a close examination of the Kánún does not confirm this, for there is nothing special about India in the work.

The two chapters of his work, edited by M. Reinaud, relate to the eras and geography of India. Like the Chinese travels of Fa-hian and Hwen Tsang, they establish another fixed epoch to which we can refer for the determination of several points relating to the chronology of this country. We learn from them that the Harivansa Purána, which the most accomplished orientalists have hitherto ascribed to a period not anterior to the eleventh century, was already quoted in Bírúní's time as a standard authority, and that the epoch of the composition of the five Siddhántas no longer admits of question, and thus the theories of Anquetil du Perron and Bentley are demolished for ever.<sup>2</sup>

The extract from the *Tárikhu-l Hind* given below is of great historical interest. The succession of the last princes of Kábul

same as in the MS. of the E. I. Library. It thus appears very questionable whether the sage Patanjali is really the author referred to, but at any rate it is certain that no Sanskrit work bearing his name has yet been discovered which at all corresponds to the book used by Abú Rihán. If a guess may be ventured on, the final syllable *kal* is possibly the Sanskrit *kāla*, "time." ]

<sup>1</sup> M. Reinaud (p. 97) says of this work that "unfortunately it has not come down to us." It appears to have escaped him that nearly the entire first volume exists in the Bodleian Library, collated with the autograph of the author, and dated as far back as A.D. 1083. The contents of that volume are given in Drs. Nicoll's and Pusey's Catalogue. In the notes to that article the learned Doctors have surely taken very unnecessary trouble to write elaborate remarks upon Arin أرین, which can be no other place than Ujain, in Malwa, which by Biládurí (Vol. I. p. 126), and the early Arabic authors was written أرین as being more in conformity with Ptolemy, who calls it by the name of 'Οζήρη. [There is a copy of the *Kánúnu-l Mas'údí* among Sir H. Elliot's MSS.]

<sup>2</sup> Compare Reinaud's *Fragments, Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 29-239, and *Abou-l Feda*, I. xcvi.; Sprenger's *Mas'údí*, p. 154; Casiri, *Biblioth. Arabico-Hispana*, Tom. i. p. 322; D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.* Tom. i. pp. 45, 407, 496, and Tom. iv. pp. 697, 722. Greg. Abulfaragii *Hist. Dynast.* p. 229; Wüstenfeld, *Abulfeda Tab. Geogr.* p. 77; *Biographie Univ.* s. v. De Rossi, *Dizionario Storico degli Autori Arabi*, s. v. Nicoll and Pusey, *Bodl. Cod. MSS. Or. Cat. Arab.* pp. 263, 360-363, 552; Flügel, *De Interpretibus*, No. 76. Wüstenfeld, *Arabische Aerzte*, No. 129; *As. Res.* vi. 537, ix. 196; *Rampoldi*, v. 510, vi. 535; *Gemälde-saal*, iv. 160; *Mod. Univ. Hist.* II. 467.

given there, though not in accordance with the statements of Mirkhond and other Persian historians, yet, being dependent on the contemporary testimony of Bírúní, is of course more trustworthy than that of subsequent compilers, and is moreover confirmed by the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*. With respect to this table of succession, the ingenuity of the French editor induced him to surmise that it probably represented a series of Bráhmaṇ princes who succeeded in subverting a Buddhist dynasty of Turks, and to whom should be attributed certain coins of a peculiar type which numismatists had previously some difficulty in assigning to their true masters. M. A. Longpérier has confirmed this opinion by certain arguments, which have been printed as an appendix to M. Reinaud's work, and he has been ably followed by Mr. E. Thomas, B.C.S., who has published a paper in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,"<sup>1</sup> respecting the proper attribution of this series. The result is that we are able to trace Bráhmaṇ kings of Kábul to the beginning of the tenth century, about A.D. 920, and thus clear up the mist which enveloped a whole century of the Indian annals previous to Mahmúd's invasion.<sup>2</sup>

In the same paper Mr. Thomas observes that the word Hamíra, so long supposed to be a proper name, and so eagerly sought for among the Hindú kings of India, proves to be an abbreviation of the full title of the Khalif of Baghdád,—*Amíru-l Múminín*,—continued by the Muhammadans in this curtailed form from the Arabic reverses of their own Ghazní money, when they adopted the style of coin found current in the countries they had subdued. "The abbreviation of the full titles of the Khalif into Śrí Hamíra will be seen," says Mr. Thomas, "to be necessary, as the space occupied by the device did not admit of the introduction of many more Hindi letters of the size it was the custom to employ." But this supposed abbreviation is disproved by examining the gold coins of Muhammad Ghorí, on one of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ix. p. 194; [see also his *Prinsep*, I. 331.]

<sup>2</sup> See note in Appendix on "The Hindu Kings of Kábul."



which, in the possession of General Cunningham, Śrī Hamír is ascribed as the title of the king, not of the Khalif. The legend on one side only (not on two sides) is *Śrī Hamír Muḥammad Sámt*. On the copper coins Śrī Hamír is on the reverse, but the purport of the expression is fully shown by the position it occupies on the gold coins. Amír is used by Baihakí as equivalent to Sultán, and that is no doubt the use of it in all these places. The legend of Śrī Samant Deo on many of this series of coins, upon which so much stress is laid, as indicative of Samant's power as one of the chief founders of the dynasty, does not seem to have reference to that prince, but to be an honorary title assumed by the reigning prince, meaning the "fortunate warrior;" otherwise it certainly would not have been stamped on the coins of Prithí Ráj, who lived 250 years later, and was not, like Samant, a Bráhmaṇ, but a Chauháṇ Rájput, and proud of his lineage.<sup>1</sup>

EXTRACT.<sup>2</sup>

Kábul was formerly governed by princes of the Turkish race. It is said that they were originally from Tibet. The first of them, who was named Barhtigín, dwelt, when he arrived at Kábul, in a cave, in which no one could enter except by crawling on all fours. The cave contained a spring, and he provided himself therein with food for some days. This cave is now well known by the name of Bakar, and is entered by those persons who wish to obtain the blessing which a visit to it is supposed to confer, and bring out some of the water, not without much difficulty. Groups of peasants used to labour near the entrance of the cave. Such a thing (as remaining in the cave without food)

<sup>1</sup> [See Mr. Thomas' reply to this, *Prinsep* I. 331, and "Jour. R. A. S." xvii. 170; extracts from which will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

<sup>2</sup> [Sir H. Elliot himself prepared this Extract for the press from M. Reinaud's French version, comparing that as he went on with the Arabic text. The Editor has made no alteration in the translation, except the substitution of "Barhtigín" for "Barkatzúr," as the name appeared in the first edition. In Sir H. Elliot's draft translation the word is written "Barhatgín," but the copyist or printer read "Barkatzúr," as an ignorant person might well do.]

could not be practised without the connivance of some one. The people who were in league with Barhtigín engaged the peasants to labour without ceasing, relieving each other night and day, by which it happened that the place was constantly surrounded. After some days, Barhtigín came all of a sudden out of the cave,<sup>1</sup> and the men who were near the entrance saw him appear as one just born, clothed as a Turk, with a tunic, cap, boots, and armed from head to foot. He was looked upon as a wondrous person, and destined for empire. So he rendered himself master of the kingdom of Kábul, which continued in his family for sixty generations.

The Indians attach little importance to the sequence of events, and neglect to record the dates of the reigns of their kings. When they are embarrassed, they are silent. I will here mention what I have heard some people of the country say. It is true, according to what I have heard, that the succession of these reigns was written on a piece of silk, which was found in the fortress of Nagarkot. I vehemently desired to read this writing, but different circumstances prevented me.

Among the number of these kings was Kanak,<sup>2</sup> who founded the Vihár at Pesháwar, which bears his name. It is said that the Rái of Kanauj offered to this prince, among other presents, a piece of cloth of excellent texture, and of a new kind, of which Kanak wished to make a dress. But the tailor refused to make up the garment, saying, "I see the figure of a human foot, and notwithstanding all my endeavours, still the foot will come be-

<sup>1</sup> He seems to have imposed upon the credulous people by the same means which are even now practised in the west of India. Lieut. Boileau in his "*Personal Narrative of a Tour in Rajwarra*," and Capt. Osborne in his "*Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*," gives an account of a man who allowed himself to be interred for a month. The former is circumstantial in his account, and seems to yield faith to the statement of his narrators. It is not improbable that the ancients alluded to this practice when they spoke of Indians who lived without food, and in caves. Aulus Gellius speaks of them as "*gentem, apud extrema Indiæ nullo cibatu vescentem*." *Noct. Att.* ix. 4. See also Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* iii. 45; Ctesia, *Indic. Excerpt.* xxiii.; Grote's *Greece*, III. 113.

<sup>2</sup> [See Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 73; Thomas' *Prinsep*, Index, Kanishka; see Cunningham, "*Jour. Ben. As. Soc.* Vol. xxiii.]

tween the shoulders." This bears a relation to the story which I have elsewhere narrated in the legend of Bal.

Kanak understood that the Rái of Kanauj intended to insult him, and to evince the small estimation in which he held him, so Kanak departed quickly with his army towards Kanauj. At this news the Rái of Kanauj was greatly embarrassed, not finding himself in a position to contend with the king of Kábul. He consulted with his minister, who said, "You have roused a man who was peaceably disposed, and an untoward act has been committed. Now cut off my nose and lips, and mutilate me, that I may search out a way of practising some artifice, since there are no means of open resistance."

The Rái did as his minister advised, and allowed him to depart to the frontier. When the army of Kábul met the minister, he made himself known, and was conducted to the presence of Kanak, who demanded of him how he was reduced to that (pitiable) condition. He replied, "I endeavoured to dissuade the Rái from contending with you, and recommended him to make his submission, but, charging me with collusion, he mutilated me. If you march by the road which lies before you, you will find it long. You will more easily arrive at your destination by encountering the difficulties of the desert between him and us, provided you can carry with you a supply of water for a few days." Kanak said, "This is easy." So he took with him water, as recommended, and was guided on his way by the minister, who preceded him when he entered the boundless desert. When some days had elapsed, and the king knew not his way, he enquired of the minister, who replied, "No rebuke can attach to me for seeking to secure the safety of my master, and the destruction of his enemy. The nearest way to escape from the desert is that by which you entered it. Do to me as you wish, but none of you can escape alive from this desert." At these words Kanak mounted his horse, and urged it towards some low ground, in the midst of which he dug his spear, and water gushed out from it, which sufficed for the present and

future wants of the whole army. Then the minister said to the king, "I did not intend to practice deceit upon powerful angels, but only upon weak men; and since things have so turned out, accept my intercession, and pardon my gracious master. Kanak replied, "I now retrace my way, and grant your solicitation. Your master has already received the punishment due to him.' Upon this the king returned to his country, and the minister to his master the Rái. But on his arrival he found that the Rái had been deprived of the use of his feet and hands on the self-same day that Kanak had planted his spear in the ground.<sup>1</sup>

The last of these kings was Laktúzamán, and his minister was Kalar, a Bráhmaṇ. \* \* \* Laktúzamán's thoughts and actions were evil, so that many complaints reached the minister, who loaded him with chains and imprisoned him for his correction. \* \* \* So the minister established himself on the throne, and was succeeded by the Bráhmaṇ Sámānd, whose successor was Kamalava, whose successor was Bhím, whose successor was Jaipál, whose successor was Ānand Pál, whose successor was Nardajanpál,<sup>2</sup> who ascended the throne A.H. 412. His son, Bhím Pál, succeeded him after the lapse of five years, and under him the sovereignty of India became extinct, and no descendant remained to light a fire on the hearth. These princes, notwithstanding the extent of their dominions, were endowed with excellent qualities, were faithful to their engagements, and gracious towards their inferiors. The letter which Ānand Pál wrote to Amír Mahmúd, at the time enmity existed between them, is much to be admired. "I have heard that the Turks have invaded your dominions, and have spread over Khurásán: if you desire it, I will join you with 5,000 Cavalry, 10,000 Infantry, and 100 Elephants; but if you prefer it, I will send my son with twice the number. In making this proposal, I

<sup>1</sup> The story is told in the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyd*, I. xii. 16, with some variations, [see *post*, the article on the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyd*]. Kanak's name is not mentioned, but the hero is Sháh-i Zábulistán, i.e. King of Zábul, Sistán, Ghazní, etc.

<sup>2</sup> [Reinaud says the MS. will admit of this name being read Tardajanpál, Tarvajanpál, or Narvajanpál.]

do not wish to ingratiate myself with you. Though I have vanquished you, I do not desire that any one else but myself should obtain the ascendancy.”<sup>1</sup> This prince was a determined enemy of the Musulmán from the time that his son Nardajanpál was taken prisoner, but his son was, on the contrary, well disposed towards them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is translated somewhat differently by M. Reinaud, but the version here given seems more in conformity with the original Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> [Mr. Thomas has brought forward strong evidence against the accuracy of this passage. He quotes the counterpart passage in the Persian and Arabic versions of the *Jāmi'u-t Tawārīkh* which says “And Kank returned to his country and was the last of the Katúrman kings.” So that the name of Laktúzamán would appear to be nothing more than an incorrect rendering of the designation of the tribe of Katúr.—“*Jour. R. A. S.*” ix. 177; *Prinsep*, Vol. I. p. 315. It may be added that Reinaud's text gives the name as “Laktúzamán” in the first, but “Laktórzamán” in the second instance.]

## II.

## TĀRĪKH YAMĪNĪ

OR

## KITĀBU - L YĀ MĪNĪ

OF

## AL 'UTBĪ.

<sup>1</sup> [THE author of this celebrated work was named Abú Nasr Muhammad ibn Muhammad al Jabbáru-l 'Utbí. He was a member of the family of 'Utba, which held important offices under the Sámánís, and he himself was Secretary to Sultán Mahmúd, so that he enjoyed excellent opportunities of becoming fully acquainted with the operations of that conqueror. His work comprises the whole of the reign of Násiru-d dín Subuktigín, and part of that of Mahmúd, down to the year 410 Hijra (1020 A.D.) The author would appear to have lived a few years later than this, as he records an event as happening in 420 Hijra,<sup>2</sup> but the interest of his work ceases with the year 410.]

[Though holding an appointment near the person of Mahmúd, he does not seem to have accompanied him in his expeditions, for he evidently had no knowledge of the topography of India, and his statements in respect of localities are of little authority. He never mentions Lahore or Dehli, and with the exception of

<sup>1</sup> [This article has been compiled, for the most part, from Sir H. Elliot's rough notes and memoranda.]

<sup>2</sup> [Reynolds Translation, 474.]

the title *Râi*, no Hindî word is found in his pages. In dates he is deficient, and far from precise.]

[There are several Persian translations of this work, which bear the title of *Tarjuma-i Yamíní*. The most ancient of these is that of Abú-l Sharaf Jarbádkání, or Jarbázkání, which was made in 582 Hijrí, or 1186 A.D. This version is very rarely met with in India, but it has been rendered into English by the Rev. J. Reynolds, and published under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Fund (London, 1858). Another version is the modern one made by Muhammad Karámat 'Alí of Dehli. This is known as the *Tárikh-i Amíní* or *Tarjuma-i Yamíní*, and although it is not common, it can easily be procured. Karámat 'Alí's translation is very literal, the order of the words even following that of the original Arabic, and it is in general very correct and free from errors. He interposes *fáidas* or notes containing explanations of meaning and surmises about identifications of places, but these are common place, and of little value.]

[A knowledge of the work of 'Utbí was at one time considered a great desideratum in Europe, but it is now found to contain but little which is not accessible through other channels. Firishta and other historians have, by means of the Persian versions, extracted from it all that is of value and interest. But for all this it must continue a work of authority and an object of curiosity, as the original source from which later writers have drawn much of their information respecting Mahmúd's campaigns.]

[The style of the original has generally been considered difficult and inflated, and Karámat 'Alí describes it as "very difficult, but at the same time good and elegant." Sir H. Elliot, who himself translated the extracts which follow from the original Arabic, observes that he "was alarmed at first at the declared difficulty of the text, but found it to vanish after a little examination." "All passages relating to India have been extracted, and the translations are literal, except that some of the useless illustrations have been omitted."]

[The Bibliothèque Imperiale possesses three copies of the

Arabic, and one of the Persian version. From the latter, Silvestre de Sacy published in "Notices et Extraits," Tome iv. 1799, an almost complete translation into French.]<sup>1</sup> Copies of the *Tárikh Yamíní* are not uncommon in India. One of the best is in the Library of Nawwáb Siráju-l Mulk, of Haidarábád; and Sir H. Rawlinson has a very good copy. The edition lithographed at Dehli in the year 1847, is a very clear one, and contains some useful marginal notes, explanatory of the difficulties of the text. It was edited by Maulaví Ashraf 'Alí and Dr. Sprenger: size, large 8vo. 423 (497) pages each containing 16 lines. Professor Fleischer has remarked on the errors of its pagination.<sup>2</sup> Silvestre de Sacy notices a copy of one of the commentaries in a Library at Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> I only know one copy from which I have made the Extracts given hereafter. This belongs to a pertinacious old lady at Belgrám, who, without knowing what it is, scrupulously guards it from leaving her house, ever since my enquiries respecting the work have led her to look upon it as of exceeding value.

#### SHARH-I TÁRÍKHI YAMÍNÍ.

There are several commentaries upon 'Utbí's history bearing this title. Their object is the explanation of the difficult passages, and the settling the right orthography of names. They are thus enumerated by Hájí Khalfá:<sup>4</sup>—

"The commentators are Majda-d dín Kirmání; Kassam bin Husain Khwárizmí, who died A.H. 555; Táju-d dín 'Isa bin Mahmúd; Haibatu-d dín Abú 'Abdu-llah; Mahmúd bin 'Umar Manjání Naishápurí, who has entitled his work "Gardens of the excellent and odoriferous herbs of the learned." Another is Abú-l Márin Aitánia, who tells us that having consulted five

<sup>1</sup> *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift*, D. M. Gesellschaft, Vol. III. p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. priorum regum Pers. ex Mirkhond, Pers. et Lat.* Vienna 1784, p. 168; *Litteratura Turchesca dell' Abbate Toderini*, Tom. II.

<sup>4</sup> *Lexicon Bibliographicum*, v. "Yemini;" and Vol. II. p. 50; *Notices des Manuscrits*, Tom. iv. p. 326.



other commentaries, he extracted from them all that was useful, and made to them many important additions of his own. When it was complete, he presented his work to his master, the celebrated Kutbu-d dín Shírází, who honoured it with his approval. In the end, Kutbu-d dín desired him to join the text to the commentary, an arrangement of which the author did not approve ; but having extracted from the text the most important words in it, he joined to them the necessary explanation in such a manner that one could not distinguish the text from the commentary, which together form one well-combined whole. He completed his labours on the entire work of 'Utbí at Tabríz, in the year 721 H. (1321 A.D.)

It is difficult to conceive the nature of the work thus spoken of. A combination of text and commentary so as to represent an harmonious unity, seems an impossibility.

The only commentary I know in India is by 'Alí bin Muslihu-s Sama'ání-al Kirmání. The year of composition does not appear, but the copy which I have seen cannot be less than three hundred years old. It is not a commentary upon the complete text, but only the most difficult words are selected for explanation. The portion thus selected for exegetical notes amounts to about one-tenth of the text. The extravagances of which the author is guilty, in the following short extract (p. 51), where he endeavours to show the correct way of writing Indian names, proves that the work can be of no real value, and that it is an impudent attempt of ignorance to appear learned. Yet his notions of the value of what he was engaged upon are correct enough, though it must be confessed they are very original. He says :—" Books of history operate as a warning to the wise, and their perusal inspires even the negligent with subjects of reflection, and especially those who have occasion to travel. Moderns derive benefit from the instructions of the ancients, those who are present learn from those that are absent, and posterity becomes acquainted with the occupations of its ancestors." It is for these solemn truisms that the author considered a commentary upon a work which treats

of such exalted subjects as history treats of, a most useful labour to undertake.

*The Conquest of KUSDÁR.*

The ruler of KUSDÁR, which was near the territory of Ghazna, rebelled against Amír Subuktigín.<sup>1</sup> His fort was itself strong, naturally as well as in its approaches, and he thought that the difficulties of the road, as well as the distance, would prevent the Amír from attacking him; but he was afraid lest his territory might be plundered, while his city was invested by the Amír's cavalry. Amír Subuktigín marched that long distance over lofty and difficult hills, with his troops in close columns, one after the other, and with such expedition, that his body knew no rest, nor his eyes sleep, and his army had but little repose.

So Subuktigín and his followers attacked the city of the ruler of KUSDÁR, and seized him suddenly, like as a sheep is seized, when its limbs are torn to be roasted and placed before a guest; and the faces of the inhabitants were so changed through alarm, that the very dogs barked at them, and mothers in their fright deserted their children. The Amír thought it expedient to show kindness to the ruler of KUSDÁR, and to restore to his possession all that he had taken from him. He made peace with him on condition that he should immediately pay a contribution in money and hereafter promise to send an annual tribute. The Khutba also was read in that territory in the name of Amír Subuktigín, and comers and goers, and the far and near became acquainted with these circumstances.<sup>2</sup>

*Amir Subuktigín's First Invasion of Hind.*

After this victory he made frequent expeditions into Hind, in

<sup>1</sup> This name was not uncommon about this period. The famous Amíru-l Umará, of Baghdád, the Turk Subuktigín died in A.H. 364. Hammer-Purgstall, on the authority of Sha'drí, says the name is Sebuktigín; but Ibn Khallikán says it should be Subuktigín.

<sup>2</sup> We find the ruler of KUSDÁR subsequently refusing to pay his tribute, in consequence of which the Sultán was again compelled to attack him.—*Dehli edition*, p. 316.

the prosecution of holy wars, and there he conquered forts upon lofty hills, in order to seize the treasures they contained, and expel their garrisons. He took all the property they contained into his own possession, and captured cities in Hind, which had up to that time been tenanted only by infidels, and not trodden by the camels and horses of Musulmán.

When Jaipál<sup>1</sup> had ascertained the calamity which had befallen him from the reports of the people who travelled in his country, and how Subuktigin was taking different parts of the territory into his own possession, and injuring everybody who opposed him in his projects of ambition, the deepest grief seized him and made him restless, and his lands became narrow under his feet, though their expanse was broad. Then he arose with his relations and the generals of his army, and his vassals, and hastened with his huge elephants to wreak his revenge upon Subuktigin, by treading the field of Islám under his feet, and doing dishonour to that which should be treated with respect. In this disposition he marched on until he passed Lamghán, and approached the territory of Subuktigin, trusting to his own resources and power, for Satan had laid an egg in Jaipál's brain and hatched it; so that he waxed proud, entertaining absurd thoughts, and anticipating an immediate accomplishment of his wishes, impracticable as they were.

When the Amír heard of Jaipál's approach towards his territory, and of his great power, he girt up his loins to fight, and collecting his vassals and the Muhammadan forces whose duty it was to oppose infidels, he advanced from Ghazna against Jaipál, who was encamped between that place and Lamghán, with soldiers as black as night, and as impetuous as a torrent. Yamínu-d daula Mahmúd accom-

<sup>1</sup> S. de Sacy reads "Haibal," and says some manuscripts have it "Hainal" and "Djibal." He observes also that Dow has "Jerpál:" and "Abistagi" for "Alpte-ghin," "Subuktagi" for "Sébeekteghin," "Tighá" for "Togan," and "Bab Toor" for "Baitour." Firishta has "Jaipál, the son of Ishtpál;" in Briggs, "Hutpal." See *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 252.

panied Amír Subuktigín, like a lion of the forest or a destructive eagle, and they attempted no difficult undertaking which they did not easily accomplish.

The armies fought several days successively against each other, and cups filled to the brim with blood, drawn from wounds inflicted by sword and spear, circulated amongst them till they were drunken. In the field of this battle there was a very lofty mountain near the infidels, which was very difficult to ascend, called the 'Ukba Ghúzak.<sup>1</sup> In one of its ravines there was a clear fountain of water of the dimensions required by the Hanafi law for purification,<sup>2</sup> in which there were no impurities, or even watermoss. If any filth were thrown into it, black clouds collected, whirlwinds arose, the summits of the mountains became black, rain fell, and the neighbourhood was filled with cold blasts, until red death supervened. The Amír ordered that some dirty substance should be thrown into it, and immediately upon doing so the horrors of the day of resurrection rose up before the wicked infidels, and fire fell from heaven on them, and hailstones accompanied by loud claps of thunder; and a blast, calculated to shake trees from their roots, blew upon them, and thick black vapours formed around them, as that they could not see the road by which they could fly, and their food and water were filled with dust.<sup>3</sup>

In consequence of the great fear which fell upon Jaipál, who confessed he had seen death before the appointed time, he sent a deputation to the Amír soliciting peace, on the promise of his paying down a sum of money, and offering to obey any order he might receive respecting his elephants and his country. The Amír Subuktigín consented on account of the mercy he felt towards those who were his vassals, or for some other reason which

<sup>1</sup> Ghúzak or Ghúrak is mentioned by Al Birúni as one of the mountains under which the Kábul river flows.—Vol I. p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> That is, a cube of ten spans.

<sup>3</sup> This passage is omitted from S. de Sacy's translation. [Muhammad 'Ufi gives this story in his Jāmi'u-l Hikāyat at greater length and with some variations, though he professes to have taken it from this work, see *post.*]

seemed expedient to him. But the Sultán Yamínu-d daula Mahmúd addressed the messengers in a harsh voice, and refused to abstain from battle, until he should obtain a complete victory suited to his zeal for the honour of Islám and of Musulmán's, and one which he was confident God would grant to his arms. So they returned, and Jaipál being in great alarm, again sent most humble supplications that the battle might cease, observing, "You have seen the impetuosity of the Hindus and their indifference to death, whenever any calamity befalls them, as at this moment. If, therefore, you refuse to grant peace in the hope of obtaining plunder, tribute, elephants and prisoners, then there is no alternative for us but to mount the horse of stern determination, destroy our property, take out the eyes of our elephants, cast our children into the fire, and rush on each other with sword and spear, so that all that will be left to you, is stones and dirt, dead bodies, and scattered bones."

When the Amír heard these words and knew what Jaipál would do in his despair, he thought that religion and the views of the faithful would best be consulted by peace, and the acquisition of tribute. So the Amír Mahmúd agreed with Subuktigín as to the propriety of withdrawing the hand of vengeance, on the condition of receiving at that time 1,000,000 dirhams of royal stamp, and fifty elephants, and some cities and forts in the middle of his country. Jaipál was to deliver these forts to the officers nominated by the Amír, and was to send hostages from among his relatives and friends to remain with the Amír until these conditions of cession were fulfilled. The Amír sent two deputies with Jaipál to see that he did not swerve from his engagements, and they were accompanied by confidential officers who were to receive charge of the ceded places.

When Jaipál had marched to a great distance, and thought that the demand upon him had relaxed, and that the rope round his throat was loosened, his bad disposition suggested to him to break his engagements, and his folly made him beget enmity, insomuch that he imprisoned those who accompanied him on

the part of the Amír, in reprisal for those of his relations whom the Amír had taken as hostages.

*Amír Subuktigin's Second Invasion of Hind.*

When this intelligence reached the Amír, he considered it false, as being opposed to the usual habits of Jaipál; until repeated accounts to the same effect were brought, when the curtain which obscured the truth was withdrawn, and he knew that God had set his seal upon Jaipál's heart, so that he might obtain the reward of his evil deeds, and had placed a veil between it and rectitude, so that he might obtain punishment for his wickedness and infidelity. The Sultán therefore sharpened the sword of intention in order to make an incursion upon his kingdom, and cleanse it from impurity and from his rejection of Islám. So he departed with his valiant servants and allies, relying upon the one God, and trusting in the fulfilment of the promise of victory; and he went on till he arrived with his troops in the country of Hind, and he killed every one who, on the part of Jaipál, came out to oppose him.

The Amír marched out towards Lamghán, which is a city celebrated for its great strength and abounding in wealth. He conquered it and set fire to the places in its vicinity which were inhabited by infidels, and demolishing the idol-temples, he established Islám in them. He marched and captured other cities and killed the polluted wretches, destroying the idolatrous and gratifying the Musulmáns. After wounding and killing beyond all measure, his hands and those of his friends became cold in counting the value of the plundered property. On the completion of his conquest he returned and promulgated accounts of the victories obtained for Islám, and every one, great and small, concurred in rejoicing over this result and thanking God.

When Jaipál saw what had occurred to him on account of the infraction of his engagements, that his chiefs had become the food of vultures and hyenas, and that weakness had fallen on his

arm, he became greatly agitated, and knew not whether to retire or advance. He at last determined to fight once more, and satisfy his revenge. He thought, resolved, gave orders, and collected troops to the number of more than one hundred thousand. When Amír Subuktigín heard this intelligence, he again advanced to fight him, and ascended a lofty hill from which he could see the whole army of the infidels, which resembled scattered ants and locusts, and he felt like a wolf about to attack a flock of sheep. He urged the Musulmáns upon the uncircumcised infidels, and they willingly obeyed his orders. He made bodies of five hundred attack the enemy with their maces in hand, and relieve each other when one party became tired, so that fresh men and horses were constantly engaged, till the accursed enemy complained of the heat which arose from that iron oven. These detached parties then made one united charge, in order to exterminate their numerous opponents. Men and officers mingled in close conflict, and all other arms were useless except the sword. The dust which arose prevented the eyes from seeing; swords could not be distinguished from spears, men from elephants, the valiants from cowards. It was only when the dust was allayed that it was found that the impure infidels were defeated, and had fled, leaving behind them their property, utensils, arms, provisions, elephants, and horses. The jungles were filled with the carcasses of the infidels, some wounded by the sword, and others fallen dead through fright. "It is the order of God respecting those who have passed away, that infidels should be put to death; and the order of God is not changed respecting your execution of the same precept."

The Hindús turned their tails towards their heads like frightened dogs, and the Rájá was contented to offer the best things in his most distant provinces to the conqueror, on condition that the hair on the crowns of their heads should not be shaven off. So the country in that neighbourhood was clear and open before Amír Subuktigín, and he seized all the wealth which was found in it. He levied tribute and obtained immense booty, besides

two hundred elephants of war. He increased his army, and the Afgháns and Khiljís having submitted to him, he admitted thousands of them<sup>1</sup> whenever he wished into the ranks of his army, and thereafter expended their lives in his service.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Receipt by Mahmúd of a Khila't from the Khalífa.*

Kádir bi-llah Amíru-l-múminín, the Khalífa of Baghdád, sent a Khila't, such as had never before been heard of, for the use of Sultán Saifu-d daula, and he entitled Mahmúd in his imperial rescript, "Yamínu-d daula Amínu-l millat, the friend of the Amír-l múminín," which had not yet been bestowed upon any prince, either far or near, notwithstanding their intense desire to receive such an honour. The Sultán sat on his throne and robed himself in his new Khila't, professing his allegiance to the successor of the prophet of God. The Amírs of Khurásán stood before him in order, with respectful demeanour, and did not take their seats till they were directed. He then bestowed upon the nobles, his slaves, his confidential servants, and his chief friends, valuable robes and choice presents, beyond all calculation, \* \* \* and vowed that every year he would undertake a holy war against Hind.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Defeat of Jaipál by Mahmúd.*

Sultán Mahmúd at first designed in his heart to go to Sijistán, but subsequently preferred engaging previously in a holy war against Hind, and he distributed arms prior to convening a council on the subject,<sup>1</sup> in order to secure a blessing on his designs, of exalting the standard of religion, of widening the plain of right, of illuminating the words of truth, and of strength-

<sup>1</sup> M. de Sacy says "they agreed to furnish 100,000 men whenever he wished."

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to a passage in the Kurán, which it is unnecessary to explain here more particularly.



ening the power of justice. He departed towards the country of Hind, in full reliance on the aid of God, who guiding by his light and by his power, bestowed dignity upon him, and gave him victory in all his expeditions. On his reaching Purshaur (Pesháwar), he pitched his tent outside the city. There he received intelligence of the bold resolve of Jaipál, the enemy of God, and the King (*malik*) of Hind, to offer opposition, and of his rapid advance towards meeting his fate in the field of battle. He then took a muster of his horses, and of all his warriors and their vassals from those in whose records it was entered, and then selected from among his troops 15,000 cavalry, men and officers, all bold, and strictly prohibited those who were rejected and not fit or disposed for war, from joining those who had been chosen, and who were like dragons of the desert and lions of the forest. With them he advanced against the wicked and accursed enemy, whose hearts were firm as hills, and were as twigs of patience on the boughs of affection. The villanous infidel came forward, proud in his numbers and strength of head and arm, with 12,000 horsemen, 30,000 foot soldiers, and 300 elephants, at the ponderous weight of which the lighter earth groaned, little reflecting that, under God's dispensation, a small army can overturn a host, as the ignorant man would have learnt, could he have read the word of God,—“ Oftentimes a small army overcomes a large one by the order of God.”

That infidel remained where he was, avoiding the action for a long time, and awaiting craftily the arrival of reinforcements and other vagabond families and tribes which were on their way ; but the Sultán would not allow him to postpone the conflict, and the friends of God commenced the action, setting upon the enemy with sword, arrow, and spear,—plundering, seizing, and destroying ; at all which the Hindús, being greatly alarmed, began to kindle the flame of fight. The Hindú set his cavalry in and beat his drums. The elephants moved on from their posts, and line advanced against line, shooting their arrows at one another like boys escaped from school, who, at eventime, shoot at a target

for a wager. Swords flashed like lightning amid the blackness of clouds, and fountains of blood flowed like the fall of setting stars. The friends of God defeated their obstinate opponents, and quickly put them to a complete rout. Noon had not arrived when the Musulmáns had wreaked their vengeance on the infidel enemies of God, killing 15,000 of them, spreading them like a carpet over the ground, and making them food for beasts and birds of prey. Fifteen elephants fell on the field of battle, as their legs, being pierced with arrows, became as motionless as if they had been in a quagmire, and their trunks were cut with the swords of the valiant heroes.

The enemy of God, Jaipál, and his children and grandchildren, and nephews, and the chief men of his tribe, and his relatives, were taken prisoners, and being strongly bound with ropes, were carried before the Sultán, like as evildoers, on whose faces the fumes of infidelity are evident, who are covered with the vapours of misfortune, will be bound and carried to Hell. Some had their arms forcibly tied behind their backs, some were seized by the cheek, some were driven by blows on the neck. The necklace was taken off the neck of Jaipál,—composed of large pearls and shining gems and rubies set in gold, of which the value was two hundred thousand dínárs; and twice that value was obtained from the necks of those of his relatives who were taken prisoners, or slain, and had become the food of the mouths of hyenas and vultures. God also bestowed upon his friends such an amount of booty as was beyond all bounds and all calculation, including five hundred thousand slaves, beautiful men and women. The Sultán returned with his followers to his camp, having plundered immensely, by God's aid, having obtained the victory, and thankful to God, the lord of the universe. For the Almighty had given them victory over a province of the country of Hind, broader and longer and more fertile than Khurásán. This splendid and celebrated action took place on Thursday, the 8th of Muharram, 392 H. (27th November, 1001, A.D.)

After the victory, the Sultán directed that the polluted infidel,

Jaipál, should be paraded about, so that his sons and chieftains might see him in that condition of shame, bonds, and disgrace; and that the fear of Islám might fly abroad through the country of the infidels. He then entered into conditions of peace with him, after demanding fifty elephants, and took from him as hostages his son and grandson, till he should fulfil the conditions imposed upon him.

The infidel returned to his own country and remained there, and wrote to his son, Andpál, whose territory, on which he prided himself, was on the other side of the Sihún (Indus), explaining the dreadful calamity which had befallen him, and beseeching him with many entreaties to send the elephants which were according to agreement to be given to the Sultán. Upon this Andpál sent the elephants to Jaipál, after dismissing the courier who had brought the letter, and the elephants were sent on to the Sultán. The Sultán, therefore, ordered the release of the hostages, and his myrmidons gave them a smack on the buttocks, telling them to return to their country.

Andpál reflected that his father, Jaipál, had put on the sheaf of old age, and had fallen under the influence of Lyra and other unlucky constellations, and it was time he should contemplate his death and devote himself to religious exercises. There is a custom among these men that if any one is taken prisoner by an enemy, as in this case Jaipál was by the Musulmáns, it is not lawful for him to continue to reign. When Jaipál, therefore, saw that he was captive in the prison of old age and degradation, he thought death by cremation preferable to shame and dishonour. So he commenced with shaving his hair off, and then threw himself upon the fire till he was burnt.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the version of *Jarbazkani* it is said that, after the self sacrifice of Jaipál, the Sultán again sent forth his army into Hindustan, and that after having exterminated all those who had taken part in this rebellion, he returned in triumph to Ghazni. There is no authority for this in the original. The transactions at Waihind are not noticed in *Jarbazkani*.—Reynolds, 282—Notices et Extraits, iv. 380.

*Battle of Waihind.*

When the Sultán had accomplished all his wishes and reduced all his enemies; in his happiness, he resolved on another holy expedition. He ornamented the entrance to his tent as well as his standards, and marching towards Waihind, he encamped there in state, until he had established himself in that country, and had relieved himself from the toils of the campaign. News reached him of the Hindús taking refuge in the passes of the neighbouring hills, and concealing themselves in the forests and jungles, consulting amongst themselves about the means of attacking the Musulmán. He therefore despatched an army against them, to conquer their country, and disperse them. The army fell upon them, and committed such slaughter that their swords were covered with blood. Those who escaped death fled away like mountain goats, having seen the swords flashing as bright as stars at noonday, and dealing black and red death around them. Thus did the infidels meet with the punishment and loss due to their deserts. The standards of the Sultán then returned happy and victorious to Ghazni, the face of Islám was made resplendent by his exertions, the teeth of the true faith displayed themselves in their laughter, the breasts of religion expanded, and the back of idolatry was broken.

\* \* \* \* \*

*The Conquest of Bhátia.*

When Sultán Mahmúd had settled the affairs of Sijistán, and the action of his beating pulse had subsided, and the clouds had dispersed, he determined upon invading Bhátia. So he collected armies with trustworthy guides and valiant standard bearers, and crossing the Indus in the neighbourhood<sup>1</sup> of Múltán, he marched towards the city of Bhátia, the walls of which the

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "behind," or "beyond," [and Ibn Asír uses the same expression,] but the position of Múltán is such as to render the author's meaning very doubtful.

wings of the eagle could not surmount, and which was surrounded as by the ocean with a ditch of exceeding depth and breadth. The city was as wealthy as imagination can conceive in property, armies, and military weapons. There were elephants as headstrong as Satan. The ruler at that time was Biji Rái,<sup>1</sup> and the pride which he felt in the state of his preparations, induced him to leave the walls of his fort and come forth to oppose the Musulmáns, in order to frighten them with his warriors and elephants and great prowess.

The Sultán fought against him for three days and nights, and the lightnings of his swords and the meteors of his spears fell on the enemy. On the fourth morning a most furious onslaught was made with swords and arrows, which lasted till noon, when the Sultán ordered a general charge to be made upon the infidels. The friends of God advancing against the masters of lies and idolatry with cries of "God is exceeding great!" broke their ranks, and rubbed their noses upon the ground of disgrace. The Sultán himself, like a stallion, went on dealing hard blows around him on the right hand and on the left, and cut those who were clothed in mail right in twain, making the thirsty infidels drink the cup of death. In this single charge he took several elephants, which Biji Rái regarded as the chief support of his centre. At last God granted victory to the standards of Islám, and the infidels retreated behind the walls of their city for protection. The Musulmáns obtained possession of the gates of the city, and employed themselves in filling up the ditch and destroying the scarp and counterscarp, widening the narrow roads, and opening the closed entrances.

When Biji Rái saw the desperate state to which he was reduced, he escaped by stealth and on foot into the forest with a few attendants, and sought refuge on the top of some hills. The Sultán despatched a select body of his troops in pursuit of them, and surrounded them as a collar does the neck; and when Biji

<sup>1</sup> Dow says "Bachera;" S. de Sacy "Bohaira;" Wilken "Bahira;" Briggs "Beejy Ray." [Ibn Asir has "Bahirá."]

Rái saw that there was no chance of escape, he drew his dagger, struck it into his breast, and went to the fire which God has lighted for infidels and those who deny a resurrection, for those who say no prayers, hold no fasts, and tell no beads.—Amen.

The army of the Sultán kept moving on, and committing slaughter and pillage. One hundred and twenty elephants<sup>1</sup> fell to the share of the Sultán, besides the usual share of property and arms. He also obtained an accession of territory without any solicitation. He remained at Bhátia till he had cleansed it from pollution, and appointed a person there to teach those who had embraced Islám, and lead them in the right way. He then returned to Ghazna in triumph and glory, and his fortune was in the equator (ascendant); but as his return was during the rains, when the rivers were full and foaming, and as the mountains were lofty, and he had to fight with enemies, he lost the greater part of his baggage in the rivers, and many of his valiant warriors were dispersed. God, nevertheless, preserved his person from those calamities which beset his road, for God is the friend of the virtuous. \* \* \*

### *The Capture of Múltán.*

Intelligence reached the Sultán of the acts committed by the ruler of Múltán, Abí-l futúh, namely, respecting the impurity of his religion, the seditious designs of his heart, and the evidence of his evil doings, and his endeavours to make proselytes of the inhabitants of his country. The Sultán zealous for the Muhammadan religion, thought it a shame to allow him to retain his government while he practised such wickedness and disobedience, and he beseeched the assistance of a gracious God in bringing him to repentance, and attacking him with that design in view.

He then issued orders for the assembling of armies from among the Musulmán for the purpose of joining him in this

<sup>1</sup> Firishta says 280, and Mirkhond 120, but does not notice that this was the personal share of the Sultán.

holy expedition,—those on whom God had set his seal and selected for the performance of good deeds, and obtaining either victory or martyrdom. He departed with them towards Múltán in the spring, when the rivers were swollen with the rain, and the Indus and other rivers prevented the passage of the cavalry, and offered difficulties to his companions. The Sultán desired of Andpál,<sup>1</sup> the chief of Hind, that he would allow him to march through his territory, but Andpál would not consent, and offered opposition, which resulted in his discomfiture. The Sultán, consequently, thought it expedient to attack Rái Andpál first, notwithstanding his power, in his jungles, to bow down his broad neck, to cut down the trees of his jungles, to destroy every single thing he possessed, and thus to obtain the fruit of two paradises by this double conquest.

So he stretched out upon him the hand of slaughter, imprisonment, pillage, depopulation, and fire, and hunted him from ambush to ambush, into which he was followed by his subjects, like “merchants of Hazramaut, who are never without their sheets.”<sup>2</sup> The spears were tired of penetrating the rings of the coats of mail, the swords became blunt by the blows on the sides, and the Sultán pursued the Rái over hill and dale, over the soft and hard ground of his territory, and his followers either became a feast to the rapacious wild beasts of the passes and plains, or fled in distraction to the neighbourhood of Kashmír.

When Abí-l futúh, the ruler of Múltán, heard what had happened to the chief of Hind, notwithstanding all his power and the lofty walls of his fort, and his shining sword, and when he began to measure their relative strength, and considered how Andpál, a much greater potentate than himself, had been subdued, he looked upon himself, as compared with the Sultán, as a ravine in comparison with the top of a mountain. He, therefore, determined with all expedition to load all his property on

<sup>1</sup> No doubt Anand-pál, as in Firishta; Mirkhond calls him Jaipál, as in the *Tárikh-i Alfí*.

<sup>2</sup> This verse is quoted by the author from a poet named Jaríru-l-Khadfí.

elephants, and carry it off to Sarandíp, and he left Múltán empty for the Sultán to do with it as he chose.

The Sultán marched towards Múltán, beseeching God's aid against those who had introduced their neologies into religion and had disparaged it. The inhabitants of the place were blind in their errors, and desirous of extinguishing the light of God with their breath, so the Sultán invested Múltán, took it by assault, treated the people with severity, and levied from them twenty thousand thousand dirams with which to respite their sins. Then the reports of the Sultán's conquests spread over distant countries, and over the salt sea as far even as Egypt; Sind and her sister (Hind) trembled at his power and vengeance; his celebrity exceeded that of Alexander the Great, and heresy (*ilhád*), rebellion, and enmity, were suppressed.

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#### *Indians in Mahmud's Army.*

When the Sultán heard of Ílak Khán crossing the Jíhún with 50,000 men or more, he went in haste from Tukhíristán to Balkh, and remained there in order to anticipate Ílak Khán, who wished to obtain supplies from that province. The Sultán advanced ready for action with an army composed of Turks, Indians, Khiljís, Afgháns, and Ghaznivides.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

#### *Nawása Sháh.*

After this victory over Ílak Khán, the Sultán resolved upon going to Hind for the purpose of making a sudden attack upon the person known as Nawása Sháh, one of the rulers of Hind, who had been established as governor over some of the territories in that country conquered by the Sultán, for the purpose of protecting their borders. Satan had got the better of Nawása Sháh,

<sup>1</sup> De Sacy reads Ghooz, perhaps more correctly.



for he was again apostatizing towards the pit of plural worship, had thrown off the slough of Islám, and held conversation with the chiefs of idolatry respecting the casting off the firm rope of religion from his neck. So the Sultán went swifter than the wind in that direction, and made the sword reek with the blood of his enemies. He turned Nawása Sháh out of his government, took possession of all the treasures which he had accumulated, re-assumed the government, and then cut down the harvest of idolatry with the sickle of his sword and spear. After God had granted him this and the previous victory, which were tried witnesses as to his exalted state and proselytism, he returned without difficulty to Ghazna.

### *Victory near Waihind.<sup>1</sup>*

The Sultán, contrary to the disposition of man, which induces him to prefer a soft to a hard couch, and the splendour of the cheeks of pomegranate-bosomed girls to well-tempered sword blades, was so offended at the standard which Satan had raised in Hind, that he determined on another holy expedition to that land. On the last day of Rabí'u-l-ákhir of the same year,<sup>2</sup> the Sultán prayed God for the accomplishment of his wishes. When he had reached as far as the river of Waihind, he was met by Brahmanpál, the son of Andpál, at the head of a valiant army, with white swords, blue spears, yellow coats of mail, and ash-coloured elephants. Fight opened its crooked teeth, attacks were frequent like flaming meteors, arrows fell like rain from bows, and the grinding-stone of slaughter revolved, crushing the bold and the powerful. The battle lasted from morning till evening, and the infidels were near gaining the victory, had not

<sup>1</sup> This is left out by all the other chroniclers.

<sup>2</sup> The year is not mentioned, but that the Sultán should have gained his victory near Balkh, expelled Nawása Sháh, that he should have returned to Ghazna and rested, and then have commenced another expedition, all within four months of the same year, is to suppose almost an impossibility, unless Nawása Sháh was on the Pesháwar frontier.

God aided by sending the slaves of the household to attack the enemy in rear, and put them to flight. The victors obtained thirty large elephants, and slew the vanquished wherever they were found in jungles, passes, plains, and hills.

### *Capture of Bhimnagar.*

The Sultán himself joined in the pursuit, and went after them as far as the fort called Bhimnagar,<sup>1</sup> which is very strong, situated on the promontory of a lofty hill, in the midst of impassable waters. The kings of Hind, the chiefs of that country, and rich devotees, used to amass their treasures and precious jewels, and send them time after time to be presented to the large idol that they might receive a reward for their good deeds and draw near to their God. So the Sultán advanced near to this crow's fruit,<sup>2</sup> and this accumulation of years, which had attained such an amount that the backs of camels would not carry it, nor vessels contain it, nor writers hands record it, nor the imagination of an arithmetician conceive it.

The Sultán brought his forces under the fort and surrounded it, and prepared to attack the garrison vigorously, boldly, and wisely. When the defenders saw the hills covered with the armies of plunderers, and the arrows ascending towards them like flaming sparks of fire, great fear came upon them, and, calling out for mercy, they opened the gates, and fell on the earth, like sparrows before a hawk, or rain before lightning. Thus did God grant an easy conquest of this fort to the Sultán, and bestowed on him as plunder the products of mines and seas, the ornaments of heads and breasts, to his heart's content. The

<sup>1</sup> Dow calls it "Bimé;" S. de Sacy "Behim-bagra;" 'Utbi has "Bhim-naghar;" and Rashidu-d dín "Bhinbaghra;" Wilken "Behim Bagra;" Briggs "Bheem;" D'Herbelot and Rampoldi, "Behesim;" *Turikh-i Afti*, "Bhim." [There can be no question that the lithographed edition is right in declaring the name to be Bhimnagar. Firishta uses the names of Nagarkot, or Fort of Bhim (Briggs I. 48.) It is the modern Kángra which is still called Nagarkot.].

<sup>2</sup> That is, the best; and probably there is an allusion in the expression to the blackness of the Hindús, the early Muhammadans being fond of designating them as "crows," as will be seen from the *Táju-l Ma-dsir*.

Sultán entered the fort with Abú Nasr Ahmad bin Muhammad Faríghuní, the ruler of Júzján, and all his own private attendants, and appointed his two chief chamberlains, Altúntásh and Asightigín,<sup>1</sup> to take charge of the treasures of gold and silver and all the valuable property, while he himself took charge of the jewels. The treasures were laden on the backs of as many camels as they could procure, and the officers carried away the rest. The stamped coin amounted to seventy thousand thousand royal dirhams, and the gold and silver ingots amounted to seven hundred thousand four hundred *mans* in weight, besides wearing apparel and fine cloths of Sús, respecting which old men said they never remembered to have seen any so fine, soft, and embroidered. Among the booty was a house of white silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen.<sup>2</sup> It could be taken to pieces and put together again. And there was a canopy, made of the fine linen of Rúm, forty yards long and twenty broad, supported on two golden and two silver poles, which had been cast in moulds.

The Sultán appointed one of his most confidential servants to the charge of the fort and the property in it. After this he returned to Ghazna in triumph; and, on his arrival there, he ordered the court-yard of his palace to be covered with a carpet, on which he displayed jewels and unbored pearls and rubies, shining like sparks, or like wine congealed with ice, and emeralds like fresh sprigs of myrtle, and diamonds in size and weight like pomegranates. Then ambassadors from foreign countries, including the envoy from Taghán Khán, king of Turkistán, assembled to see the wealth which they had never yet even read of in books of the ancients, and which had never been accumulated by kings of Persia or of Rúm, or even by Kárún, who had only to express a wish and God granted it.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> [Reynolds gives this name as "Istargín."]

<sup>2</sup> [Jarhádání, according to Reynolds, makes the measurement "sixty cubits long and fifty wide."]

*Capture of Náráin.*<sup>1</sup>

The Sultán again resolved on an expedition to Hind, and marched towards Náráin, urging his horses and moving over ground, hard and soft, until he came to the middle of Hind, where he reduced chiefs, who, up to that time obeyed no master, overturned their idols, put to the sword the vagabonds of that country, and with delay and circumspection proceeded to accomplish his design. He fought a battle with the chiefs of the infidels, in which God bestowed upon him much booty in property, horses, and elephants, and the friends of God committed slaughter in every hill and valley. The Sultán returned to Ghazna with all the plunder he had obtained.

*Embassy from India to Ghazna.*

When the ruler (*malik*) of Hind had witnessed the calamities which had inflicted ruin on his country and his subjects, in consequence of his contests with the Sultán, and had seen their effects far and near, he became satisfied that he could not contend with him. So he sent some of his relatives and chiefs to the Sultán, supplicating him not to invade India again, and offering him money to abstain from that purpose, and their best wishes for his future prosperity. They were told to offer a tribute of fifty elephants, each equal to two ordinary ones in size and strength, laden with the products and rarities of his country. He promised to send this tribute every year, accompanied by two thousand men, for service at the Court of the Sultán.

The Sultán accepted his proposal, as Islám was promoted by the humility of his submission and the payment of tribute. He sent an envoy to see that these conditions were carried into effect. The ruler of Hind strictly fulfilled them and despatched one of his vassals with the elephants to see that they were duly presented to the Sultán. So peace was established, and tribute was paid, and caravans travelled in full security between Khurásán and Hind.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> [This is called "Nardín" in Reynolds' translation, p. 360.]

*Conquest of Nârdin.<sup>1</sup>*

After the Sultán had purified Hind from idolatry, and raised mosques therein, he determined to invade the capital of Hind, to punish those who kept idols and would not acknowledge the unity of God. He collected his warriors and distributed money amongst them. He marched with a large army in the year 404 H. 1013 A.D. during a dark night, and at the close of autumn, on account of the purity of the southern breezes at that season. When the Sultán had arrived near the frontier of Hind, snow fell, such as had never been seen before, insomuch that the passes of the hills were closed, and mountains and valleys became of one level. The feet of the horses and camels were affected by the cold, so it may be conceived what the faces, hands, and feet of men suffered. The well-known roads were concealed, and the right could not be distinguished from the left, or what was behind from that which was before, and they were unable to return until God should give the order. The Sultán employed himself, in the meantime, in collecting supplies, and sent for his generals from the different provinces. After having thus accumulated the means of warfare, and having been joined by his soldiers, who had come from different directions, in number equal to the drops of an autumnal rain, he left these winter quarters in the spring, and, had the earth been endowed with feeling, it would have groaned under the weight of the iron, the warriors, the horses, and the beasts of burden. The guides marched on in front over hill and dale, before the sun arose, and even before the light of the stars was extinguished. He urged on his horses<sup>2</sup> for two months, among broad and deep rivers, and among jungles in which wild cattle even might lose their way.

When the Sultán arrived near the end of his destination, he set his cavalry in array, and formed them into different bodies,

<sup>1</sup> [Reynolds, in his translation of Jarbâdkânî's version, gives the name as "Nasín," and the date "400," page 388.]

<sup>2</sup> This may also be rendered "boats."

appointing his brother, Amír Nasr, son of Násiru-d din, to command the right wing, consisting of valiant heroes ; Arslánu-l Jázib to the left wing, consisting of powerful young men ; and Abú 'Abdu-lla Muhammad bin Ibráhímu-t Táí to the advance-guard, consisting of fiery Arab cavaliers. To the centre he appointed Altúntásh, the chamberlain, with the Sultán's personal slaves and attendants, as firm as mountains.

Nidar Bhím, the enemy of God and the chief of Hind, alarmed at this sudden invasion, summoned his vassals and generals, and took refuge within a pass, which was narrow, precipitous, and inaccessible. They entrenched themselves behind stones, and closed the entrance to the pass by their elephants, which looked like so many hills from their lofty stature. Here he remained in great security, being persuaded that the place was impervious to attack, but he did not know that God is the protector of the faithful, and the annihilator of infidels !

When the Sultán learnt the intention of Nidar Bhím, with respect to the protraction of the war, and his confidence in his security, he advanced against them with his Dailamite warriors, and Satanic Afghán spearmen, and they penetrated the pass like gimlets into wood, ascending the hills like mountain goats, and descending them like torrents of water. The action lasted for several days without intermission, till at last some of the Hindús were drawn out into the plain to fight, like oil sucked up into the wick of a candle, or like iron attracted by a magnet, and there they were assaulted and killed by the cavalry, just as the knight on the chess-board demolishes pawns.

When his vassals had joined Nidar Bhím with reinforcements, he consented to leave his entrenchments and come out himself into the plain, having the hills behind him, and elephants drawn up on each wing. The battle raged furiously, and when the elephants of the Hindús moved on, with the object of destroying their opponents, they were assailed by showers of arrows upon their trunks and eyes. When Abú 'Abdu-llu-t Táí had through his bravery advanced into the midst of the infidels, he was

wounded in his head and different parts of his body; but the Sultán seeing the extreme danger to which his general was exposed, despatched part of his own guards to his assistance, who brought him out of the conflict to the Sultán, severely wounded in many places. The Sultán ordered him to be placed on an elephant, in order to relieve him from the pain of his wounds, and thus he was exalted like a king above all the leaders of the army.

The conflict continued as before until God blew the gale of victory on his friends, and the enemy were slain on the tops of the hills, and in the valleys, ravines, and beds of torrents. A large number of elephants, which the enemy had looked upon as strongholds to protect them, fell into the hands of the victors, as well as much other booty. So God granted the Sultán the victory of Nárdín, such as added to the decoration of the mantle of Islám, which had not before that period extended to that place.

A stone was found there in the temple of the great Budda,<sup>1</sup> on which an inscription was written purporting that the temple had been founded fifty thousand years ago. The Sultán was surprised at the ignorance of these people, because those who believe in the true faith represent that only seven thousand years have elapsed since the creation of the world, and the signs of resurrection are even now approaching. The Sultán asked his wise men the meaning of this inscription, and they all concurred in saying that it was false, and that no faith was to be put in the evidence of a stone.

The Sultán returned, marching in the rear of this immense booty, and slaves were so plentiful that they became very cheap; and men of respectability in their native land, were degraded by becoming slaves of common shopkeepers. But this is the goodness of God, who bestows honours on his own religion and degrades infidelity.

<sup>1</sup> It is plainly so written in the Arabic original, and cannot be meant for *Bud*, "an idol," as that word is Persian. [See Vol. I. p. 507.]

*Conquest of Tánesar.*

The Sultán learnt that in the country of Tánesar there were large elephants of the Sailamán (Ceylon) breed, celebrated for military purposes. The chief of Tánesar was on this account obstinate in his infidelity and denial of God. So the Sultán marched against him with his valiant warriors, for the purpose of planting the standards of Islám and extirpating idolatry. He marched through a desert which no one had yet crossed, except birds and wild beasts, for the foot of man and the shoe of horse had not traversed it. There was no water in it, much less any other kind of food. The Sultán was the first to whom God had granted a passage over this desert, in order that he might arrive at the accomplishment of his wishes.

Beneath it (Tánesar?) flowed a pure stream; the bottom was covered with large stones, and its banks were precipitous and sharp as the points of arrows. The Sultán had reached this river where it takes its course through a hill-pass, behind which the infidels had posted themselves, in the rear of their elephants, with a large number of infantry and cavalry. The Sultán adopted the stratagem of ordering some of his troops to cross the river by two different fords, and to attack the enemy on both sides; and when they were all engaged in close conflict, he ordered another body of men to go up the bank of the stream, which was flowing through the pass with fearful impetuosity, and attack the enemy amongst the ravines, where they were posted in the greatest number. The battle raged fiercely, and about evening, after a vigorous attack on the part of the Musulmán, the enemy fled, leaving their elephants, which were all driven into the camp of the Sultán, except one, which ran off and could not be found. The largest were reserved for the Sultán.

The blood of the infidels flowed so copiously, that the stream was discoloured, notwithstanding its purity, and people were unable to drink it. Had not night come on and concealed the traces of their flight, many more of the enemy would have been



slain. The victory was gained by God's grace, who has established Islám for ever as the best of religions, notwithstanding that idolaters revolt against it. The Sultán returned with plunder which it is impossible to recount.—Praise be to God, the protector of the world, for the honour he bestows upon Islám and Musulmán's !

\* \* \* \* \*

*Passage of the Panjáb and the Jamna.*

On the Sultán's return to Ghazna from Khwárizm, he appointed spies to go to the frontier of Hind and communicate all particulars respecting that country, and he resolved upon employing the close of the year in resting his horses and troopers, and in contemplating schemes of future religious conquests.

\* \* \* \* \*

As no part of Hind remained unconquered, except Kashmír, he resolved on an expedition to that country. Between it and Ghazna there were forests resounding with the notes of birds and other animals, and the winds even lose their way in it. It happened that 20,000 men from Máwaráu-n nahr and its neighbourhood, who were with the Sultán, were anxious to be employed on some holy expedition, in which they might obtain martyrdom. The Sultán determined to march with them towards Kanauj, which no other king but the all-powerful Gushtasp had been able to take, as has been related in the histories of the Magians.

Between Ghazna and Kanauj the journey occupies three months, even for camels and horses. So the Sultán bade farewell to sleep and ease, and praying God for success, he departed accompanied by his valiant warriors. He crossed in safety the Síhún (Indus), Jelam, Chandráha, Ubrá (Rávi), Bah (Biyáh), and Sataldur (Sutlej). These are all rivers, deep beyond description; even elephants' bodies are concealed in them, so it may easily be conceived what is the case with horses. They bear along with them large stones, so camels and horses are of course

in danger of being carried down the stream. Whatever countries the Sultán traversed, ambassadors were sent to him proffering submission, inasmuch that Sablí, son of Sháhí,<sup>1</sup> son of Bamhí,<sup>2</sup> who held the passes leading into Kashmír, looking upon the Sultán as one sent by God, also came forward, offering his allegiance, and his services as a guide. He led the way, crossing forest after forest. At midnight the drum sounded for the march, and the friends of God mounted their horses, ready to bear the inconvenience of the journey, and they marched on until the sun began to decline from the meridian. They placed behind their backs the river Jún (Jamna), crossing it on the 20th of Rajab, 409 H., 2nd December, 1018 A.D.

### *Capture of Baran.*

The Sultán took all the lofty hill forts which he met on the road, so lofty indeed were they, that beholders sprained the back of their necks in looking up at them. At length he arrived at the fort of Barba (Baran<sup>3</sup>), in the country of Hardat,<sup>4</sup> who was one of the Ráís, that is "kings," in the Hindí language. When Hardat heard of this invasion by the protected warriors of God, who advanced like the waves of the sea, with the angels around them on all sides, he became greatly agitated, his steps trembled, and he feared for his life, which was forfeited under the law of God. So he reflected that his safety would best be secured by conforming to the religion of Islám, since God's sword was drawn from

<sup>1</sup> ["Janki," marginal note in Dehli Edn.]

<sup>2</sup> S. de Sacy calls him "Khabli-ben-Schami." Firishta says, "When Mahmúd reached the confines of Kashmír, the ruler sent presents, which were graciously accepted, and he accompanied the advance guard." Briggs, without authority, adds that Mahmúd had established this prince in Kashmír. [Reynolds gives the names Habali-'bn-Shásní.]

<sup>3</sup> 'Alí bin Muslih says, in his commentary, that the name is Barbah, but that some copies read Barna. S. de Sacy reads "Barma," so does [Jarbádkání, Reynolds, 451] Karámat 'Alí and Rashidu-d dín. The original copies read "Barba," and "Burdur." I make it "Baran," the old name of Bulandshahr.

<sup>4</sup> S. de Sacy gives "Haroun" and "Harout." 'Alí bin Muslih says it is either "Hurdiz," or "Hurdit." [Jarbádkání, according to Reynolds, reads "Hardn," p. 451].

the scabbard, and the whip of punishment was uplifted. He came forth, therefore, with ten thousand men, who all proclaimed their anxiety for conversion, and their rejection of idols. God confirmed the promises he had made, and rendered assistance to the Sultán.

*Capture of Kulchand's Fort.*

After some delay, the Sultán marched against the fort of Kulchand, who was one of the leaders of the accursed Satans, who assumed superiority over other rulers, and was inflated with pride, and who employed his whole life in infidelity, and was confident in the strength of his dominions. Whoever fought with him sustained defeat and flight, and he possessed much power, great wealth, many brave soldiers, large elephants, and strong forts, which were secure from attack and capture. When he saw that the Sultán advanced against him in the endeavour to engage in a holy war, he drew up his army and elephants within a deep forest ready for action.

The Sultán sent his advance guard to attack Kulchand, which, penetrating through the forest like a comb through a head of hair, enabled the Sultán to discover the road which led to the fort.<sup>1</sup> The Musulmán's exclaim, "God is exceeding great," and those of the enemy, who were anxious for death, stood their ground. Swords and spears were used in close conflict. \* \* \* The infidels, when they found all their attempts fail, deserted the fort, and tried to cross the foaming river which flowed on the other side of the fort, thinking that beyond it they would be in security; but many of them were slain, taken, or drowned in the attempt, and went to the fire of hell. Nearly fifty<sup>2</sup> thousand men were killed and drowned, and became the prey of beasts and crocodiles. Kulchand, taking his dagger, slew his wife, and then drove it into his own body. The Sultán obtained by this victory one hundred and eighty-five powerful elephants, besides other booty.

<sup>1</sup> The *Tárikh-i Alfí* calls the fort by the name of "Mand."

<sup>2</sup> Jarbádkání reduces the number to "five thousand," according to Reynolds, p. 464.]

*Capture of Mathurá.*

The Sultán then departed from the environs of the city,<sup>1</sup> in which was a temple of the Hindús.<sup>2</sup> The name of this place was Maharatu<sup>2</sup>-l Hind. He saw there a building of exquisite structure, which the inhabitants said had been built, not by men, but by Genii, and there he witnessed practices contrary to the nature of man, and which could not be believed but from evidence of actual sight. The wall of the city was constructed of hard stone, and two gates opened upon the river flowing under the city, which were erected upon strong and lofty foundations, to protect them against the floods of the river and rains. On both sides of the city there were a thousand houses, to which idol temples were attached, all strengthened from top to bottom by rivets of iron, and all made of masonry work; and opposite to them were other buildings, supported on broad wooden pillars, to give them strength.

In the middle of the city there was a temple larger and firmer than the rest, which can neither be described nor painted. The Sultán thus wrote respecting it:—"If any should wish to construct a building equal to this, he would not be able to do it without expending an hundred thousand thousand red dínars, and it would occupy two hundred years, even though the most experienced and able workmen were employed." Among the idols there were five made of red gold, each five yards high, fixed in the air without support. In the eyes of one of these idols there were two rubies, of such value, that if any one were to sell

<sup>1</sup> S. de Sacy has "bâtie sur une éminence." I see no authority for this in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Authors who have succeeded 'Utbi call this Mathura, but there is no other authority for it, but that which is in the text. It is probable that it may be here called "Maharat," because in speaking below of the Great Temple, it is said to have been built by مهرة, i.e., experienced men, the plural of ماهر. Its resemblance to Mathura may have induced the pun. 'Ali bin Muslih Sam'ani, in his Commentary, derives the word from هرير "a dog's whine," because it resembles the canting sound uttered by Hindús in worship. This is nonsense.

such as are like them, he would obtain fifty thousand dínárs. On another, there was a sapphire purer than water, and more sparkling than crystal; the weight was four hundred and fifty miskáls. The two feet of another idol weighed four thousand four hundred miskáls, and the entire quantity of gold yielded by the bodies of these idols, was ninety-eight thousand three hundred miskáls. The idols of silver amounted to two hundred, but they could not be weighed without breaking them to pieces and putting them into scales. The Sultán gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire, and levelled with the ground.

*The Conquest of Kanauj.*

After this, the Sultán went on with the intention of proceeding to Kanauj, and he derived a favourable omen, when he opened the Kurán, from finding the resemblance of "Kanauj" to "victories."<sup>1</sup> He left the greater part of his army behind, and took only a small body of troops with him against Rái Jaipál, who had also but a few men with him, and was preparing to fly for safety to some of his dependant vassals.

The Sultán levelled to the ground every fort which he had in this country, and the inhabitants of them either accepted Islám, or took up arms against him. He collected so much booty, prisoners and wealth, that the fingers of those who counted them would have been tired.

He arrived on the 8th of Sha'bán, at Kanauj, which was deserted by Jaipál<sup>2</sup> on hearing of his approach, for he fled across the Ganges, which the Hindús regard as of exceeding sanctity, and consider that its source is in the paradise of heaven. When they burn their dead, they throw the ashes into this river, as

<sup>1</sup> "Kanauj" and "futúh" when spelt without diacritical points, assume the same form: a good illustration of the difficulty of reading accurately oriental names, —here two words of the same form, have not a letter in common.

<sup>2</sup> De Sacy reads "Hébal," Don calls the Rájá "Karrah." Reinaud reads "Rájá Pal," and "Rajaipál." It may be presumed he is the same as the "Purá Jaipál," subsequently mentioned. [Jarbádkánf has "Haipal," Reynolds, 456.]

they consider that the waters purify them from sins. Devotees come to it from a distance, and drown themselves in its stream, in the hope of obtaining eternal salvation, but in the end it will only carry them to hell, so that it will neither kill them nor make them alive.

The Sultán advanced to the fortifications of Kanauj, which consisted of seven distinct forts, washed by the Ganges, which flowed under them like the ocean. In Kanauj there were nearly ten thousand temples, which the idolaters falsely and absurdly represented to have been founded by their ancestors two or three hundred thousand years ago. They worshipped and offered their vows and supplications to them, in consequence of their great antiquity. Many of the inhabitants of the place fled and were scattered abroad like so many wretched widows and orphans, from the fear which oppressed them, in consequence of witnessing the fate of their deaf and dumb idols. Many of them thus effected their escape, and those who did not fly were put to death. The Sultán took all seven forts in one day, and gave his soldiers leave to plunder them and take prisoners.

#### *Capture of Munj.*

He then went to Munj,<sup>1</sup> known as the fort of Bráhmans, the inhabitants of which were independent as headstrong camels. They prepared to offer opposition, like evil demons and obstinate Satans, and when they found they could not withstand the Musulmáns, and that their blood would be shed, they took to flight, throwing themselves down from the apertures and the lofty and broad battlements, but most of them were killed in this attempt.

#### *Capture of Ásí.*

After this, the Sultán advanced against the fort of Ásí,<sup>2</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> [Jarbádkánt has "Manaj," Reynolds, 457.] The *Rauzat-u-safá* has "Mih," and "Bhij;" Haidar Rázi, "Mabaj." Briggs says "the fort of Munj, full of Rájpúts." The *Tárikh-i Alfí* says "Manj." Firishta says it held out fifteen days.

<sup>2</sup> S. de Sacy calls it "Aster," and "Assir." [Reynolds has "Aster, held by Jandbál the violent."]

ruler of which was Chandál Bhor, one of the chief men and generals of the Hindús. He was always engaged in a career of victory, and at one time he was at war with the Rái of Kanauj, when the campaign lasted a long time, but in the end the Rái was compelled to retreat, after having put to some trouble the friends of the ruler of Ásí. Around his fort there was an impenetrable and dense jungle, full of snakes which no enchanters could tame, and so dark that even the rays of the full moon could not be discerned in it. There were broad and deep ditches all around.

When Chandál heard of the advance of the Sultán, he lost his heart from excess of fright, and as he saw death with his mouth open towards him, there was no resource to him but flight. The Sultán ordered therefore that his five forts should be demolished from their foundations, the inhabitants buried in their ruins, and the demoniacal soldiers of the garrison plundered, slain, and imprisoned.

\*     \*     \*     \*     \*     \*

### *Defeat of Chand Rái.*

The Sultán, when he heard of the flight of Chandál, was sorely afflicted, and turned his horse's head towards Chand Rái, one of the greatest men in Hind, who resided in the fort of Sharwa,<sup>1</sup> and in his pride and self-sufficiency thought the following verse applicable to himself:

“I sneeze with expanded nostrils, and hold the Pleiades in my hand even while sitting.”

Between him and Purú Jaipál,<sup>2</sup> there had been constant fights, in which many men and warriors had fallen in the field, and at last they consented to peace, in order to save further bloodshed and invasion of their respective borders. Purú Jaipál sought his old enemy's daughter, that he might give her in marriage to his son, Bhímpál, thus cementing the peace between them for ever,

<sup>1</sup> [Sirsáwa, to the east of the Jumna near Saháranpur.—*Cunningham*.]

<sup>2</sup> S. de Sacy reads “Pérou Hebal,” and considers him the same as the Rájá of Kanauj, previously called “Hebal.” [See *Thomas' Prinsep*, I. 292.]

and preserving their swords within their sheaths. . He sent his son to obtain the bride from Chand Rái, who imprisoned the son and demanded retribution for the losses which had been inflicted by the father. Jaipál was thus compelled to refrain from proceeding against Chand Rái's fort and country, being unable to release his son; but constant skirmishes occurred between them, until the arrival of Sultán Mahmúd in those parts, who, through the kindness of God, had wish after wish gratified in a succession of conquests.

Purú Jaipál in order to save his life, entered into a friendly engagement with Bhoj Chand,<sup>1</sup> who was proud in the strength of his forts and their difficulty of access, and there he considered himself secure against pursuit in his inaccessible retreat. But Chand Rái, on the contrary, took up arms, trusting in the strength of his fort; but had he remained in it he would infallibly have had it destroyed, and had he trusted to his army, it would have been of no avail. Under these circumstances, Bhímpál<sup>2</sup> wrote him a letter to this effect:—"Sultán Mahmúd is not like the rulers of Hind, and is not the leader of black men. It is obviously advisable to seek safety from such a person, for armies flee away before the very name of him and his father. I regard his bridle as much stronger than yours, for he never contents himself with one blow of the sword, nor does his army content itself with one hill out of a whole range. If therefore you design to contend with him, you will suffer, but do as you like—you know best. If you wish for your own safety, you will remain in concealment."

Chand Rái considered that Bhímpál had given him sound advice, and that danger was to be incurred by acting contrary to his suggestions. So he departed secretly with his property, elephants, and treasure, to the hill country, which was exceed-

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the same as Chandál Bhor, the governor of Káí. Some copies read Bhoj-deo, whom M. Reinaud supposes to be the same as Bhoj-deva, who is mentioned by Al Birúní as the king of Málwa.—See *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> S. de Sacy calls him "Behimal," and thinks he was probably the son of Perou-Hébal, whom Chand Rái retained as a prisoner.



ingly lofty, hiding himself in the jungles which the sun could not penetrate, and concealing even the direction of his flight, so that there was no knowing whither he was gone, or whether he had sped by night or day. The object of Bhímpál in recommending the flight of Chand Rái was, that the Rái should not fall into the net of the Sultán, and thus be made a Musulmán, as had happened to Bhímpál's uncle and relations, when they demanded quarter in their distress.

The Sultán invested and captured the fort, notwithstanding its strength and height. Here he got plenty of supplies and booty, but he did not obtain the real object of his desire, which was to seize Chand Rái, and which he now determined to effect by proceeding in pursuit of him. Accordingly, after marching fifteen parasangs through the forest, which was so thorny that the faces of his men were scarified and bloody, and through stony tracts which battered and injured the horses' shoes, he at last came up to his enemy, shortly before midnight on the 25th of Sha'ban (6th January, 1019 A.D). They had travelled over high and low ground without any marked road, not like merchants of Hazramaut travelling at ease with their mantles around them.

The Sultán summoned the most religiously disposed of his followers, and ordered them to attack the enemy immediately. Many infidels were consequently slain or taken prisoners in this sudden attack, and the Musulmáns paid no regard to the booty till they had satiated themselves with the slaughter of the infidels and worshippers of the sun and fire. The friends of God searched the bodies of the slain for three whole days, in order to obtain booty. The elephants were carried off, some by force, some were driven, and some went without any compulsion towards Mahmúd, upon whom God bestows, out of his great kindness, not only ordinary plunder, but drives elephants towards him. Therefore they were called "God-brought,"<sup>1</sup> in gratitude to the

<sup>1</sup> This word is represented by the Persian "Khudá-áward," in the middle of the Arabic text.

Almighty for sending elephants to the Sultán, which are only driven by iron goads, and are not usually captured without stratagem and deceit; whereas, in this instance, they came of their own accord, leaving idols, preferring the service of the religion of Islám. \* \* \*

The booty amounted in gold and silver, rubies and pearls, nearly to three thousand thousand dirhams, and the number of prisoners may be conceived from the fact, that each was sold for from two to ten dirhams.<sup>1</sup> These were afterwards taken to Ghazna, and merchants came from distant cities to purchase them, so that the countries of Máwaráu-n nahr, 'Irák, and Khurásán were filled with them, and the fair and the dark, the rich and the poor, were commingled in one common slavery.

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Battle of the Ráhib.*

After the expedition against the Afgháns, the Sultán turned again towards Hind with his bold warriors, whose greatest pleasure was to be in the saddle, which they regarded as if it were a throne; and hot winds they looked on as refreshing breezes, and the drinking of dirty water as so much pure wine, being prepared to undergo every kind of privation and annoyance. When he arrived in that country, he granted quarter to all those who submitted, but slew those who opposed him. He obtained a large amount of booty before he reached the river, known by the name of Ráhib.<sup>2</sup> It was very deep, and its bottom was muddy like tar used for anointing scabby animals, and into it the feet of horses and camels sank deeply, so the men took off their coats of mail and made themselves naked before crossing it.

Purú Jaipál was encamped on the other side of the river, as a measure of security, in consequence of this sudden attack, with

<sup>1</sup> The *Tárikh-i-Afsh* adds that the fifth share due to the Saiyids was 150,000 slaves.

<sup>2</sup> M. Reinaud observes that 'Utbi does not name the river, but the place where the Rájá had taken up his position was called "Ráhib," which means in Arabic "a monk." I translate 'Utbi differently.—See *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 267.

his warriors dusky as night, and his elephants all caparisoned. He showed a determination to resist the passage of the Sultán, but at night he was making preparations to escape down the river. When the Sultán learnt this, from which the weakness of his enemy was apparent, he ordered inflated skins to be prepared, and directed some of his men to swim over on them. Jaipál seeing eight men swimming over to that distant bank, ordered a detachment of his army, accompanied by five elephants, to oppose their landing, but the eight men plied their arrows so vigorously, that the detachment was not able to effect that purpose. When the Sultán witnessed the full success of these men, he ordered all his soldiers who could swim to pass over at once, and promised them henceforward a life of repose after that day of trouble. First his own personal guards crossed this difficult stream, and they were followed by the whole army. Some swam over on skins, some were nearly drowned, but eventually all landed safely; and praised be God! not even a hair of their horses tails was hurt,<sup>1</sup> nor was any of their property injured.

When they had all reached the opposite bank, the Sultán ordered his men to mount their horses, and charge in such a manner as to put the enemy to flight. Some of the infidels asked for mercy after being wounded, some were taken prisoners, some were killed, and the rest took to flight, and two hundred and seventy gigantic elephants fell into the hands of the Musulmáns.<sup>2</sup>

#### EXTRACT FROM THE SHARH-I TÁRÍKHÍ YAMÍNÍ.

##### *The Conquest of Mathura and Kanauj.*

**Mathurá:** The proper way of pronouncing this word is “Mah-

<sup>1</sup> Literally, “Praise be to God! their horses tails were not distant.” S. de Sacy translates “Les autres en se tenant aux crines de leurs chevaux,” The Jámí says, “Some swam over near their horses.” I have adopted Karámat ‘Alí’s as being more appropriate to the introduction of the pious ejaculation “Praised be God!”

<sup>2</sup> The *Jámí-u-t Tawdrikk* leaves out two hundred. That work and the *Yamíní* are the only two which mention the victory on the Ráhib.

arrah." Some people say this is the fifth conjugation of "harír,"<sup>1</sup> on account of the Hindús chanting their prayers in that city. In some copies it is written "Mahrah," and in others "Mahharah."

*Kanauj*: The proper way of pronouncing this word is "Kin-nauj," with the last letter but slightly enunciated.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Sihún and Jelam*: The last name is spelt "Jailam," it is a city in Hind.

*Chindb*: The proper way of spelling the word is "Chan-duráhá" It is the name of a place in the country of Hind.

*Rávi*: The correct mode of writing this word is "Airán," but in some copies it is written "Iráya."

*Biyás*: The correct mode of spelling this name is "Yiyat."

*Sutlej*: This should be written "Shataludr." It is the name of a province in Hind. But I have ascertained from well-informed people that it should be "Sataludr," not "Shataludr."

\* \* \* \* \*

*Janki*: This should be written "Chankí," one of the names current in Hind.

*Bamhi*: This should be written "Sammhi," another name current in Hind.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Jamná*: This should be written "Jaun," the name of a river in Hind.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Baran*: The mode of writing this name is "Barbah;" but in some copies it is "Barnah." It is a city among the cities of Hind.

*Hardat*: This is written "Hurdiz;" but in some copies it is represented as "Hurdib."

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> The real meaning of "harír," is a "a dog's whine." The derivation of an Indian name from an Arabic root shows the absurd ignorance of the commentator.

## III.

## TĀRĪKHU-S SUBUKTIGÍN

OF

## ABU-L FAZL AL BAIHAKÍ.

[THE author<sup>1</sup> himself gives his name at full length as Khwája Abú-l Fazl bin al Hasan al Baihakí. According to his own account he was sixteen years of age in 402 Hijra (1011 A.D.) and he writes of a period as late as 451 H. (A.D. 1059), being then as he says an old man, or, as would appear, approaching 70 years of age. Khákí Shírází states that he died in 470 (1077 A.D.)

The title of the work is sometimes read "*Tárikh-i Ál-i Subuktigin*,"<sup>2</sup> and it is also known as the "*Tárikh-i Baihakí*." Its voluminous extent has also obtained for it the name of the "*Mujalladát-i Baihakí*; Volumes of Baihakí." The work would also seem to have been known under the name of the "*Tárikh-i Násiri*," for a passage in the *Tárikh-i Wassáf* attributes a history of this name to Abú-l Fazl Baihakí. It therefore seems to be a title of this work, or at least of some of its earlier volumes devoted to the history of Násiru-d dín Subuktigin, in the same way as the later volumes containing the reign of Mas'úd are entitled *Tárikh-i Mas'udí*.<sup>3</sup> The portion relating to Mahmúd's history was called *Táju-l Futúh* as is evident from Unsúrí's *Kasáid*.

Hájí Khalfá, in his *Lexicon*, describes this work as a comprehensive history of the Ghaznivides in several volumes. Mirkhond quotes it among Persian histories, and in his preface to the *Rauzatu-s safá*, he says that it consists of thirty volumes.

<sup>1</sup> [The first part of this article has been re-written by the Editor, partly from notes added by Sir H. Elliot to his original sketch, and partly from letters relating to the various extant MSS. addressed to Sir H. Elliot by Mr. Morley.]

<sup>2</sup> [Morley's edition of the text.]

<sup>3</sup> [*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 27.]

Firishta evidently refers to this author, when he speaks of the *Mujalladát* of Abú-l Fazl, at the beginning of Mahmúd's reign, but it may be doubted if he ever saw the work. He does not notice it in his list of works, and he certainly did not use it for Mas'úd's reign, as he omits many important events recorded in it. The *Mujalladát* are also referred to for the same reign by the *Tárikh-i Guzida*. The author is mentioned by Haidar Rázi, by Zíáu-d dín Barní, by Abú-l Fazl in the *Ayin-i Akbari*, and by Jahángír in his Memoirs.

Though the work was thus well-known to historians, a large portion of it seems to be irrecoverably lost, and the extant portions are of rare occurrence in India. After some research, Sir H. Elliot discovered a portion of the work in the possession of Zíáu-d dín Khán, of Lohárú near Dehlí, and he subsequently procured three other copies, one from Dr. Sprenger (Lucknow), another from Agra, and a third from Lahore. The Dehli MS. was forwarded to the late Mr. Morley, in England, who was previously in possession of a copy.<sup>1</sup> Another MS. was found in the Bodleian Library, and the libraries of Paris and St. Petersburg also possess one copy each. The last two were lent to Mr. Morley,<sup>2</sup> who, after a collation of six MSS., produced a revised text, which some years after his death was printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica* under the supervision of Major N. Lees and his staff of munshis. This comprises part of vol. 6, the whole of vols. 7, 8, 9, and part of vol. 10 of the original work. There is some confusion in the numbering of the volumes; for instance, the indices of the Dehli and Agra MSS. call that portion of the work, vol. 5, which Mr. Morley calls vol. 6, but there is ample evidence among Sir H. Elliot's papers, that Mr. Morley took great pains to ascertain the correct division of the work, and his decision must be accepted.

All, or at any rate, six of the MSS. contain exactly the same matter, beginning and ending with the same words, and they

<sup>1</sup> [Purchased at a London book-stall for a few shillings.]

<sup>2</sup> [A contrast to the retentive practices of our great libraries.]

further agree in showing a lacuna after the account of the raid to Benares (page 408 of Morley's edition), where about a page and a half of matter seems to be missing. Mr. Morley remarks that one copy had a marginal note of *Sic in orig.*

Thus it is apparent that all these copies must have been taken immediately or intermediately from the same original. The dates of the various MSS. are not all known, but that of the Paris copy is 1019 Hijra (1610 A.D.) The inference to be drawn from these facts is, that the voluminous work of Baihakī was reduced to the remnant which we still possess by the end of the sixteenth century, and the chance of recovering the remainder though not impossible, is beyond hope.]

Baihakī has laid down the requisites for a good historian at the beginning of his tenth volume, and he has professed to conform to the model he has there laid down. He says:—"Man can be read by the heart of man. The heart is strengthened or weakened by what it hears and sees, and until it hears or sees the bad and the good, it knows neither sorrow nor joy in this world. Be it therefore known that the eyes and ears are the watchmen and spies of the heart, which report to it what they see and hear, that it may take advantage of the same, and represent it to Wisdom, who is a just judge, and can separate the true from the false, and can avail itself of that which is useful, and reject that which is otherwise. It is for this reason that man wishes to learn that which is concealed, that which is neither known nor heard of; that which has occurred in past times, and that which has not. But this historical knowledge can only be obtained with difficulty, either by travelling round the world and undergoing trouble, or searching in trustworthy books, and ascertaining the real occurrences from them. \* \* \* There are two kinds of past history, and no third is known; either that which one hears from others, or that which one reads in books. It is a necessary condition that your informant should be trustworthy and true, and that wisdom should testify to the probability of the story, to give independent sanction to the statements, and

that the book should be such that the reader or hearer should not reject but readily adopt its assertions. Most people are so constituted that they love silly stories more than truth, such as those about fairies, hills, and the demons of the deserts and seas, which fools make so much fuss about: as where a narrator says that in a certain sea I saw an island, on which five hundred people landed, and we baked our bread and boiled our pots, and when the fire began to burn briskly, the heat descended into the earth, and it then moved away, when we saw that it was merely a fish. Also, I saw such and such things moving on a certain hill. Also, how an old woman turned a man into an ass by witchcraft, and how another old woman by the same means, after rubbing oil in his ear, turned him into a man again, and other fables like to these which bring sleep, when they are repeated at night-time to people who are ignorant, for so they are considered by those who search for truth that they may believe it. Of these the number is exceedingly small, who can accept the true and reject the false. I, who have undertaken the history, have endeavoured so to manage, that whatever I write may be from my own observation, or from the accounts I have received from credible informants."

The *Tārīkh-u Subūktigīn* wears more the appearance of a gossiping memoir than an elaborate history. The author perpetually alludes to himself, his own intimacies, his own proceedings, and his own experiences. He gives us a graphic account of most of the contemporary nobles; the pursuits of the emperor Mas'ūd bin Mahmūd; his dictations to his secretaries; his addiction to wine; and his repentance on the occasion of one of his visits to Hindūstān, when he forswore liquor and threw the wine and drinking vessels into the river Jailam; which strongly reminds us of a later but identical freak of Bābar's. We have a vivid representation of the court; the mode of transacting business, the agents by whom it was transacted, and the nature of the subjects which came under discussion before the council at Ghaznī. [All related with such detail and verbosity as to be open to the



charge of prolixity which the author apprehended. But although tedious, the work is eminently original, and it presents such a reflex of the doings and manners of the time that its minutiae and trifles frequently constitute its chief merit. The writer may not inaptly be described as an oriental Mr. Pepys.]

The book is very discursive, and by no means adheres to a chronological succession of events. At one time the author mentions his personal interviews with the famous Emperor Mahmúd; at another we are favoured with a view of the court of Ibráhím or Mas'úd, then we are suddenly transported back again to that of Mahmúd. He states in one part that he has written the events of fifty years in several thousand pages, and that if any one complains of his prolixity, it must be remembered that he has written of several princes and illustrious persons, and that the matter, therefore, was too important to be compressed in a small space, especially when it concerned the great Emperors whose servant and subject he was.

The style of the work is a most singular kind of colloquial Persian, written down without any attempt at order and the due arrangement of the sentences; the construction is consequently often very perplexed and the meaning obscure. Had I not heard men from the neighbourhood of Ghazní speak Persian very much in the style of our author, I should have conceived the work to be a literal translation from the Arabic, the sequence of words according to that language being very frequently observed. In speaking of his tenth volume, the author says he intends to devote it to an account of the Emperor Mas'úd's last invasion of Hindustán, and to the history of Khwárizm. To enable him to accomplish the latter purpose, he confesses that he will be indebted to the history written by Bú Ríhán, which he had seen some years before. This is, no doubt, the famous Abú Ríhán al Birúní, mentioned in a former article, who was a native of Khwárizm, and a member of the learned society which was in his time congregated at the capital under the auspices of the king.

Besides this voluminous work, he quotes, as one of the

histories written by him, "the *Makámát-i Mahmúdi*," though, perhaps, this may mean merely passages in which he has written of the affairs of Mahmúd in some of the previous volumes. He also distinctly mentions that he is the author of "*Tárikh-i Yamíni*." This cannot possibly allude to the famous work of 'Utbi just noticed, who, under the name of 'Abdu-l Jabbár, is frequently noticed in this fragment; Baihaki, therefore, by this expression probably means that part of his work in which he has written of Mahmúd, entitled *Yamínu-d daula*.

The Extracts from this work are more than usually copious, as they are calculated to attract particular attention.

In one of the passages we find mention of the capture of Benares as early as A.H. 424 (A.D. 1033), only three years after Mahmúd's death. In other authors we have mention of an expedition to Kashmír during that year by Mas'úd himself, but no mention of Ahmad Níáltigin's capture of Benares. All we have hitherto known of the Indian transactions of that year is that the king resolved on making an expedition into India. He took the route of Sarsutí, situated among the hills of Kashmír, the garrison of which fort being intimidated, sent messengers to the king, promising valuable presents, and an annual tribute, if he would desist from his enterprise. Mas'úd felt disposed to listen to the proposals, until he understood that some Muhammadan merchants, having been seen by the garrison, were then captives in the place. He accordingly broke up the conference and besieged the fort, ordering the ditch to be filled up with sugar canes from the adjacent plantations. This being done, he caused scaling-ladders to be applied to the walls; and the fort, after a bloody contest, was taken. The garrison, without distinction, was put to the sword, except the women and children, who were carried off by the soldiers as slaves. The king, moreover, commanded that a part of the spoil should be given to the Muhammadans who had been prisoners in Sarsutí, and who had formerly lost their effects. This year is also recorded by Indian historians as remarkable for a great drought and famine in many parts of the

world, especially in Persia and India, in which entire provinces were depopulated. The famine was succeeded by a pestilence, which swept many thousands from the face of the earth; for in less than one month forty thousand persons died in Ispahán alone.

The more celebrated Abú-l Fazl, the minister of Akbar, mentions in his *Ayín-i Akbarí*, that Sultán Mahmúd twice visited Benares: once in A.H. 410, and again in A.H. 413. I have in another work,<sup>1</sup> printed by direction of Government, pointed out the extreme improbability of these visits; and here the doubts are confirmed by a contemporary, who distinctly says that the Muhammadans had not yet penetrated so far before the time of Ahmad Níáltigin. Unfortunately, in the original a lacuna occurs at the very place where the extract closes, or we might have gained more information about this remote and interesting expedition.

The old form of spelling Lahore is also worthy of observation. Lahúr is very unusual. Zíáu-dín Barní always spells it Lohúr, and the *Farhang-i Jahángírí* says it is spelt Lánhaur, Loháwur, and Laháwar, as well as Lohúr. It is only of late years that the uniform practice has been observed of spelling it Láhore.<sup>2</sup>

In another passage we have an account of an expedition to India in A.H. 429. In *Firishta* and *Mirkhond*, we have no intelligence under that year, but as they mention that Hásí was taken in A.H. 427, and as the extract mentions that it was commonly called a "virgin fort," because it had never yet been taken, no doubt, though the details are different, the same event is referred to.

Another extract is pregnant with information respecting the early credit assigned to Hindú soldiers, by their victorious enemies. Had we not other instances of the consideration in which the military qualities of Hindús were held, we might have hesitated to yield our belief that such sentiments could have been entertained by a chief of Ghazní. But we learn from other

<sup>1</sup> [The "Glossary."]

<sup>2</sup> [See Vol. I., p. 46. On coins of this dynasty it is clearly engraved **لوهور**.]

histories that even only fifty days after the death of Mahmúd, his son dispatched Sewand Rái, a Hindú chief, with a numerous body of Hindú cavalry, in pursuit of the nobles who had espoused the cause of his brother. In a few days a conflict took place, in which Sewand Rái, and the greatest part of his troops were killed; but not till after they had inflicted a heavy loss upon their opponents.<sup>1</sup>

Five years afterwards we read of Tilak, son of Jai Sen, commander of all the Indian troops in the service of the Ghaznvide monarch, being employed to attack the rebel chief, Ahmad Níáltigín. He pursued the enemy so closely that many thousands fell into his hands. Ahmad himself was slain while attempting to escape across a river, by a force of Hindú Jats, whom Tilak had raised against him. This is the same Tilak whose name is written in the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, as Malik bin Jai Sen, which, if correct, would convey the opinion of the author of that work, that this chief was a Hindú convert.

Five years after that event we find that Mas'úd, unable to withstand the power of the Seljúk Turkománs, retreated to India, and remained there for the purpose of raising a body of troops sufficient to make another effort to retrieve his affairs. It is reasonable therefore to presume that the greater part of these troops consisted of Hindús.

In the reign of his successor, when Abú 'Alí, Kotwál of Ghazní, was deputed to command the army in India, and maintain the Ghaznvide conquests in that country, we read of his sending a letter to BÍjí Rái, a general of the Hindús, who had done much service even in the time of Mahmúd, inviting him to return to Ghazní, whence he had fled on account of some political dissensions, and had taken up his abode in the mountains of Kashmír.

These few instances will confirm the impressions which the extract is calculated to convey.

<sup>1</sup> Wilken, 164.

*Events of the Year 422 H. Investiture of Khwája Ahmad Hasan.<sup>1</sup>*

The first of Muharram of this year fell on a Tuesday. Amír Mas'úd, may God be pleased with him ! went during the day to the garden-palace, with the intention of spending some time there. The public court rooms were arranged in it, and many other buildings were added. One year when I went there, the court-yard of the palace and the shops were all reconstructed in a different manner, under the orders of the king, who was a very clever architect, and not excelled by any mathematician. And this new sarái which is still to be seen in Ghaznín, is a sufficient proof of this. There was at Shádiákh, in Naishápúr, no palace or parade ground ; yet he designed both with his own hands, and built a sarái there, which now excites admiration, besides numerous smaller saráis and enclosures. At Bust he so increased the cantonments of the Amír, his father, that some of them exist to this day. This king was singularly excellent in everything. May the Almighty God, whose name should be respected, be merciful to him !

From Hirát an order was despatched through the agents of Khwája Bú Suhál Zauzaní, summoning Khwája Ahmad Hasan to the court, for Jangí,<sup>2</sup> the governor of the fort, had liberated him from prison, and he (the Khwája) had said to Hájib Ariyáruk, commander of the army of Hindustán. "Your reputation at present stands rather bad ; it is advisable that you should come with me and see his majesty, I will speak in your favour, and you shall return with a robe of honour and a good name. Affairs are now carefully settled, and such a generous and kind prince as Amír Mas'úd has mounted the throne." Ariyáruk was moved by his soft words, and the spells of the venerable man took effect upon him ; so he accompanied the Khwája on the way, and served him exceedingly well ; for, indeed, amongst the civil officers of those days, no one possessed greater dignity and excellence than the Khwája.

<sup>1</sup> [Morley's Text, page 168 to 198.]

<sup>2</sup> [So in MS., Morley's edition has "Japki," or "Chapki."]

The great Khwája 'Abdu-r Razzák, the eldest son of Khwája Ahmad Hasan, who was detained in the fort of Nandna, was liberated, upon his own demand, by Sárugh, the cup-bearer, who brought him to his father. The son expressed his great obligation to Sárugh, before the father. The Khwája said, I am under greater obligation to him than you are. He ordered him (Sárugh) to go back to Nandna, because it was not such a place that it should be left empty, and told him that on his reaching the court he would report his case and possibly gain him promotion. Sárugh immediately went back. The great Khwája was very happy to come to Balkh. He went to see the Amír, and to pay his respects and duty. The Amír questioned him very warmly, gave him advice, and conversed with him kindly. He made obeisance and returned. He lodged in a house which was prepared for him, and took three days rest, and then came again to court.

When this great man (says Abú-l Fazl Baihakí) had rested himself, a message was sent to him regarding the post of Wazír. Of course he did not accept it. Bú Suhál Zauzaní was connected with him (the Amír), and had the arrangement of all his affairs; the amercing and approving of men, the buying and selling, was all done by him. The Amír was constantly closeted with him and 'Abdús. These two persons were his chosen councillors, but they were both inimical to each other. The people of his father Mahmúd's time had selected them that things might go peaceably. I never saw Bú Nasr, my instructor, more busy and perplexed at any time than he was now. When the messages were passing between the king and Khwája Ahmad Hasan, the latter said to Bú Sahál, "I am become old and can not do the duties. Bú Suhál Hamadúní is a qualified and experienced man, he might be appointed 'Ariz (general). The office of Wazír should be conferred on you, I will look on from a distance and assist you with any necessary advice." Bú Suhál said, "I did not expect this from my lord. What man am I? I am a worthless and useless person." The Khwája said, "Holy God! since the time you came back from Dámaghán

to the Amír, have you not performed all the duties, even when the affairs of the country were unsettled, and now that our lord has occupied the throne, and the whole business is reduced to a system, you can do the duty more easily and better." Bú Suhál observed, for a long time there was no one to act under the king, but now that such an eminent personage as you are come, I and those like me have no courage and ability to do anything. How shall a mere atom prevail against the sun. We are all insignificant persons. The true master has appeared, and every hand is restrained. He said, very good, I will consider over it. He went home, and in two or three days about fifty or sixty messages were sent to him upon this business ; but still he did not accept the offer. One day he came to see the Amír, and when the conversation began, the Amír directed him to sit down. He then dismissed the attendants and said, Khwája, why don't you undertake this duty, you know you are to me as a father. I have many important matters before me, and it is not proper that you should deprive me of your ability. The Khwája replied, I am your obedient servant, and next to the Almighty, I owe my life to your majesty. But I am become old and unfit for work. Besides, I have vowed and have taken a solemn oath, that I will never more engage in business, for much trouble has come upon me. The Amír said, I will have thee absolved from thine oaths ; you must not refuse me. He said, if there is no help, and I must accept the appointment, I will, if your majesty sees fit, sit in the court room, and if there is anything to ask about, I will send a message to you by a confidential person, and act according to your reply. The Amír said very good, but whom will you make your confidant. He replied, Bú Suhál Zauzaní is concerned in the business, and perhaps it would be better if Bú Nasr Mishkán were also made a medium between us, for he is a honest man, and in days gone by he has been my confidential mouthpiece. The Amír said it was very proper. The Khwája departed, and went to the Díván's office, which they cleared out. I heard Bú Nasr Mishkán say that when he was about to leave, the Khwája made

him sit down, and told him not to depart, for it was now his duty to carry messages to the king's court. He said, the king will not leave me in retirement, although it is time for me to sue for forgiveness of the Almighty, and not to be acting as minister. Bú Nasr observed, may my lord live long! the Amír thinks what he has proposed advisable, and it also seems good to his servants; but you, my lord, will fall into trouble, for there are many important matters which nothing but great foresight and enlightened wisdom can settle. The Khwája observed, what you say is true, but I see that there are many ministers here; and I know that this is not concealed from you. Bú Nasr acknowledged that there were such persons, but that they were only fit to obey orders, and he then asked of what use he was in the business? Bú Suhal was sufficient, and as he (Bú Nasr) had been much troubled by that person, he wished by some device to keep aloof from him. The Khwája told him not to be afraid, for he had confidence in him. Bú Nasr bowed his acknowledgments. Bú Suhal now came and brought a message from our lord the Sultán, saying, In the time of my father the Khwája endured great troubles and hardships, and he was treated with ignominy. It is very surprising that his life was spared, but he was left to adorn my reign. He must consent to serve me, because dignity like his is needed. He has numerous followers and friends like himself, who will all work according to his instructions, so that business will be managed upon a regular system.

The Khwája said, I have made a vow never to serve the Sultán; but as his Majesty commands me and says that he will absolve me from my oath, I yield to his wishes. But there are duties attached to this office which if I try to carry out and obey my lord's orders, all the servants will rise with one accord against me and become my enemies. They will play the same tricks now as they did in the last reign. I shall thus throw myself into great difficulty. But now I have no enemy and live in peace. If I do not discharge the duties, but act dishonestly, I shall be charged with weakness, and I shall find no excuse either



before the Almighty or my master. If there is no help for it, and I must perforce take the office, I must be fully informed of its duties, and I must be allowed and have authority to offer such advice and counsel as may be necessary.

We two (Bú Nasr and Bú Suhál) went to say this to the Amír. I asked Bú Suhál, as he was to be the intermedium, what work I should have to do? He replied, the Khwája has chosen you; perhaps he has no confidence in me. He was much displeased with my intervention. When I went into the presence I observed a respectful silence, for I wished Bú Suhál to speak. When he opened the business, the Amír turned towards me and wanted me to speak. Bú Suhál discreetly moved away, and I delivered all the messages. The Amír said I will entrust him (the Khwája) with all the duties, excepting such as respect conviviality, wine-drinking, fighting, the game of *chaugán* and *chank-kabak*. All other duties he must discharge, and no objection shall be urged against his sentiments and views. I returned and brought the answer. Bú Suhál had quitted his place, although I left everything to him. But what could I do, the Amír did not leave me alone, neither did the Khwája. He (the Khwája) said, I am obedient. I will think and write down some points which must be taken to-morrow to his Majesty. May the Almighty increase his dignity! Answers to them must be written under the king's own hand and attested by his seal. This business must be conducted in the same manner as in the time of the late Amír; and you know how it was managed in those days. Well we went and spake (as we had been desired). The Amír said, Bú Nasr! Welcome! To-morrow you must finish this business, that on the following day he may put on the robe (of office). We said we will tell him, and we were departing, when he called to me, Bú Nasr, and said—When the Khwája returns do you come back for I have something to say to you. I said, I will do so; and repaired to the Khwája and related the whole to him. Bú Suhál went away and I and the Khwája remained. I said, May my lord live long! I said to Bú Suhál, as we were

going along—This is the first time that we have carried a message together, and since you have the management what am I to do? He replied, The Khwája has selected you because he, perhaps, has no confidence in me. The Khwája said—I chose you because I wished to have a Musulmán in the business, who would not tell a lie or pervert words, and who would, moreover, know what ought to be done. This sorry cuckold and others think that if I take this office, they will really perform the duties of minister. The first thing to do is to overload him so with business that all life and spirit shall be taken out of him, and that he withdraw from ministerial duties. The others will then do the same. I know he will not be content, and will withdraw reluctantly. The king has given many low fellows access to his throne, and has made them presumptuous. I will do what I think right in the way of counsel and kindness, and we shall see what will come to pass. He went back, and I repaired to the Amír, who asked me what the Khwája would write, I replied,—the rule has been that when the post of Wazír is conferred on a person of distinction he writes his terms<sup>1</sup> and enquiries about the responsibilities of his position. The Sovereign then writes with his own hand an answer and attests it with his seal. After this, God is called to witness it. The Wazír then examines it, and it becomes a solemn compact with stringent provisions, which the minister must repeat with his tongue and attest with his signature, adding thereto witnesses to his promise of acting in conformity therewith. The Amír directed that a draft of the reply to his proposals should be drawn up, and that a copy of the oath also should be prepared so that the business might be concluded on the morrow, and the minister might assume his robe of office, for business was at a standstill. I said, I will do so and returned. The papers were written out, and at the time of afternoon prayer, another private interview was granted. The Amír then apprized himself of their contents and approved them. Next day the Khwája came (to the palace) and when the *levée* was

<sup>1</sup> [“مواضع”]

over he came into the public court (*táram*), ordered it to be cleared, and then seated himself. Bú Suhál and Bú Nasr brought forward the conditions. The Amír called for ink and paper, wrote answers to each of them with his own hand, attested them with his seal and signature, and confirmed the whole by an oath written at the bottom. The paper was brought to the Khwája, and when he had read the answers, he stood up, kissed the ground, went to the throne and kissed the hand of the Amír, and then returned to his place and sat down. Bú Nasr and Bú Suhál placed the solemn oath before him. The Khwája pronounced the words of it with his tongue and then affixed his signature to the paper. Bú Nasr and Bú Suhál were the witnesses. On the oath being taken, the Amír praised the Khwája and congratulated him heartily. The Khwája kissed the ground. On this he was ordered to retire, and next day to assume the robe of office, because all business was in arrear and many important matters had to be settled. The Khwája said, I am your obedient servant, kissed the ground, and retired to his house taking the articles of agreement with him. The oath was deposited in the secretary's office (*dawát-khána*). I have inserted a copy of the oath and of the articles in another book which I have written, and called "Makámát-i Mahmúdí." Not to be prolix, I have avoided to repeat them here. Every one knew that the post of Wazír was filled, and fear fell upon every heart, for it was no common person who had been appointed. Those from whom the Khwája had received an injury were much alarmed.

Bú Suhál Zauzaní began to boast in the most dreadful manner. He told the people that the office of Wazír had been offered to him, but he did not accept it, and that he had brought forward the Khwája. Those who had any sense knew that it was not so. Sultán Mas'úd, May God approve him! was too intelligent, wise, and well-informed, to bestow the post of Wazír on any other person, so long as Khwája Ahmad was alive, because he knew the rank and qualifications of every one, and what they were fit for. There is an evident proof of what I have said.

When Khwája Ahmad had gone to Hirát, the Amír passing his various officers in review (*in kaumrá mi-did*) remembered Khwája Ahmad 'Abdu-l Samad, and said,—There is none fitter than he for this office. When I arrive at the proper period in my history, I will give a full account of this incident. I have not said this because I received injuries from Bú Suhál, for he and all these people are dead, and it is clear also that I have but a little time to live. But I speak the truth. I know that wise and experienced men who now read this will find no fault with me for what I have written. What I have mentioned in this matter is correct, and I can answer for it. May God, whose name is glorious, keep me and all Muhammadans from fault and error, through his grace and wisdom, power and mercy.

The following day, which was Sunday, the 9th of the month of Safar, the Khwája entered the court. The great men and the elders, the generals and the other military officers, all waited upon him, and observed the ceremonials of respect. The Amír turned his face towards the Khwája, and said, you must now put on the robe of office, because we have many important things to attend to. He then said, let it be known that the Khwája is my representative (*khalífa*) in all matters requiring consideration. His orders and directions must be executed and observed in all things. Whatever he deems proper, no one must oppose. The Khwája kissed the ground, and professed his allegiance.

The Amír made a signal to Hájib Bilkátigín, who was chief of the guards, to take the Khwája to the state wardrobe. He came forward and took the Khwája by the arm. The Khwája stood up and went to the place, and remained there till about 12 o'clock, because the astrologer had fixed on that time as auspicious for his putting on the dress. All the chief men and military officers attended the court, some sitting and others standing. The Khwája then invested himself with his official robes. I stood and saw what passed. What I say is from ocular observation, and according to the list I possess. There was a garment of scarlet cloth of Baghdád, embroidered with small

flowers ; a long turban of the finest muslin, with a delicate lace border ; a large chain, and a girdle of one thousand miskáls, studded with turquoises. Hájib Bilkátigín was sitting at the door of the wardrobe, and when the Khwája came out, he stood up and offered his congratulations, and presented one dínár, one small turban, and two very large turquoises, set in a ring. He wished to walk before him (in procession), but the Khwája said, upon the life and head of the Sultán, you must walk by my side ; tell the other guards to go before. Bilkátigín answered, O great Khwája, say not so, because you know my friendship, and besides, you are now dressed in the robe of my lord the Sultán, to which we, his slaves, must show respect. So he walked before the Khwája and two other men of the guards with him, beside many officers. A slave of the Khwája was also appointed a guard, and a coloured vestment was given to him, because it was not customary in the army for the guards of Khwájas to go before them. When he reached the palace, other guards came to receive him, and they conducted him to the Amír, and there seated him. The Amír offered his congratulations to the Khwája, who stood up, kissed the ground, approached the throne, and presented a bunch of pearls to the king, which was said to be valued at ten thousand dínárs. The Amír Mas'úd gave to the Khwája a ring set with a turquoise, on which his majesty's name was engraved, and said, this is the seal of state, and I give it to you that people may know that the Khwája's authority is next to mine. The Khwája took the ring, kissed the Amír's hand and the ground, and returned to his house. He was attended by such an escort as nobody recollected to have seen before, so that, except the musicians (who play at fixed times every day), nobody remained at the royal palace. He alighted at the gate of 'Abdu-l 'Ala, and went into his house. The great men and ministers of the state began to pour in. So many slaves, presents, and clothes were brought, that the like of them no minister had ever received. Some brought them with pleasure, and others from fear. A list of all the things brought was kept, so that all might be taken to the king.

He did not keep back even a thread for himself. Such things were learnt from him, for he was the most honest and the greatest man of the age. He sat till the time of midday prayer, and only left his place for that duty. The whole day he spent busily among the people. On the following day he went to court, but had not the robe on him. He had got a garment made after the old fashion, and a turban of Naishápúr or Káín, and in these people always saw this great man dressed. May God approve him! I have heard from his companions, such as Bú Ibráhim Káíní, that he had his reception dress and twenty or thirty other garments all made of the same colour, and these he used to wear for a year, so that people thought that he had only one dress, and used to express their surprise that the garment did not wear or fade. There were no bounds to his manliness, industry, and magnanimity. I shall make some mention of them hereafter in their appropriate place. When the year had passed, he had twenty or thirty more garments made, and put them in the wardrobe.

This day, when he came to see the king, the court broke up, and Sultán Mas'úd held a private conference with the minister, which lasted till the time of mid-day prayer. There were many who withered with fear, and a muttering arose as of a drum beaten under a blanket. Afterwards he (the Khwája) came out and kept silence. Neither I nor any one else could know aught of what had passed in the council, still some of the effects became manifest. One party had offices and robes bestowed upon them, others were dismissed, and their robes were torn off; these and other transactions were perceived by intelligent men to be the results of that private conference.<sup>1</sup> When the drum was beat at

<sup>1</sup> [The original translation of this passage, made by a *munsli*, and revised by an Englishman, ran as follows. It is by no means an unfair specimen of many of the translations, and it is inserted to show the quality of much of the assistance received by Sir H. Elliot. Another passage is given in page 88. "Some of the councillors quarrelled among themselves. There was a drum which was beat under a blanket, and a noise issued from it. The councillors and others like me became acquainted with what had happened in that council. But as some signs of the feud were becoming public, offices were conferred on one party, and robes of honour granted, while another party was expelled and degraded, and affairs became smooth. The wise men knew that all this was the result of one council."]

the time of noon-day prayer, the Khwája came out. His horse was sent for and he returned home. All day long, until evening, those persons who had been alarmed, came and made presents to him.

Bú Muhammad Káíní, who was his old private secretary, and in the days of his misfortune had, by the Amír Mahmúd's order, served under Khwája Abú-l Kásim and afterwards under Díwán Hasnak in the same capacity, and secretary Ibráhím Baihakí, who attended the minister's office; these two persons were called by the Khwája who said to them—"Secretaries must needs be attentive to orders. I place my confidence in you. To morrow you must attend the office and engage in writing; bring also with you scholars and assistants." They said we are obedient. Bú Nasr, of Bust, a clerk, who is still alive, was an intelligent and good man and a fine calligrapher. He had rendered many services to the Khwája in Hindustán, and had been warmly devoted to him when he was in need. When the Khwája got over his troubles, he (Bú Nasr) came with him to Balkh, and the Khwája now patronized him, and bestowed a high office on him. His distress vanished, and he obtained an ample competence. Bú Muhammad and Ibráhím are departed. May God forgive them! Bú Nasr is yet alive at Ghazní, and in honor in the service of this family. In the time when Khwája 'Abdu-r Razzák was minister, he was controller (*hájib*) of the Secretary's office. He patronized Bú 'Abdu-lla Pársí, who also served under the Khwája. This Bú 'Abdu-lla, in the time of the ministry of the Khwája, was chief of the royal messengers at Balkh, and lived in great splendour, but he had endured great hardships during the Khwája's adversity. At his removal from office, Amírak Baihakí hastened from Ghazní, as I have before mentioned, and they took immense riches from him.

The next day, which was Tuesday, the Khwája attended the Court and visited the Amír, and then came to his office. A fine cloth of brocade set with turquoises had been spread near his seat for him to kneel on. He went through two forms of prayer, and

then sitting down, but not in his official seat, he asked for an inkstand. It was brought to him with a quire of paper, and a box of sand, such as are used by ministers. These he took and there sat and wrote a thanksgiving in Arabic.<sup>1</sup>

He then ordered the complainants and suitors to be called. Several were brought before him. He heard their statements, dispensed justice, and sent them away happy. He said, This is the minister's Court; its gates are open, there is no hindrance, whoever has business may come in. People heartily prayed for him and were inspired with hope. The military and civil officers came in with strict decorum and sat down, some on his right hand, some on his left. He turned, looked at them, and said, To-morrow come so prepared that you may be able to give a ready answer to whatsoever I may ask you, make no reservation. Up to this time business has been carried on very improperly. Every one has been occupied with his own concerns, and the king's business has been neglected. Ahmad Hasan knows you well, and will not allow things to go on as heretofore. You must now put on a new appearance, every one must attend to his duty. No one dared to speak, all were alarmed, and cowered. The Khwája arose and went home; all that day also presents were brought till nightfall. At the time of afternoon prayer he asked for the lists and examined them. Those things which the treasurers of the Sultán and accountants of the Court had written down were all brought one by one before the Amír. There were numberless articles of gold, silver, entire pieces of cloth, Turkish slaves of high price, valuable horses and camels, and everything most suitable for royal pomp and splendour. The king was highly pleased. He said, the Khwája is empty handed, why did he not take them? So he ordered ten thousand dínárs, five hundred thousand dirhams, ten Turkish slaves of great price, five horses from the royal stable, and ten 'Abdús camels to be taken to him. When the camels brought these presents before

<sup>1</sup> [Given at full length in the text.]



the Khwája, he rose up, kissed the ground, and gave many blessings. The camels then returned.

The next day, which was Wednesday, 7th of Safar, the Khwája attended the Court. The Amír was very severe,<sup>1</sup> and the day passed in great pomp and splendour. When the Court broke up, the Khwája came to his office, engaged in business, and arranged matters to the best of his judgment. At breakfast time (*chásht-gáh*) he called Bú Nasr Mishkán, and when he came he (the Khwája) gave him a secret message to be delivered to the Amír that, as he had before stated, the business of reporting matters was not properly conducted, adding that Bú Suhál Zauzaní was an honourable and respectable man, and that if his Majesty thought proper, he might be summoned and the robe of the appointment conferred on him, in order that he might conduct this most important of all duties. The Khwája himself was rendering all the guidance and assistance possible, in order that discipline might be preserved in the army.

Bú Nasr went and delivered the message. The Amír made a signal to Bú Suhál, who was sitting in the court with other courtiers. He went forward, and his majesty spoke one or two words to him. Bú Suhál bowed and retired. He was conducted to the wardrobe by two guards, one of whom served outside, and the other inside the palace. A rich *khil'at* was bestowed on him, and a girdle, with seven hundred pieces of gold, which had all been prepared overnight. He came back and paid his respects to the Amír, who offered him his congratulations, and ordered him to go to the Khwája, under whose directions he was to act; he also desired him to give special attention to the important matter of military administration. Bú Suhál expressed his obedience, kissed the ground, and retired. He came directly into the Khwája's office. The Khwája made him sit by his side, and spoke very kindly to him. He then went home. All the great men, elders, and servants, went to his house and paid him great respect, and presented him with

<sup>1</sup> [امیر مظالم کرن]

many valuables. He also ordered that a list should be made of all that they had brought, and he sent it to the treasury.

The day afterwards a very rich robe was conferred on Bú Suhál Hamadúní, who had been removed from the post of Wazír, and appointed to the duty of controlling the financial affairs<sup>1</sup> of the kingdom. The four persons who had before discharged this duty, with all the other accountants of the court, were to act as his assistants. He came before the Amír and paid his respects. The Amír said, You are an old servant, and a friend who has performed great deeds in favour of the State. You must now efficiently execute these (new) duties. He consented, and taking leave, he went into the office of the Khwája, who made him sit on his left hand according to established custom, and spoke very kindly to him. Presents were also given to him, and what people brought he sent to the treasury. The whole business of administration was arranged, and the dignity of minister was such as nobody remembered to have seen before. The Amír had conferred great honour on the minister. The Khwája began, even from the first, with vengeance and threats. He related the story of Khwája Bú-l Kásim Kasír, who was removed from the office of paymaster (*'áriz*) as well as of Abú Bakr Hasírí and Bú-l Hasan 'Ukailí, who were courtiers, and who had formed a design which I have before mentioned in this history. Hasírí was a violent man, and in the time of the Amír Mahmúd he quarrelled with the king at a drinking party, and twice received blows. Bú-l Kásim Kasír, had himself been minister, and Abú-l Hasan was his purchased slave. I will mention, hereafter, what happened to each of them.

On Sunday, the 11th of Safar, a very magnificent and costly robe was prepared for the great chamberlain (*hájib*), besides fine drums and flags, and flag-staffs, slaves, purses of dirhams, uncut pieces of cloth, according to the list of things which had been given to Hájib 'Alí Karíb, at the gate of Gurgán.

When the court broke up the Amír ordered Hájib Bilkátigín

<sup>1</sup> [شغل إشراف]

to be conducted to the wardrobe, and a robe was put on him. The kettle-drums were placed on camels, and banners were raised at the palace-gate. The flags, purses of silver, and pieces of cloth were placed in the garden. He came forward dressed in a black garment, with a two horned cap and a golden girdle. Advancing he paid homage. The Amír spoke kindly to him, and he returned and came into the Khwája's office. The Khwája spoke very affably to him. He went home, and the grandees and chief men all paid him due respect. Thus he obtained distinction and honour. A man more liberal, open, and brave, was seldom seen. But levity was predominant in him, and his frivolity was very disagreeable. However, no man is without blemish. Perfection belongs only to God the great and glorious.

An extraordinary occurrence happened in these days to the lawyer Bú Bakr Hasírí. A fault was committed by him in a state of intoxication, through which the Khwája got the upper hand of him, and revenged himself to his heart's content. Although the Amír, like a just sovereign, inquired about the case, the man had disgraced himself. I must perforce give an account of this matter for the information of my readers. The destiny of God, great and glorious, is unavoidable. It so happened that Hasírí, with his son Bú-l Kásim, had gone to the garden of Khwája 'Alí Míkáíl, which was near, and had drunk to excess. They passed the night there and the next morning they again drank, and it is bad to drink in the morning. Wise men seldom do this. They drank till half the interval between the times of the first and second prayers, and then mounting, and still continually drinking, they passed through the lane of 'Ubbád. As they approached the 'Áshikán Bázár, the father, who was riding a camel and had a cavalcade of thirty horse and an escort of thirty slaves, by chance met with a servant of the Khwája, who was also riding. The road was narrow, and there was a crowd of people. Hasírí, as drunkards will, got a whim into his head, because the servant did not dismount and pay his respects. He grossly abused the man, who said, O king! why do you abuse me? I have a master who is

greater than you, and the like of you. That lord is the great Khwāja. Hasírí began to abuse the Khwāja, and said, Seize this dog. Who is there so bold as to listen to his complaint? He then used stronger language against the Khwāja. The slaves of Hasírí flew upon the man, beat him severely on the back, and tore his garment. Bú-l Kásim, his (Hasírí's) son, called out loud to the slaves, because he was discreet, far-seeing, and intelligent. (He has passed through life so happily that he has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and has retired from service, devoting himself in seclusion to worship and virtuous acts. May this great man and worthy friend long survive!) He (Bú-l Kásim) made many apologies to the man, and besought him not to tell the occurrence to his master, lest next day he should demand an apology. For the garment that had been torn three should be given in return. (After this) they all went away. The man arose, but did not find himself capable of forbearance, because menial servants are accustomed to carry such matters too far, and do not consider the result.

This event took place on Thursday, the 15th of Safar. He went running to Khwāja Ahmad and repeated the matter, making it ten or fifteen times worse to him. He displayed his bruised head and face, and showed the garment which was torn. The Khwāja had eagerly wished for such a chance, and was seeking for a pretext against Hasírí, by which he might crush him, so he deemed this a fitting opportunity. For the Amír was in every way inclined towards him, and as he had given the minister's robe to him yesterday, he would not to-day give it to Hasírí. He had found dirt and he knew how to wallow in it.<sup>1</sup>

Next day the Amír was about to go out hunting in the direction of the wine drinkers;<sup>2</sup> and the tents, cooking utensils, wines, and other necessities, were all taken out. Next day the Khwāja sat down and wrote a petition under his own hand and

<sup>1</sup> [و چون خاک یافت مراغه دانست کرد]

<sup>2</sup> [بر جانب میخواران]

seal, and sent it to Bilkátigín with a message directing him, if the king asked him why Ahmad did not come, to hand the petition to him ; or even if he did not enquire, the letter was still to be delivered to him, for it was important and ought not to be delayed. Bilkátigín promised to obey, as there was great friendship between them. The Amír did not hold a court, for he wished to go out riding, and the insignia and the umbrella had been brought out, and many slaves were ready mounted. The call was raised for the female elephant with the canopy, and the Amír mounted and sat in the howda. The Amír's elephant was driven on and all the servants were standing to pay their respects. But when his Majesty came to the court gate, and did not see Khwája Ahmad, he said, The Khwája is not come. Bú Nasr Mishkán replied, This is Friday, and he knows that your majesty intends to go hunting, for this reason probably he has not come. Bilkátigín then presented the paper, saying that it had been sent the previous night, with an intimation that whether his Majesty asked for him or not this was to be submitted. The elephant was stopped and the Amír took the paper and read it. It was thus written—"May my lord's life be prolonged ! Your slave protested that he was not fit to be minister, and begged to be excused. Every one has got some vain thoughts in his mind ; and in his old age, your slave has not vigour enough to contend against hardship and struggle with mankind, making the world his enemy. But as your Majesty by your royal words inspired him with great hopes and agreed to conditions worthy of a prince, he, next to the grace of Almighty God, received a new life from your Majesty and felt compelled to submit himself to the Imperial orders. Ten days have not yet passed, but Hasírí has disgraced your faithful servant. Hasírí was coming in a litter from the garden, after draining the cup to the dregs, and in the Sa'idí Bázár, not in a solitary place, but in the presence of many men, he ordered his slaves to beat one of my trustworthy servants. They sorely beat him and tore his garment to pieces. When the man said he was my servant, Hasírí uttered a hundred

thousand opprobrious names against me before the crowd. Your servant can on no account come to court and conduct the ministerial duties, because it is hard to endure the insults of such people. If your Majesty sees fit to be merciful to him, then let him abide in some building or fort which your high wisdom may point out. But if he is not excused, then let him receive due chastisement, so that he may suffer both in property and person. He now aspires too high. His immense riches raise him and his son above themselves. Your servant will pay for the father and the son three hundred thousand *dínars* into the treasury, and this letter, in the handwriting of your slave, shall stand as a bond. Peace be to you !”

When the Amír had read the letter, he wrote on it, and giving it to one of his personal attendants who carried the inkstand, he ordered him to take care of it. The elephant then moved on. Every one said, Let us see what will happen. In the open country he ordered the Commander-in-Chief of the army, and Ariyáruk general of Hindustán, and all the soldiers to return, for they were not allowed to accompany the royal hunt. He was followed only by some of his personal attendants. Then he called the High Chamberlain, Bilkátigín, and spoke a few words to him in the Turkish language. The Chamberlain retired and the Amír called for Bú Nasr Mishkán. A messenger hastened to him in the ministers’ office, and told him that his Majesty was calling for him. He mounted and hastened to the Amír. He went on a little way with the Amír, and a few words passed ; the Amír then sent him back. He did not return to the office, but went to the house of the great Khwája Ahmad, and sent Bú Mansúr, the keeper of the minister’s offices, with orders for the secretaries to return. We did so. I followed the steps of my tutor (*ustád*) to the house of the Khwája, where I saw such a mob of spectators that no estimate of them could be made. I asked one person what the matter was ? He replied, the Khalífa (governor) in armour and boots,<sup>1</sup> has brought Hasírí and his son to the Khwája’s house,

<sup>1</sup> [باجیه و موزه]

and has set them up there and chastised them. Nobody knows what is the matter. And a large force is come on duty, and horsemen are posted, for this is Friday, and nobody is allowed to enter except Khwája Bú Nasr Mishkán, who came and went in. I, Bú-l Fazl was confounded when I heard this, because I had been much benefited by that nobleman and his son. I dismounted and went into the court-yard, where I remained till near breakfast time (*chásht-gáh*). Now, an inkstand and some paper were brought, and I heard 'Abdu-llah Pársí loudly proclaim that the great Khwája says, "though the Sultán had sentenced you and your son to receive one thousand blows each, yet I compassionate you and remit the strokes, but you must pay five hundred thousand dínars and purchase the stick, otherwise the sentence will be enforced. Beware, lest you receive the blows and have to pay the money also." The father and the son said, we are ready to obey whatever order is given, but we beg that some reduction be made, because it is known that we cannot afford to pay even the tenth part of it. Abú 'Abdu-llah went and returned several times, until three hundred thousand dínars were agreed to be paid, and a bond for that amount was given. An order was then issued that they were to be kept in custody. The Khalífa (governor) of the town put them both under guard and detained them. The people then retired. Bú Nasr, my *ustád*, remained there to take wine, and I returned to my home. After an hour Sankúí Wakíl came to me and said that Khwája Bú Nasr had sent him with a message that I, Bú-l Fazl, was to go to the Sultán and report that he (Bú Nasr) had according to the royal orders gone to the Khwája, and agreeably to his instructions had poured water upon fire, so that Hasíri and his son had not been flogged. A bond for three hundred thousand dínars had been taken from them, and they were kept in custody. The great Khwája was greatly delighted at the order which your Majesty gave, and with the new favour bestowed upon him, and he had therefore detained him (Bú Nasr) to drink wine. It would have been churlish to refuse the favour, and this

was the cause why he had not come himself. He had sent Abú-l Fazl in order that he might not be charged with disrespect and conceit.

I (Abú-l Fazl) instantly went, and found the Amír at the outskirts of the city, in a garden, engaged in conviviality and drinking. His companions were sitting round, and the musicians were playing. I said to myself, if I cannot gain access to speak to him, I must send him the message in writing, that it may come to his notice. I wrote down an explicit statement and went forward. The Amír asked loudly what it was? I replied, your slave Bú Nasr has sent a message, and I showed him the petition. He ordered his ink-bearer to take it, which he did and gave it to the Amír, who having read it, called me before the throne and returning the letter to me, and speaking aside, said, "Go back to Bú Nasr and tell him that all has gone on well, and that I am much pleased with what he has done. To-morrow I will take such further steps as may be necessary—tell him also it is good that he has not come himself, and that he stayed to be entertained by the Khwája."

I returned and reached the city at the time of the afternoon prayer. I called Sankúí, and wrote the message on a paper, thus completing my commission. Sankúí took it and gave it to my *ustád*. He read it and became acquainted with its contents. He remained with the Khwája till the time of the night prayer, and returned home very drunk. The next evening he called me and I went. He was sitting alone, and he asked me what I had done. I related all that had passed, and he said it was all well, and added, the Khwája is about his work. He will exact a fine revenge, and will devour up these people. But the king is a kind protector and a lover of justice. Yesterday, as he read the letter of the minister, he was obliged to control himself by saying that it was not right to give him that post, and then within a week to overlook such contemptuous treatment of him. So the king determined to inflict punishment, and ordered the chief chamberlain (*hájib*) to go to the palace and direct the governor to



take Hasírí and his son to the Khwája's house. "Let him also," said he, "take the executioner and whips, and let one thousand stripes be inflicted on each of these persons, so that henceforth nobody may dare to mention the Khwája's name except with respect." Although he gave such an order, and Hasírí had committed a very great fault, yet he did not wish that he should all at once lose his character and station. A man soon came to me (Bú Nasr) and called me. When I went to the Sultán he said to me openly, "You did not want to come with me to the feast." I answered, "It is the good fortune of your slave to be always before his master. But your majesty had ordered me to write some important letters to Re and other places in that direction, and told me not to come, but to send a secretary at once to him." He smiled, and was very gracious in all respects. He said, "I remember, but I only joked." There are some other points," continued he, "which must be inserted in those letters, and I did not wish to send them to you as a message, but to tell them myself to you." He then ordered the elephant to be stopped. The driver and his assistant descended from the neck of the animal. The personal attendant of the Sultán left the howda, and all people kept aloof; I stood before him. First he told me the subject of the Khwája's letter, and then said "the chamberlain was good to pacify the mind of the Khwája. I have ordered suitable punishment for the fault which Hasírí committed, with the view of giving satisfaction to the Khwája. But of all the courtiers of my father, Hasírí has the greatest claims upon me, and in his attachment to me he has suffered much hardship. At all events I will not give such power to the Khwája as that he may crush such servants for his own revenge. I have told you my views, and you must keep secret what I have said. Observe these words, and either by using my order or by your own contrivance, provide that neither he nor his son be hurt. I have directed the chamberlain, in the Turkish language, to frighten them, but to procrastinate. You must step in and extinguish the fire." I said "I quite understand that you have done what was proper in the matter," and I quickly

returned. What was the case you have seen. I told the chamberlain to defer executing the royal order till I could see the great Khwája. I said to Hasírí, "Shame on you ; you are an old man, and yet for a single thing you have brought this disgrace upon yourself, and have troubled the hearts of your friends." He answered, "This is no time for reproach ; destiny has done its work ; you should rather think of some remedy." I was called back, and immediately admitted into the court. On the road I saw Abú-l Fath of Bust dressed in an old garment, and having a small water bottle hanging from his neck. He stopped me on the road, and said "it is about twenty days since I have been set to carry water to the stable—please to exert your interest for me. I know the great Khwája is much pleased (with you) and nothing can be done without your recommendation." I told him I was going on some very important business, and when it was finished I would exert myself for him, and hoped that he would be successful. Upon reaching the Khwája I found him in great indignation and wrath. I paid my respects, and he eagerly spoke to me and said he was told that I had been with the Amír, and asked why I had returned. I answered that "he sent me back to attend to the Re business, which was no secret to him (the Khwája). But these letters must be written to-morrow, because at present nothing can be done. I have come to take a little wine with you on the occasion of this new favour which has been shown to you by the Sultán in the matter of Hasírí." He said, "You have done quite right, and I am much obliged. But nevertheless I do not want you to intercede for him and be disappointed, because I will not relent on any account. These rascals<sup>1</sup> have entirely forgotten Ahmad Hasan, and have had the field empty for a while ; they have made the great hand of the minister powerless, and have degraded him ; but let them now look to the breadth of their blanket and awake from slumber." He then turned towards 'Abdu-llah Pársí, and asked if the stripes had been

<sup>1</sup> کشخاناں [ "willing cuckolds," apparently a favourite term of abuse of the Khwája's.]

inflicted. I said, "They will inflict them and execute the great lord's command, but I requested the chief chamberlain (*hajib*) to stop a little, till I had seen you." He said, "You have seen me, but I will not listen to your intercession—they must inevitably be beaten that their eyes may be opened. Go 'Abdullah, and give orders to beat them both (Hasirí and his son)." I said, "If there is no alternative let me speak a few words to you in private, and meanwhile let their punishment be delayed—after that let your commands be executed." He called 'Abdullah back, and then had the room cleared, so that we were alone together. I said, "May my lord's life be prolonged; it is wrong to push matters to extremes in any thing. Great men have said, 'Mercy attends His power,' and mercy is considered most worthy, even when we have power to take revenge. The Almighty God has shown you His might and also His mercy. He has delivered you from suffering and imprisonment. It is, therefore, right to do good to them who have done ill to us, so that shame and remorse may come upon them. The story of Mámún and Ibráhím is well known to you. It is foolish for me to speak of such a thing to you. It is like carrying dates to Basra. The king has bestowed on you this distinction, and is mindful of your feelings and position; he has sent this old man here, and has sentenced him to such punishment; but you must know how much it must have afflicted him, because he esteems the man his friend in consequence of the hardships suffered on his account at the hands of the late king, his father. He firmly believes that the Khwája also will act like nobles and great men, and not torture him. It seems much preferable to your humble servant that you should consider the feelings of the Sultán, and direct these men to be detained and not to be beaten. You can take from him and his son an agreement for paying (money) into the public treasury, and then inform the Sultán of it, and see what he directs. I think most probably he will forgive him. And if the Khwája recommend the measure it will be still better, because the obligation will be all from his part."

The Lord knows I have no interest in these matters. I only desire that peace may be preserved on both sides. I have spoken to the best of my judgment. It is for you to order, for you know best what is the result of such matters."

When the Khwája heard these words from me, he hung his head down and remained thoughtful for a while. He knew that there was reason in what I had said, for he was not a man of that kind from whom such things could be concealed. He said, "I remit the beating for your sake; but whatever wealth the father and son possess they must give to the Sultán." I bowed, and he sent 'Abdu-llah Pársí to settle the matter. A bond of three hundred thousand dínars was taken under the hand of Hasíri, and father and son were taken to the guard.

After this the Khwája called for bread and wine and singers, and we began our banquet. When I had drunk some cups of wine, I exclaimed, "May the Khwája live long! This day is propitious, I have another request to make." He said, "Tell me, and you shall find a ready compliance." I said, "I saw Abú-l Fath carrying a leather water-bag, but he is a shocking bad stable-man; although he deserves punishment, still he has many and strong claims for services rendered. The Sultán knows him, and acts upon the principles of Amír Mahmúd. If he sees him he will pardon him also." He said, "Very good; do so, let him be called." So he was brought, and he came forward dressed in the same threadbare garment. He kissed the ground and arose. The Khwája asked him, "Do you repent speaking indecently?" He replied, "O lord! the water-bag and the stable have forced me to repent." The Khwája laughed and ordered him to be conducted to the warm bath and newly clad. When he came back he kissed the ground again; he was told to sit down, and dinner was ordered to be brought for him, of which he partook. After this, he was asked to take some wine, and was comforted and sent home. This being done, we drank deeply, and I then returned. "O Bú-l Fazl! (continued Bú Nasr) this Ahmad is a great noble, but he is fond of revenge; and I am in great distress

about the course he has taken, for it is impossible that it should be approved. The Sultán will not allow him to swallow up his servants. I do not know what will be the end of these proceedings. Keep these words secret: go back and do your work, for you have to go to the Amír."

I came back and prepared to go. Then I went to him again and he gave me a sealed letter, which I took and set out for the hunting-place. I reached there about the time of evening prayer. I found that the Sultán had been drinking all day, and had now gone to his private tent. I took the letter to Agháchí, the king's attendant, and having given it to him, I went and stood by the curtain at the entrance of the tent. In the morning a *Farrásh* having come to call me, I went, and Agháchí took me before the Amír, who was sitting in a sedan in his royal tent. I saluted him. He said, "tell Bú Nasr that what he has done in behalf of Hasírí was quite right. But I am coming to the city directly and I will do what is necessary." He threw the letter to me, and I took it up and returned. The Amír said the morning prayer and set out towards the city. I arrived sooner, and I saw near the city, my *ustád* and the great Khwája standing with all the officers and ministers of the court to receive the Sultán. Bú Nasr saw me, but said nothing; I kept in my place. The insignia and the umbrella of the Sultán advanced. The Amír was on horseback; the people went forward. My *ustád* came to me and made a signal, so I approached him. He covertly asked me what I had done and what had passed. I told him all, and he said, "I understand." The Amír then arrived, and all mounted and marched on. The Khwája was on the right of the Amír and Bú Nasr just before his majesty; the other officers and grandees were in front, so that there should be no crowding. The Amír kept conversing with the Khwája till they approached the garden. The Amír asked what was to be done in respect of that reckless man. The Khwája said, "Let his Majesty deign to alight and then what has passed and what is proper to be done his humble servant will report through Bú

Nasr." He said, "Very good," and moved on. The Amír went to the Khizrá,<sup>1</sup> and the Khwája sat down on the ministerial bench; he called my *ustád* and gave him this message, "My lord, in his magnanimous pleasure, has secured what he considered due to me in this case of Hasírí, and I shall be under obligation to him for this favour as long as I live. Although Hasírí is a vain, boasting fellow, yet he is an old man, and has claims for his long service. He has always been a dutiful and faithful friend, and because of his loyalty he has, like myself, endured many hardships. His son is wiser and more prudent than himself, and is fit for any duty. Two proper men like these will not soon be found again, and now my lord stands in need of many able servants. How then can I allow two such devoted followers to be overthrown. My object was only this, that all men, great and small, might know how far his majesty was favourably disposed towards me. I have succeeded in that object, and all men have learned that they must keep within their respective bounds. I was fully aware that they ought not to be beaten. But I sent them to be confined so that they may awake a little. They have given a bond of their own free will, promising to pay three hundred thousand dínars into the royal treasury, but they cannot pay this without being reduced to beggary, and a servant should not be destitute. If his majesty pleases, my recommendation in their behalf should not be rejected. Let them be excused from paying the money, and send them both home honourably."

Bú Nasr went and delivered this noble message. The Amír was highly pleased, and answered, "I accept the Khwája's plea for them. The matter is entirely in his hands. If he thinks proper let him dismiss them, and give back the bond." Bú Nasr returned and informed the Khwája of this. The Amír left the public hall and went into his palace. The Khwája also returned to his house. He ordered two of his own horses to be taken to the gate of the prison. The father and the son were both

<sup>1</sup> [خضر]

mounted on them, and conducted respectfully to the Khwája. When they came before him they kissed the ground and sat down. The Khwája for a little while admonished Hasírí in firm but kind words, till he made his apologies. It was a good thing that he was old. The Khwája treated him kindly, took him in his arms, and made apologies and comforted him. He also kissed his face, and told him to go in the same dress to his house. He said, I do not like to change your clothes, for tomorrow the Sultán will grant you *khil'ats*. Hasírí kissed the Khwája's hand and the ground. His son did the same. They then returned home riding on the Khwája's horses. In their passage both father and son were greeted by the people with loud acclamations and congratulations. I, Bú-l Fazl, was their neighbour. I hastened to go to them sooner than the other visitors. Hasírí privately told me that as long as he lived he should not be able to make a return of Khwája Bú Nasr's kindness, but that he would thank him and pray for him. I, however, did not speak a word to him about what had passed, lest he should be ashamed, but I gave him my blessing and retired. I told my *ustád* what had happened, and he mounted to go and congratulate him. I also accompanied him. Hasírí with his son came forward to receive him. They sat down, and both expressed their thanks. Bú Nasr said, "My efforts in the matter are well known to you, but you must thank the Sultán and the Khwája." He said this and took his leave.

One or two weeks after I heard Bú Nasr say that the Amír, while drinking wine in a private party, spoke to Hasírí about what had passed. That day Hasírí was dressed in a yellow coat, and his son in a *Pandári* coat, very magnificent and highly ornamented. Next day they were again brought before the Sultán, and he showed them attention. The Khwája requested that they might be taken to the wardrobe, when, according to the king's order, a dress was bestowed on each. They came from thence to the Khwája, and then with great honour they were both conducted from the Khwája's presence to their house. The citizens showed them due honour.

They are all now gone except his (Hasirí's) son Abú-l Kásim, who still survives. May the mercy of God be upon them all. Every one who reads this passage must examine it with intelligence, and draw lessons from it, and not consider it a mere story. They will thus learn what great men there were in days gone by.

I have read in the chronicles of the Khalifs, of the reign of Mu'tasim, a story very similar to this which I have just related, only much more terrible. I deemed it the more necessary to record this, that my book of the notabilities of the day might with such matters be made more acceptable. Words blossom into words, that the pleasures of readers may be enhanced, and that reading may increase.

*Execution<sup>1</sup> of Amír Hasnak, the Minister.<sup>2</sup>*

I intend to write a chapter on this subject, and it thus begins : I begin to write this narrative to-day, in the month of Zi-l Hijja, A.H. 450 (January, 1059, A.D.), in the prosperous reign of the great Sultán, Abú-l Shujá' Farrukh-zád bin Násir-i dín: May the Almighty God ever preserve him. Of the people (*kaum*) of whom I am now about to speak, only one or two individuals survive in obscure circumstances. It is some years since Khwája Bú Suhál Zauzaní passed away, and was placed in prison for the answer which he gave.<sup>3</sup> But we have nothing to do with that business, although I was ill-treated by him in every way. I have now arrived at the age of sixty-five, and I must act as becomes my years. In the history which I am writing I will allow no partiality or prejudice to mingle, so that the readers of my work should say, Shame on this old man; but I will speak so that they may agree with me on the subject, and censure me not.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [*Bardr-kardan*, "lifting up" by hanging, impalement or crucifixion.]

<sup>2</sup> [Page 207 to 221 of Text.]

<sup>3</sup> [و بپاسخ آنانکه از وی رفت گرفتار]

<sup>4</sup> [Original translation (see note, page 70).—"I have arrived at the age of sixty-



This Bú Suhál was the son of an Imám, and a powerful, clever, and accomplished man ; but malignity (*sharárat*) and ill-temper were predominant in his nature. "And there is no changing what God has made." On account of his malignity he had no friend. He was always on the alert, and if the great and glorious king was angry with a servant, and directed him to be beaten or bastinadoed, this man would jump up from a corner, seize the opportunity, add to the beating, and aggravate the pain of the unhappy man. Then he would boast that he had paid out such a one. When he did (anything of this sort) he looked on and enjoyed it.<sup>1</sup> Wise men knew that he was not what he professed to be ; they shook their heads and secretly laughed, and said he was not such a man. But he could not humble my *ustád*, notwithstanding all the arts he used against him. He was never successful against him, because the destiny of God did not accord with his schemes. Besides, Bú Nasr had been a man of great discretion during the reign of Amír Mahmúd, and he had never acted dishonestly towards his master, but he was careful to please the Sultán Mas'úd in all things, because he knew that he would succeed his father on the throne. It was just the reverse with Hasnak, who was wholly devoted to Mahmúd, and always obliged and pleased him, but often offended the prince ; and did and said things which his equals would not endure ; how then could a king ? The same was the case with Ja'far Barmakí, whose family held the post of Wazír in the time of Hárúnu-r Rashíd, and the result of their conduct was the same as befel this minister. Servants and officers should keep control over their tongues when speaking to their masters, because it is impossible for foxes to face lions.

Bú Suhál, in rank, wealth, and manliness, was like a mere

five, and I should act as behoves me now. In the narration which I am now going to give, I shall mention a topic on which I may be prejudiced, and the readers of this compilation will say, "Shame on this old man, nay, I fear they may censure and reproach me for it."

<sup>1</sup> [واگر کردن دید و چشید]

drop by the side of Amír Hasnak, and in point of ability he held a very different rank. He was guilty of many tyrannical actions as I have before mentioned in this history, and the following is an instance. He said to 'Abdús, "Tell your lord that all that I do is in obedience to my master's order; if hereafter the throne devolves upon him he must cause Hasnak to be executed."

When the Sultán became king, Hasnak mounted the scaffold. But who was Bú Suhal, and the like of Bú Suhal that Hasnak should at last feel the effects of his malevolence and injustice. A king should never shut his eyes against three things, viz., disturbances in the country, divulging of secrets, and opposition. God save us from wickedness !

When Hasnak was brought from Bust to Hirát, Bú Suhal Zauzaní placed him in charge of his servant, 'Alí Ráíz. Hasnak suffered all kinds of indignities, which could not be avenged, and for which no satisfaction could be made. On this account all people uttered reproaches against Bú Suhal, saying, A man does not strike one who is beaten and fallen; the man is he who acts according to the words—"Mercy accompanies power." The Almighty, whose name is glorious, says, "Those who restrain their anger, and who are merciful towards men; and God will reward the beneficent."

When Amír Mas'úd marched from Hirát towards Balkh, 'Alí Ráíz carried Hasnak there as a prisoner, and treated him with great rigour and indignity; yet I privately heard from 'Alí's own lips that it would have been much worse for Hasnak if he ('Alí) had carried out a tenth part of what Bú Suhal had ordered, but much had been omitted. He (Bú Suhal) stopped in Balkh, and instigated the Amír to put Hasnak to death. The Amír was very gentle and generous, and he told this to his trusty 'Abdús,—One day after the death of Hasnak I heard from my *ustád* that the Amír told Bú Suhal he must have some reason and justification for destroying this man. Bú Suhal said, "What greater reason can there be than this,—that he is a Karmatian, and that he received

a khil'at from the Egyptians, which displeased Kádír Bi-llah, the commander of the faithful, and induced him to reject the letter of Amír Mahmúd. He still speaks continually about this. Your Majesty must remember that at Naishápúr an ambassador came from the Khalif and brought a flag and a khil'at. But what was the mandate about this matter? The injunctions of the Khalif in this behalf must be observed." The Amír said, "I will not hesitate in this case." After this, 'Abdús who was much against Bú Suhál, told my tutor that when Bú Suhál importuned him much in the matter, the Amír one day desired Khwája Ahmad Hasan, as he was departing from the palace, to remain alone in his court because he had a message to send him through 'Abdús. The Khwája obeyed, and the Amír called 'Abdús and said—"Tell Khwája Ahmad that he knows the history of Hasnak, how in the time of the late king, my father, he (Hasnak) had given me several causes of offence, and when the Sultán departed this life, what great efforts he made in behalf of my brother. Still he did not go to him. As the Almighty has given me the throne and country with such ease, it is right that I should accept the excuses of the guilty and not trouble myself with the past. But with respect to this man they say that he received a robe from the Egyptians to the annoyance of the Khalif, the commander of the faithful, who was displeased and tore the letter of my father. It is also said that the ambassador who came to Naishápúr bringing a letter, a flag and robe, was charged with the message that Hasnak was a Karmatian, and should be put to death. I heard this in Naishápúr, but do not remember well. What does the Khwája think and say about this matter." When this message was delivered the Khwája reflected for a long time and then asked, "What has been done to Bú Suhál Zauzaní by Hasnak, that he makes such efforts to shed his blood." I ('Abdús) replied, "I do not know well, but I have heard this much—that one day he went on foot wearing a coarse garment to the house of Hasnak while the latter was minister. A porter insulted him and threw him down." The Khwája said, "O holy God! why

should he cherish such hatred in his mind." He then directed me to speak thus to his Majesty—"At the time I was detained in the fort of Kálinjar an attempt was made to destroy my life, but the Almighty preserved me. I then vowed and swore never to speak a word, right or wrong, in the matter of shedding any one's blood. At the time Hasnak came to Balkh, after his pilgrimage to Mecca, we marched towards Máwaráu-n Nahr, and visited it with Kadar Khán. After our return I was left in Ghazní. I do (not) know what happened to Hasnak, nor what the late king said to the Khalif. Bú Nasr Mishkán knows the facts, and he should be asked. The Amír our lord is sovereign, and it is for him to order. If it be proved that Hasnak is a Karmatian, I will not say a word as to his death, although he has had his own designs in this troublesome matter which now engages me. I have told you my thoughts, that he may not have anything to speak against me. I am averse to shedding the blood of any man ; but still I must not withhold my counsel from the king, for I should act dishonestly (in advising) that neither his nor any one else's blood should be shed, although the spilling of blood is assuredly no child's play." When I took this reply, the king remained thinking for a long while ; and then said, "Tell the Khwája to issue such orders as may be proper." The Khwája rose up and went towards the office. On the way he said to me, "'Abdús, do what you can to induce his Majesty not to shed Hasnak's blood, because it will bring infamy on him." I said, "Very good," and returned and communicated the same to the Sultán. But fate was on the watch and accomplished its object.

After this (the Sultán) consulted with my *ustád*, who told me what passed in the conference. The Amír asked about Hasnak and then about the matter of the Khalif, and wanted to know what was his opinion about the religion and belief of this man, and of his receiving a robe from the Egyptians. Bú Nasr stood up and related before him the whole account of Hasnak, his going on pilgrimage to Mecca, his returning *viá* Medína and Wádia-l

Kara on the way to Syria, his receiving the *khil'at* from the Egyptians and the necessity of the act ; his changing his route to Músal and not going back to Baghdád ; and the Khalif's thinking that perhaps he had been ordered to do so by the Amír Mahmúd. All this was stated in full detail. The Amír asked how Hasnak was in fault in the matter. Had he come through the desert he would have caused the death of many people. Bú Nasr replied, "It would have been so. But such representations were made to the Khalif as made him very angry and disturbed, so that he called Hasnak a Karmatian. Much correspondence passed about the matter, and the late king being greatly annoyed and vexed, said, one day, 'Write to this doting old Khalif, that out of regard to the 'Abbásides I have meddled with all the world. I am hunting for the Karmatians, and whenever one is found who is proved to be so, he is impaled. If it were established that Hasnak is a Karmatian, the commander of the faithful would soon learn what had happened to him. But I have brought him up and he stands on an equality with my sons and my brothers. If he is a Karmatian, so am I also.' (He said this though) it was not becoming in a king. I (Bú Nasr) came into the minister's office and wrote a letter in the style in which servants address their masters. After much consideration it was determined that the robe which Hasnak had received, and the presents which the Egyptians had sent to Amír Mahmúd, should be sent with a messenger to Baghdád to be burnt there. When the messenger returned, the Amír asked in what place the robe and the presents were consumed, because he was sorry that Hasnak had been called a Karmatian by the Khalif. Notwithstanding this, the suspicion and bigotry of the Khalif increased more and more, but secretly not openly, until at length Amír Mahmúd received the *Farmán*. I have related the whole of what had passed" (said my *ustád*). The Amír answered, "Yes, I understand it." Even after this Bú Sahal did not desist from his object.

On Tuesday, the 7th of Safar, when the Court broke up, the king ordered the Khwája to sit in his Court (*táram*) because

Hasnak was to be brought there, with the judges and assessors,<sup>1</sup> that a bond in favour of the Amír might be taken from him for all things he had purchased and brought with him. The Khwája obeyed and went into the Court. All the Khwájas, the principal men, and ministers of the State, Khwája Bú-l Kásim Kasír (though he had been dismissed), Bú Suhál Zauzaní, and Bú Suhál Hamadúní came there. The wise Amír also sent there the commander-in-chief of the army, and Nasr Khalaf, the Kázís of Balkh, nobles, learned men, lawyers, just men, religious men, and all who were renowned and famous were present, and took notes. When this assembly was convened, I Bú-l Fazl and other people sat out of the court-hall, in shops, expecting to see Hasnak; and after a while he appeared unshackled. He wore a coat of some blackish colour, a vest, an upper garment, an exceedingly white shirt, a Naishápúr turban, and a new pair of Míkáílí boots on his feet, and his hair was smoothed down and hidden under the turban, except a few locks which were visible. The governor of the prison was with him, and 'Alí Ráíz and many soldiers from every band (*dasti*), and they took him into the Court. He was there till near the time of mid-day prayer; and then he was brought out and taken again to the prison. He was followed by the Kázís, and the lawyers. I heard two persons conversing and asking each other what could have brought Khwája Bú Suhál to this act, for it would bring disgrace upon himself. Afterwards, Khwája Ahmad came out with the chief men, and went to his house. Nasr Khalaf was my friend; I asked him what passed there. He said: When Hasnak came in, the Khwája rose up, and when he showed him this respect, all the others, whether they liked it or not, did the same. Bú Suhál Zauzaní could not control his anger, albeit he stood up, though not quite straight, and kept muttering to himself in his rage. Khwája Ahmad said, "In all things there is imperfection; he is greatly

<sup>1</sup> [مزكیان]

fallen"<sup>1</sup> (P) Although Khwāja Amír Hasnak desired to sit before the Khwāja, yet he did not allow him. He made me and Khwāja Bú-l Kásim Kasír and Bú Nasr Mishkán sit on his right hand ; for although Bú-l Kásim Kasír had been dismissed from his office yet his reputation was very great. Bú Suhál sat on the left of the Khwāja, and this offended him still more deeply. The great Khwāja turned his face towards Hasnak and asked him how he was, and how he passed his time? He replied, "I have reason to be thankful." The Khwāja said, "Do not be broken-hearted. Such accidents often befall mankind ; you must submit to whatever his Majesty commands, for while life remains in the body, there are a hundred thousand hopes of happiness and comfort."

Bú Suhál now recovered himself, and exclaimed, "Who shall reconcile our lord to this dog of a Karmatian, who must be gibbeted as ordered by the commander of the faithful." The Khwāja looked angrily at Bú Suhál, and Hasnak exclaimed, "Who this dog is I do not know ; but all the world knows to what family I belong, and what state, grandeur, and luxury have been mine. I have enjoyed this world, I have directed its affairs, but the end of man is death ; and if the destroying angel has now approached me, no one can withstand him—whether the gibbet or any other be the appointed means. I am not greater than Imám Husain 'Alí. The Khwāja who tells me this, and has called me a dog<sup>2</sup> once stood at my door. The charge of being a Karmatian is more applicable to him than to me—for it is well known that I do not understand such things." Bú Suhál's bile was stirred ; he called out and was about to abuse him, but the Khwāja restrained him, and said, "Is no respect due to this assembly of the Sultán in which we are sitting? We are called to settle the question, and shall soon finish it. This man has been five or six months in your hands ; do what you like." Bú Suhál was silent, and spoke not a word till the assembly broke up.

<sup>1</sup> [در همه کارها ناتمامی وی نیک از جای بشد]

<sup>2</sup> [شغر]

Two bonds were written out on behalf of the king, which contained an inventory of all the chattels and estates of Hasnak. The name of each estate was read out to him, and he agreed to sell them of his own pleasure and free will at the prices set upon them, and accept the money. All the people affixed their signatures as witnesses. The Chief Judge affixed his seal to them, and so did the other Kázis one after the other in their turns. When this was done, Hasnak was told to retire. He looked at the Khwája, and exclaimed, "May the life of the great Khwája be prolonged! In the time of Sultán Mahmúd and by his instructions I ridiculed the Khwája; it was a fault, but I had no help but to obey. The post of Wazír was given to me, though it was no place for me. Still I formed no design against the Khwája, and I always favoured his people. I committed a fault, continued he, and deserve whatever punishment my Lord may order. But the all-merciful master will not reject me. I am weary of life. Some care ought to be taken of my family and children, and the Khwája must forgive me." He burst into tears, and all those who were present pitied him. The Khwája's eyes filled with tears, and he said, "You are forgiven, but you must not be so dejected, for happiness is still possible. I have considered and I accept it of the Almighty, that if he is doomed I will take care of his family."

After this Hasnak rose up, and the Khwája and the other people also rose. When all had gone away, the Khwája greatly censured Bú Suhál, who earnestly begged to be excused, saying that he could not suppress his anger. An account of this assembly was given to the Amír by the governor of the city and the lawyers. The Amír sent for Bú Suhál and reprimanded him sharply, saying, "Granting that you thirst for this man's blood, still respect and honour is due to the assembly of my minister." Bú Suhál said, "I remembered the impudence which he exhibited to my Lord at Hirát, in the reign of Amír Mahmúd, and so I could not restrain myself and deal tenderly with him."

And I learnt from 'Amíd 'Abdu-r Razzák that on the night



preceding the day on which Hasnak was executed, Bú Suhál went to 'Abdu-r Razzák's father at the time of the night prayer, and when he was asked why he had come, he replied, I will not leave you until you go to sleep, lest you should write to the Sultán interceding for Hasnak. He was told that a letter had already been written, but that he had effected Hasnak's ruin, and had acted very badly.

That day and night preparations were made for Hasnak's public execution. Two men were dressed up as messengers coming from Baghdád, bearing a letter from the Khalif to the effect that Hasnak, the Karmatian, should be executed and stoned, so that no one else in contempt of the Khalif might dare to wear the khil'at of the Egyptian and lead pilgrims to Egypt. When everything was ready, the next morning, on Wednesday, two days before the last day of Safar, Amír Mas'úd mounted his horse, intending to go out hunting for three days, with his courtiers, attendants, and singers. He ordered the governor of the town to put up a scaffold by the side of the mosque of Balkh, below the city. People repaired to the place. Bú Suhál Zauzaní rode to the gibbet and there stood overlooking it. Horsemen and foot soldiers were sent to bring Hasnak. When he was carried through the 'Áshikán Bázár and had reached the centre of the city, Mikáíl, who was riding, pushed his horse in front of him, called him names and abused him. Hasnak did not look at him, nor give him any reply. But all people cursed him for this disgraceful act, and for the abuse he had uttered. The respectable people could not, however, say what ought to be done to this Mikáíl. But after Hasnak's death he took the sister of Ayáz for his wife, and he suffered great misfortunes and endured many hardships. He still lives, engaged in devotion and in reading the Kurán. When a friend misbehaves what is the good of dilating about it?

Hasnak was brought to the foot of the scaffold. May God save us from a disgraceful death! The two messengers who were declared to have come from Baghdád were stationed there,

and they whose business it was were reading the Kurán. Hasnak was ordered to put off his clothes. He fastened the string of his trowsers and tied up his drawers. He took off his coat and shirt and threw them away, and there he stood naked with only his turban and trowsers on, and his hands clasped together. His body was as white as silver, and his face like hundreds of thousands of pictures. All men were crying with grief. An iron helmet and visor was brought, which had been purposely made small, so that it did not cover his face and head. Men cried aloud for his head and face to be covered, that they might not be battered by the stones, because his head was to be sent to the Khalif at Baghdád. Hasnak was held in this state, and his lips kept moving, repeating something, until a larger helmet was brought. At this juncture, Ahmad, the keeper of the wardrobe, came riding and, looking at Hasnak, delivered this message, His Majesty says, "This is your own wish, for you desired me to bring you to the scaffold whenever I became king. I wished to have mercy on you, but the Commander of the Faithful has written, that you have become a Karmatian, and by his order you are led to the scaffold." Hasnak made no reply whatever. After this his head and face were covered with the large helmet that was just brought. They then spoke to him, but he gave no reply, and did not heed them. Every one exclaimed, Are you not ashamed to slay such a man upon the scaffold? A great uproar was just about to commence, when the horsemen moved hastily towards the populace, and repressed the noise. Hasnak was then taken to the gibbet and led to the spot, and placed on that steed on which he had never sat before. The executioner fastened him tight, and the robes hung down. It was proclaimed that he was to be stoned, but nobody touched a stone. All were bitterly crying, particularly the Naishápúrians. At last a parcel of vagabonds were hired with money to throw stones; but the man was already dead, for the executioner had cast the rope round his neck and had suffocated him. This was the end of Hasnak, his life and story. May God be merciful to him! He used to say, Let

the prayers of the Naishápúrians be made for me, but they were not made.<sup>1</sup> If he did take the land and water of the Muhammadans by violence, neither land nor water remained with him, and all the slaves, the estates, and goods, and silver and gold, and valuables were of no use to him. He departed, and those people who laid this plot have also pursued the same path. May God's mercy be upon them all ! This story affords a striking warning, that the causes of disputes and quarrels on account of the vanities of this world should be set aside. Foolish is the man who sets his heart on this world, for it bestoweth a gift and taketh it away again harshly.

When all was done, Bú Suhal and the others retired from the scaffold, and Hasnak was left alone as he came alone from the womb of his mother. Afterwards I heard from Bú-l Hasan Jazílí, who was a friend of mine, and one of the associates of Bú Suhal, that he was in Bú Suhal's society one day when he was drinking wine. It was a goodly assembly, and many servants were waiting, and melodious singers were present. By his order the head of Hasnak was brought in unknown to the guests, placed in a dish with a cover over it. He then said, Some fresh wine has been brought in ; let us partake of it. All cried, Let us have some. He ordered it to be brought forward, and at a little distance the cover was removed from the vessel. All were shocked when they saw the head of Hasnak. The narrator of the story fainted, but Bú Suhal Zauzaní laughed, and threw away some wine which he happened to have in his hand. The head was then removed. Another day, my informant continued, when there was nobody else present, I reproached him seriously ; but he said, O Abú-l Hasan ! you are a chicken-hearted fellow—this is the right way of dealing with the heads of our enemies. These facts became generally known, and all men condemned and cursed him.

The day on which Hasnak was led to the scaffold, my *ustád*

<sup>1</sup> [مرا دعای نیشاپوریان بسازد و نساخت]

Bú Nasr did not break his fast, and was exceedingly sorrowful and pensive; I had never seen him before in such a state. He exclaimed, What hope is left? The same was the case with Khwája Ahmad, who did not go to his office that day. Hasnak remained seven years on the gibbet. His feet dropped off and his corpse entirely dried up, so that not a remnant of him was left to be taken down and buried in the usual way—no one knew where his head was or where his body. His mother was a woman of great courage. I was told that his death was concealed from her for two or three months, and when she did hear of it she did not weep as women usually do; but she cried aloud with such anguish that those who were present shed tears of blood. She then exclaimed, What a fortune was my son's! a king like Mahmúd gave him this world, and one like Mas'úd the next! She made great mourning for her son, and every wise man who heard of it approved, and it was all proper.

One of the poets of Naishápúr composed an elegy upon his death, which I call to memory:—

“They cut off the head of him who was the head of heads,  
The ornament of his country, the crown of the age.  
Whether he was Karmatian, Jew, or infidel,  
’Twas hard to pass from the throne to the scaffold.”

*Capture of 'Alí Ariyáruk, the Hájib and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of India, and the circumstances which befel him from this time till his Execution at Ghor. May God be merciful to him!*<sup>1</sup>

I have already given an account of Ariyáruk, commander of the army of Hindustán, how presumptuous he grew, even in the time of Amír Mahmúd, and how, when he was arraigned<sup>2</sup> in the reign of Muhammad, he did not submit. In these days the great Khwája, Ahmad Hasan, with great cleverness allured him

<sup>1</sup> [Page 261 to 286 of the Text.]

<sup>2</sup> [نیم عاصی گرفتند اورا]



from Hindustán, and when he saw him he told the Amír that if he valued Hindustán, Ariyáruk ought not to be there. The coming of Ariyáruk every day into the court with so many retainers and arrogant followers along with Ghází, the commander-in-chief of the army, was offensive to the Amír. The officers of his father Mahmúd's time looked with disgust upon their arrogance and superciliousness. And as this was the case with every one, there was no person to give one word of advice to these two grantees, Ariyáruk and Ghází.<sup>1</sup> It was observed that these two generals had two clever, wise, and experienced men to conduct their household affairs, and it was clear that little could be done by Sa'id, a mere money changer, and others like him—mere servants of little worth, and no position. These Turks did just as these men prescribed, without considering the result or the possibility of evil befalling them. They had no experience, and although personally they were daring and ready, and their goods and effects ample, yet they had no knowledge of household management, and made no distinction between to-day and to-morrow. What defence had they against mishaps?

When the Mahmúdians perceived this, and found an opening by which they might assail them, they conspired together to ruin the generals, and to involve them in trouble and danger. This was one of their plans. 'Abdús, by direction of the Amír, inveigled the stewards of the two generals to come secretly to the Amír's council. The Amír was very gracious to them, held out prospects of promotion, and directed them to reckon the very breaths of their masters, and to tell every thing that passed to 'Abdús, who was to report it to him. These two despicable base persons were gained over by the favour shown to them, the like of which they had never dreamed of. They did not know that when their masters should be cast down they would be

<sup>1</sup> [The whole of this passage is confused and ambiguous, and there are omissions in Morley's edition of the text, which make it more so. In Sir H. Elliot's MS. the words "He said to his wazir in private," have been crossed out; but these words, or others equivalent, are necessary, as the passage is clearly conversational, not narrative.]



“viler than the dust—lower than the ground.” How were they to know this? they were not scholars, and had never read books. They set about their business; and whatever passed, right or wrong, they observed and reported to 'Abdús. From what the Amír heard, his heart and mind became disgusted with Ariyáruk; Ghází also was somewhat depreciated in his eyes. The Mahmúdians became bolder in their statements; and as the king listened and attended to all they had to say on the matter, they persevered in their conspiracy, and determined first to effect the downfall of Ariyáruk, for when he had fallen, and Ghází remained alone, it would be possible to overthrow him also. The Mahmúdians once got information that these two servants, while in their cups, had boasted that they were servants of the king, and that they had been corrupted. So they began to flatter them and to make them presents, and they held out to them the prospect of being employed in some important duties by the Sultán, if their masters were disgraced. Another difficulty was that Ghází, the general of the army, was a very cunning fellow,<sup>1</sup> so that Iblis himself (may the curse of God be upon him!) could not weave his toils over him. He had never drunk wine, but when all his work was finished and his object gained he took to drinking. When the Amír was told of this, he gave wine to both the generals. Wine is a great evil, and when drinking is carried to excess, one can do as one pleases with the wine-bibber and excessive drinker. Ghází being commander of the army also began to lavish favours upon the soldiers, and kept every day one division of it at his house, to which he gave wine and presents. Ariyáruk and Ghází were frequently the guests of each other. In their parties, when wine had taken effect, the chief men used to praise them in the Turkish language, and used to call the great Hájib Bilkátigín an eunuch; 'Alí Dáya an old woman; Bagtaghdí, the commander of the guards (*ghulám*) of the palace, blind and lame; and similarly they derided and reviled everybody.

<sup>1</sup> [*Kurbuze*, “a great cucumber.”]

I heard from 'Abdu-llah, who after the downfall of the two generals, was manager of the affairs of Bagtaghdí, that one day the king did not hold his court, but drank wine. Ghází returned home with Ariyáruk and they took many persons with them, and all sat down to drink. The commander, Bagtaghdí, secretly sent me to Bilkátigín and 'Alí, with this message, "These two conceited persons exceed all bounds; if you deem it expedient, ride out with twenty guardsmen on pretence of going a hunting." This was done, that he, with Abú 'Abdu-llah and some guards, might meet him and consult about the plans to be adopted. He (Bilkátigín) approved and said he would go on towards Manjúrán until the commander should arrive. They all mounted and rode on. Bagtaghdí also mounted and took me with him. He also took hawks, panthers, and every requisite with him. When we had gone two parasangs, these three persons stood on a rising ground with their three stewards, viz., myself, Bú Ahmad Takalkí, who was steward to the great Hájib, and Amírak, deputy of 'Alí; and they sent away the guards with the falconers hunting, and we six persons remained there. The chiefs conversed with each other, and for a while expressed their disappointment at the Amír, on account of the ascendancy of these two generals. Bagtaghdí observed, "It is very surprising, for in the palace of Mahmúd there was no one of less repute than these two persons, thousands of times they have kissed the ground before me; still they have both turned out hardy and brave. Ghází is the most artful of the artful (*Kurbuze az kurbuzán*), but Ariyáruk is an ass of asses. Amír Mahmúd promoted them and placed them in a high position, so that they are become nobles. Ghází rendered a very meritorious service to our Sultán in Naishapúr, and thus he obtained this high rank. Although the Sultán dislikes Ariyáruk and likes Ghází, yet when they drink wine and carouse familiarly we may divert his mind from the latter also. But it will be no use to attempt anything against Ghází until Ariyáruk falls. They are held together by a single tie, and both will fall together: we shall then be delivered from their annoyance."

The great Hájib and 'Alí said, "Some drink must be concocted, or some one must be sent openly to kill Ariyáruk." General Bagtaghdí said, "Both these plans are worthless, and will not succeed. We shall be disgraced and they will acquire greater stability. The best plan is for us to abstain from such schemes, and to make a show of friendship to them; we may then employ certain persons to tell tales of them, and to exaggerate what the Turks and these two generals say, and to spread it abroad. We shall then see how far matters will go." They so determined. The guards and falconers returned, bringing much game, and as the day was far advanced, the hunting-boxes were opened and they partook of food—servants, guards, inferiors and all. They then returned, and, in accordance with their resolution, they busied themselves about those two persons.

Some days passed. The king was incensed with Ariyáruk, and secretly designed to arrest him. He complained of him to the minister, saying, that matters had reached such a pitch that Ghází was getting spoilt by him. No king could endure such things. It was not right for generals of the army to be disobedient, and for children to exhibit such boldness. It was indispensably necessary to arrest him, because Ghází would then come to a right understanding. What had the Khwája to say to this?

The Khwája considered awhile, and then said, "May my lord's life be prolonged. I have taken an oath not to fail of my duty in any case concerning the prosperity of the country. The duty of commanding an army is very difficult and delicate, and it is entrusted to the king. May it please His Majesty to excuse his slave from pronouncing an opinion in this particular matter, and to do what may seem to him right, for if I should say anything about this affair, it might seem inappropriate to his Majesty, and cause him to be displeased with me."

The Amír answered, "Khwája, you are my khalífa, and the most trusted of all my servants. I must of necessity consult you in such affairs, and you must give me your advice according



to your knowledge. I will listen to it, and after pondering over it to myself, whatever seems to be reasonable, I will direct to be done." The Khwája replied, "Now I cannot say anything. What I expressed with respect to Ariyáruk on a former occasion was advice applicable to Hindustán. This man had there acted tyrannically and rashly. He had acquired a great name in that country, but spoiled it. The late king summoned him, but he was tardy and remiss in obeying, and made frivolous excuses. Neither did he attend when Amír Muhammad called him, for he answered that Amír Mas'úd was heir-apparent of his father, but that if Mas'úd would acquiesce in the succession of his brother and not march from 'Irák to Ghazní, then he would come to pay his allegiance. When he heard your name and I told him what I had to say, he came with me hither. Up to this time I have never heard that he has been guilty of any presumption or disobedience worthy of notice. It is a very simple matter to make a great display with boundless means, and to drink wine without permission with Ghází and the Turks. In one interview I will set him right, so that you need not speak one word about the matter. Your Majesty's dominions have been extended, and useful men are required. It will be long before you find one like Ariyáruk. I have said what occurs to me, but it is for you to command."

The Amír said, "I understand. It is just as you say. But you must keep this matter secret, and we will consider it more carefully." The Khwája expressed his obedience and retired.

The Mahmúdians did not desist from their representations, but went so far as to insinuate to the Amír that Ariyáruk had grown suspicious,—he had proposed to Ghází that they should raise a disturbance, and if they did not meet with support to take their departure. More than this the greater part of the army was willing to obey Ariyáruk.

The Amír one day held a Court, and all men assembled. When the Court broke up, he said, "Do not go away, but stay and we will take some wine." The great Khwája, the 'Áriz, and the *Diwán* also sat down, and the dishes were brought in :

one was placed before the Amír on his throne, one before Amír Ghází and Ariyáruk, one before the 'Áriz Bú Suhal Zauzaní and Bú Nasr Mishkán, and one before the officers of these two persons (Ariyáruk and Ghází). Abú-l Kásim Kasír was sitting there like the courtiers. Various dishes were ordered and were brought in. When these great men had dined, they arose and came back into the court-hall (*táram*), and there sat and washed their hands. The great Khwája praised both the generals and spoke very graciously. They said "Our lord is always kind and gracious, and we are ready to sacrifice our lives in his service; but people have produced anxiety in our minds, and we do not know what to do." The Khwája observed, "This is absurd, and is a vain fancy which you must banish from your minds. Wait a little till I am at leisure; I will then call for you." So he went in alone, and seeking a private interview with the king, he brought up this matter, and begged that they might again receive the royal regard, but it was for his Majesty to decide. The Amír answered, "I understand:" and then he called all the party back again. The minstrels came and began to play. Pleasure was at its height, and everything went on merrily. When the time of the first prayer arrived, the Amír made a sign to the singers and they kept silence. He then turned towards the minister and said, "I have hitherto observed, as I ought, the obligations I owe to these two generals. As to Ghází, he rendered me a service at Naishapúr which no man of the army I had with me did, and he came from Ghaznín. And when Ariyáruk heard that I had reached Balkh, he hastened thither with the Khwája and tendered his services. I hear that some people are jealous of them, and speak ill of them and make their minds perplexed. They must not be alarmed, but must place full reliance in my words, for I will not listen to what anyone may say against them." The Khwája observed, "Nothing now remains to be said, for what greater favour can there be than that which has been expressed by His Majesty's words." Both the generals kissed the ground and the throne also, and returning to

their places sat down very happy. The Amír ordered two fine garments to be brought, both wrought with gold, with two sword-belts set with jewels, said to be of the value of fifty thousand dínars each. He again called them both forward, and ordered them to put on the garments and fasten them. The Amír placed the sword-belt round their necks with his own hands. They then kissed his hand, the throne, and the ground, and having returned to their places they sat down, and afterwards departed. All the dignitaries of the Court went away with them to their own abodes. To-day, it was my, Bú Fazl's, turn of service, and all this I witnessed and noted down in the calendar of the year.

After they had gone away the Amír ordered two golden cups with bottles of wine, plates of sweetmeats, and vases of flowers to be prepared. He directed one of his courtiers, Bú-l Hasan Karkhí, to go to Ghází, saying that these things should be carried after him, and that three singers should accompany him. He also instructed him to tell Ghází that he had left the Court too early, and that he must now drink wine with his companions and listen to the minstrels. Three singers accordingly went with Bú-l Hasan, and the porters carried the things. Muzaffar, a courtier, was ordered to go with the three singers, and with the same kind of presents to Ariyáruk. The Khwája made many remarks, and said what he deemed right on the subject. About the time of afternoon prayer he returned home, the others also took their leave. The Amír was there till about evening, and then he rose up and went into the palace.

The Mahmúdiáns were much grieved by what had just passed. Neither they nor any one else knew what the future would bring forth. Time spake with an eloquent tongue, but no one regarded.

The two courtiers went to the generals with those things and the singers. The generals expressed their obligations, and when the message of the Sultán was delivered to them they drank the wine with pleasure and rejoiced greatly. When they became elated with wine, they gave to (each of) the royal messengers a horse, a saddle inlaid with gold, a robe, some silver, and a Turkish

slave, and sent them away delighted. In the same manner they rewarded the singers with garments and silver, and sent them away. Ghází then went to sleep, but Ariyáruk had the habit that when he once sat down to drink he would continue boozing for three or four entire days. This time he drank for two days, rejoicing over the favour which had been shown to them. The king held his Court again the next morning, and the commander of the army, Ghází, came with a different air and great display. When he sat down the Amír asked him why Ariyáruk had not also come. Ghází replied, "It is his habit to drink successively for three or four days, and he will especially do so now in his delight and gratification." The king smiled and said, We must also drink to-day, so we will send some one for Ariyáruk. Ghází kissed the ground and wished to retire, but he bade him remain, and they began to drink. The Amír commanded the attendance of Amírak Sipáh-dár Khummárchí, who also used to drink, and for whom Ariyáruk had great friendship. Amír Mahmúd had sent this man to Ariyáruk in Hind with a message for him to come to Court, and he returned in the month in which (Mahmúd) died as I have before stated. Amírak came before the Amír, who said to him "Take fifty flagons of wine to Hájib Ariyáruk and stay with him, as he is a great friend of yours, until he gets drunk and goes to sleep; tell him also that I excuse his attendance at Court, and that he is to drink according to his wont." Amírak went and found that Ariyáruk had become like a ball.<sup>1</sup> He was rambling about in the garden and drinking wine and the singers were singing. The message was delivered to him, on which he kissed the ground and wept much. He gave much wealth to Amírak and the porters. The latter returned, but Amírak remained with him. The General Ghází remained in the same place with the king till the next morning, when he

<sup>1</sup> چون گوي شده [ *Goi-shudan*, according to the dictionaries, signifies "to place the head on the knees, to watch narrowly," the text would rather seem to mean "Restless as a ball that is tossed about." ]

returned home taking several military officers and Hájibs, and there sat down to drink. That day he gave away immense riches in dínars and dirams in cash, horses, clothes, and slaves. Ariyáruk, as he was wont, continued dozing and rousing up, sipping soup<sup>1</sup> and again drinking wine, without knowing in the least what he was doing. That day and night, and the day after it, he never ceased. The king did not hold his Court next morning, but was prepared to arrest Ariyáruk. He came out and sat on a green (*khazrá*) close to the minister's office. We were in the office. Somebody secretly went and brought accounts of Ariyáruk. When noon arrived, 'Abdús came and whispered something in the ear of Bú Nasr Mishkán, who rose up and ordered the writers to leave, because the garden was to be cleared. With the exception of myself all rose up and went away. Me he privately told to send his horse back to his house and to seat myself at the portico of the office, for there was something important to be done. I was to carefully ascertain all that passed, and then come to him. I undertook to do so, and he went away. The minister, the 'Áriz, and all the other people also left. Baktagín Hájib, son-in-law of 'Alí Dáya came into the portico and went to the king. He was there only for a minute (*sá'at*) and returned. The king called Muhtáj, chief of the guards, and said something to him privately. He went away, and returned with five hundred soldiers completely armed from every division, and sent them into the garden where they were to sit concealed. The Hindu officers also came, bringing with them three hundred soldiers, and they also were posted in the garden. One of the chamberlains and a general went to Ariyáruk and told him that the Sultán was enjoying his wine, and invited him to join him. Some people had also been sent to invite General Ghází. He (Ariyáruk) was in such a state of drunkenness that he could not use his hands and feet. He said, "How can I go in this condition, and what shall I be able to do?" Amírak, *sipáh-dár*, whom the king

<sup>1</sup> [رشته می اشامید]

had trusted said, "May the general's life be prolonged, the king's order must be obeyed, and you must attend the Court. When he sees you in this state, he will excuse you and send you back. But it will be very bad for you if you don't go; and remarks will be made upon you." He also made Ariyáruk's *hájib*, Altúti-gín<sup>1</sup> second him, and say that the general must of course go. So Ariyáruk called for garment, stockings, and cap, put them on, and summoned a large number of guards (*ghulám*) and two hundred soldiers. Amírak said to his *hájib*, "This is bad; he is going to drink wine. Ten guards (*ghulám*) with shields and a hundred soldiers are sufficient." So he sent the other soldiers back, and Ariyáruk himself knew nothing of what was passing in the world. When he reached the court, Hájib Baktigín advanced, and the captain of the guards made him alight, and they walked before him to the court-house, where they made him sit down. Ariyáruk, after a moment, stood up and said, "I am drunk, and can do nothing, I must go back." Baktagín told him it was improper to go away without permission, and that they were going to inform the king. So he sat down in the portico, and I, Bú-l Fazl, was looking at him. He called Hájí, water carrier, who came and put a pitcher of water before him. He put his hand in, took out the ice and ate it. Baktagín said, "Brother, this is wrong. You are a general, and yet you are eating ice here in the portico; go into the court and do there what you like." So he went in. If he had not been drunk, and they had wanted to take him, they would have found it a difficult matter. While he was seated in the inner apartment, fifty brave soldiers, on hearing the signal, suddenly rushed in. Baktagín also entered and took Ariyáruk in his arms. The soldiers came up on both sides and held him so that he could not move in the least. He cried out to Baktagín, "O brother, you coward! Was it for this purpose that you brought me here?" Other slaves came and pulled off the boots from his feet. In each boot there were

<sup>1</sup> [Variously written "Altarniyátigín" and "Altúbatigín."]

two daggers.<sup>1</sup> Muhtáj also came, and heavy chains were brought which were put round his legs. His coat was also taken off, and in it some poison was found, and also some charms. They were all taken away, and he was carried out. Fifty soldiers surrounded him, and other men rushed and seized his horse and trappings and his guards. The head of his escort with three guards escaped. The other guards seized their arms and got upon a roof, and a great tumult arose. The Amír was engaged with Baktagín in securing Ariyáruk, and people had run to Bagtaghdí, the chief Hájb Bilkátigin, and the officers of the army, to tell them what was going on, and to summon them. They were all mounted ready. The guards and attendants of Ariyáruk, seeing him thus bound, made a great outcry, and, collecting together, went towards his house. Numerous other horsemen of all classes also joined them, and a great and obstinate strife arose. Amír 'Abdús was sent to Ariyáruk's party to say, "Ariyáruk was a self-conceited man and a hard master. To-day it has been deemed expedient to suppress him. We are your masters, do not act like children; give up the strife, for it is clear you are too few to resist. You will all be slain in an instant, and Ariyáruk will gain nothing by it. If you restrain yourselves you shall be suitably rewarded." To the commander of these people a friendly and comforting message was sent. When 'Abdús delivered the message, it acted like water thrown on fire—the leader and the guards kissed the ground and the tumult instantly subsided. The house was attached and seals were affixed to the doors; night fell, and no one would have said he had ever been there. I returned and related to my preceptor all that I had seen. Then I said my night prayers. Ariyáruk was taken from the Court to Khunduz, and after ten days he was sent to Ghazní, and given into the charge of Bú 'Alí Kotwál, who according to orders kept him some time in the fort, so secretly that nobody knew that he had been dismissed. Afterwards he was sent to Bú-l Hasan Khalaf in Ghor, who kept him in some place there. Here ends his story.

<sup>1</sup> Worn as Highlanders wear their knives.

I will now relate according to my own information what was his end and how he was slain. He was captured in Balkh, on Wednesday, the 19th of Rabi' u-l Awwal A.H. 422 (March 1031). On the day after his arrest, the Amír sent to his house, Píroz Wazírí Khádim, Bú Sa'id Mushrif, who still survives and lives at the Kandí inn, who had not then obtained the rank of a Mushrif, but was one of the grandees of the Court, and was known by the name of Kází Khusrú Hasan; Bú-l Hasan 'Abdu-l Jalíl, and Bú Nasr Mustaufi (commander of a detachment). They also brought with them the Mustaufi and steward of Ariyáruk (whom they had caught), and opened the doors. They appropriated immense wealth, and reported that there was much property in Hindustán. Three days were occupied in the work of completing an inventory of all that belonged to Ariyáruk, and it was taken to the court. His best slaves were made captives, those of the second order were given to Ghází, the commander, and the king's attendants. Bú-l Hasan 'Abdu-l Jalíl, and Bú Sa'id Mushrif were ordered to go to Hindustán to fetch the property of Ariyáruk. They proceeded with great speed, but before Ariyáruk was captured, officers had been hastily despatched thither with letters directing that Ariyáruk's party should be carefully watched.

Ghází came to the Court the day after the seizure of Ariyáruk, greatly troubled and alarmed. He was admitted, and when the court broke up, the Amír privately observed to the minister and Ghází that "the conduct of this man (Ariyáruk) was very different from that of my other servants. He had grown disobedient and had become so arrogant in the time of my father, that he shed much innocent blood. The reporters of the news dared not expose his conduct, they were afraid of their lives, because he had taken possession of the roads and nobody could pass without his permission. He did not come from Hindustán when he was summoned by my father, and would never come. If coercive measures were taken against him he used to create a great disturbance. The Khwája showed great adroitness in



contriving to bring him here. Such a servant is of no use. I have spoken thus that the commander-in-chief may not entertain any fear in his mind from what has just passed. His case is quite different. Different also was the service he rendered me at the time I was in Ispahán when I started from thence to Khurásán." He kissed the ground and said, "I am your slave, and I should even consider it an honour if the king were to make me keeper of his stable. The power of command is his and he well knows every one's worth." The Khwája also spoke a few appropriate words to the same effect about Ariyáruk, and for the comfort of Ghází. He said what he thought suitable, and then they retired. Both the Khwájas<sup>1</sup> sat with him in the court-room, and he called my preceptor, Bú Nasr, who told them all the acts of hardship and injustice which were committed by Ariyáruk as they had been reported by his enemies. Ghází was surprised and said, "Of course it is on no account proper to set him free." Bú Nasr went in and reported this to the king and brought satisfactory answers from him. Both these nobles spoke pleasant things to each other; so Ghází was much gratified and retired. I heard Bú Nasr state that Khwája Ahmad said "This Turk is very suspicious, for he is very cunning and sly (*kurbuz o dáhi*), and these things will be all stored up in his memory. But alas! for a man like Ariyáruk who might conquer another region besides Hindustán, and for whom I would be surety. The king has heard enough about him and will not release him. He (the king) will ruin everything. Ghází also will fall; Mark my words." He then arose and went into his office, very disturbed in mind. And this old wolf said,<sup>2</sup> There is a conspiracy of the men of Mahmúd's and Mas'ud's time, and they are prosecuting their designs. God grant it may end well.

<sup>1</sup> [هردو خواجه با وي بطارم بنشست و استادام نو نصرا بخواند]

<sup>2</sup> [و این گزگت پیر گفت]

*Account of an Inundation at Ghazni.—Mahmūd Warrāk and his Sons.<sup>1</sup>*

On Saturday, the 9th of Rajab, between the morning and afternoon prayers, there were some slight showers which sufficed to wet the ground. Some herdsmen were encamped in the dry bed of the Ghazní river with their droves of cattle. Although they were told to decamp, as in the event of a flood they would be in danger, they would not listen, till at last, when the rain fell heavier, they began to take their departure, but slowly, and removed toward the wall near the suburb of the ironmongers, where they sought shelter and rest, but were again at fault. In another direction, where the stream flows by Afghánshála, there were several of the Royal mules stabled. Trees extended from the stream as far as the walls, and the stable keepers raised mounds of dung and other refuse to protect themselves against the flood, but without any effect, for they were direct in the path of the flood. Our prophet Muhammad says, (God's mercy be on him!) "Defend us from the two dumb and the two deaf," meaning thereby water and fire.

The bridge which stood at that time was a massive structure, supported by strong buttresses. The top was securely covered, and on each side of the roadway, there was a row of shops, just as there is now. When, in consequence of the flood, the bridge was so destroyed that no one could pass over it, that holy personage (Amír Mas'úd) God's mercy on him! constructed the present bridge, of one arch, of such excellence and beauty, that may he be long remembered for his goodness and humanity!

At the time of afternoon prayers the bridge was in such a state as no one ever remembered, and when about one watch of the night had passed, such a flood came, that the oldest inhabitants agreed that they had never seen the like. Many trees, torn up by the roots, came rushing down towards the bridge. The cattle and the mules endeavoured to save their lives, but the flood

<sup>1</sup> [This extract was translated by Sir H. Elliot. Pages 315 to 318 of the Text.]

carried many of them down ; and as the waterway of the bridge was narrow, it was impossible that trees and animals together could pass through it at the same time. They filled up the arches, so that even the water could not escape through them. Then the water rose over the roadway, and carried away everything, like a dispersed army, and entering the Bazars reached as far as the Bankers' quarters, and did a great deal of injury.

What showed the great force of the water more than anything else was, that it carried away the bridge from its foundations, with all its shops. It carried away many caravanserais in its way, destroyed the bazars, and came rushing in a flood against the old fort, which stood then as it stood before the time of Ya'kúb Lais, whose brother, 'Umrú, built this city and fort of Ghaznín.

All these matters the learned Mahmúd Warrák has described most excellently in the history which he wrote in the year 450 H. He composed a history of several thousand years, ending with 409 H. As he ended there, I determined to continue his history from that period. This Mahmúd Warrák is a true and faithful historian. I have seen ten or fifteen of his excellent compositions on every subject, and I intended to write something in his praise, but when his sons heard of it, they exclaimed and said, "are not we, his sons, able to write an account of him, that you should undertake it, as you have declared your intention of doing? Let it alone." Being helpless, I abandoned my intention.

This inundation did so much injury that there is no computing it. The next day, men stood on each side of the river looking on. About twelve o'clock the flood began to abate. But for several days there was no bridge, and men found it difficult to pass from this side to that and from that side to this, until the bridge was again mended. I have heard from several Zâwalí<sup>1</sup> narrators that, after the subsidence of the flood, many wretched sufferers found gold, silver, and garments that the water had swept away, and

<sup>1</sup> Of Zâbulistán, or the country about Ghaznî.

God Almighty knows what the destitute did not meet with from his goodness.

The Amír returned from his hunting ground to the Sadhazár<sup>1</sup> garden, on Saturday the 16th of Rajab, and remained there seven days, pleasuring and drinking.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Ahmad Níáltigin appointed Governor of Hindustan.*<sup>2</sup>

The Amír, addressing the Khwája, said, "Hindustán must not be left without a governor, but who is to be sent there?" He answered, "You, my lord, know all the servants and you must have thought about the person to be appointed. The office is very important and honourable. When Ariyáruk was there he kept up great state, and now a man ought to be sent of the same dignity. Although under the authority of your Majesty matters may go on well, still a trained and experienced general is required." The Amír said, "I have fixed my heart upon Ahmad Níáltigin, though he has not been trained under generals; he was treasurer to my father, and accompanied him in all his journeys. He studied and knew the ways and habits of the late king." The Khwája remained thinking for a while.<sup>3</sup> He had an ill feeling towards this man, because he had formed many designs when he, the Khwája, was discharging the fine imposed upon him.<sup>4</sup> Ahmad had also purchased his goods at the very lowest prices. But the Khwája had been restrained, and had never taken revenge, until the present time when he had directed that a reckoning should be held with him. His excesses were searched out and close calculations were made so that money might be exacted from him. But the king had now selected him, and so the Khwája wished to cure the wound of his heart. The Khwája

<sup>1</sup> Literally 100,000—from its containing as many shrubs or flowers.

<sup>2</sup> [Page 323 to 329 of the Text.]

<sup>3</sup> [The whole of the following passage is very obscure and doubtful.]

<sup>4</sup> [Morley's edition says خواجه مرافعه مي داد but Elliot's MS. has the words مال مصادره before the verb.]

also was very inimical to Kází Shíráz Bú-l Hasan 'Alí, because Amír Mahmúd had often said in his usual way, "How long shall I bear with the airs of this Ahmad, he is not so indispensable, for there are other persons fit for the office of Wazír. For example, there is one, Kází Shíráz." Now this Kází Shíráz did not possess even one-tenth part of the abilities of that great man (the Khwája). But kings say what they like, and no one can argue with them. At all events in this counsel the Khwája deemed it allowable to set a great man like Ahmad Níáltigin against Kází Shíráz, as the latter might thus be disgraced. He replied, "May my lord's life be prolonged, it is a very good selection, and there is no one so fit as Ahmad. But promises must be taken from him on oath, and his son must be left here with other sureties." The Amír coincided, and directed the Khwája to send for Ahmad to tell him all that was proper and to do what was needful. The Khwája came into the minister's office and called for Ahmad, who was terribly afraid he might have to suffer another punishment. However, he came. The Khwája made him sit down and said to him, "Don't you know that you have to render several years' account, and that I am bound by oath to do my utmost in the king's business. Your demeanour must not be such as to aggrieve me, and I must not take such proceedings as to irritate you. When a king has determined upon a matter, nothing remains for his servants but to give counsel and show kindness (to each other)." Ahmad kissed the ground and said, "I can in nowise consider this as difficult, for I have not seen the king to-day, nor have I seen him for years. We servants must agree with what the king orders, and with what you, the great Khwája, considers best." The minister observed, "The Sultán consulted with me in private to-day on different topics, of which the most important was that of Hindustán. He said, 'There is a man there like Kází Shíráz, who wears a soldier's garment, but who is no commander. A general is needed there, one of renown and dignity to lead the forces and to exact tribute. It is the Kází's

business to carry on civil affairs and collect the revenue, but the general at his convenience makes war, takes tribute, seizes upon elephants, and chastises the refractory Hindús.'” The Khwája continued—“ When I said to him ‘Your Majesty knows the merits of all your servants, whom do you choose for the duty?’ he replied, ‘I have fixed my mind upon Ahmad Níáltigin,’ and I saw he had a very high opinion of you. I also spoke what I knew regarding your bravery and experience. He directed me to send for you to acquaint you with his majesty’s will and to arrange matters. What have you to say about it?” Ahmad kissed the ground, rose up and said, “I have no words to express my thanks for this favour, nor do I think myself deserving of it; but I will perform the duty which may be assigned to me to the best of my power.” So all was settled, and neither kindness nor counsel was wanting. The Khwája gladdened him and praised him, and sent him away. He then called Muzaffar, chief of the royal attendants, told him all that had passed, and directed him to request the Amír to order a khil’at to be prepared, more magnificent than that which was granted to Ariyáruk, the late governor of Hindustán, and that Bú Nasr Mishkán should write out the royal diploma for him, and get it impressed with the royal signet, so that at the time of granting the robe all the necessary orders might be given to him to enable him to assume his command at once, and enter on his expedition in time. Muzaffar went and delivered the message. The king gave the order, and a robe of honour was prepared for Ahmad, together with kettle-drums, flags, and all things usually given to generals of the army.

On Sunday, the second of Sha’bán, of this year, the Amír ordered Ahmad Níáltigin to be taken to the wardrobe and he was invested with the khil’at. It was very splendid: first came the golden girdle, which was of the value of one thousand kánís, and with it was also given a cap with two points, which was also prepared at the expense of the same sum. He observed the ceremonials of respect, and the Amír received him graciously;

he then returned home with great honour. People offered him presents according to custom. The next day he again came to the Court. The Amír held a private consultation with the great Khwája and Khwája Bú Nasr, Secretary of State; Ahmad was also called, and he received orders from the king's own tongue. From thence they came into the court-hall, and all three sat there alone. The Royal diploma and the articles and agreement<sup>1</sup> were written out, and both the papers were duly sealed. They were taken to Ahmad, and the writings and a solemn oath were put before him. He took the oath according to custom, and put his signature to it. Then the papers were shown to the king, and given into the charge of the record keeper.

The Khwája said to Ahmad, "that self-sufficient fellow of Shíráz wishes the generals to be under his command, and when he had to deal with such a weak man as 'Abdu-llah Karátigin, he governed all. On hearing the name of Ariyáruk he knew that a man who had teeth was coming; he wished to have a revenue-collector and an accountant-general sent there, so Abú-l Fath and Damaghání were sent with Abú-l Faraj Kirmání, but they could not cope with Ariyáruk. However, what happened to Ariyáruk happened in consequence of his conducting matters for his own benefit; but you who are a general, must act according to the articles and your agreement. You must not say anything to any person respecting the political or revenue matters, so that no one's word may be heard against you, but you must perform all the duties of a commander, so that that fellow may not be able to put his hand upon your sinews and drag you down. Bú-l Kásim Bú-l Hakam, the superintendent of the news carriers, a most confidential officer, reports in due time all that occurs, and the imperial and ministerial orders are regularly sent to him. You two persons must not give trouble to the Court. What you have to write to me you must state in full detail, that a distinct reply may be sent. His majesty deems it advisable to send

<sup>1</sup> [مواضعه و جواب and below منشور و مواضعه جوابا]

with you some of the Dailamí chiefs, such as Bú Nasr Taifúr and others, in order that they may be at a distance from the Court, because they are strangers; he also sends some others of whom apprehensions are entertained, such as Bú Nasr Bámíání, brother of the Prince of Balkh and nephew of the chief of Sarkhas; also some refractory slaves who have committed many disloyal actions, which have been proved against them. They are to be set at liberty and some assistance is to be given to them, so that it may appear that they belong to your army. You must take them all with you and treat them very kindly and well. But, of course, none of them must be allowed to go beyond the river Chandráha,<sup>1</sup> without the king's order, or without your knowledge and permission. Whenever you march on an expedition you must take these people with you, and you must be careful not to let them mingle with the army of Lahore and not allow them to drink wine or play at *chaugán*. You must keep spies and observers to watch them, and this is a duty which must in no case be neglected. Injunctions also will be sent to Bú-l Kásim Bú-l Hakam to give you a helping hand, and to do everything that may be necessary in this matter. In other affairs he is to act under the orders of the Court, and in accordance with the royal mandate and the conditions of his appointment. What you have just heard are the secret orders of the king, and you must not divulge them. When you reach the station you must report all circumstances which occur, also what reliance is to be placed on each individual, and whether he acts upon the royal orders which he has received."

Ahmad Níáltigín said, "I will do all this, so that no harm may be done." Then he retired. Close at his heels the Khwája sent him a message by Hasan, his Hájib, to say that his Majesty had directed that his (Níáltigín's) son was to remain behind, though he would no doubt take with him his wife and children who lived in privacy. The son was to be left at home under the care of a tutor, a friend and a confidential person, in order that

<sup>1</sup> [The Chináb, see Vol. I. p. 63.]



the father might feel himself more at liberty. This was an arrangement made by his Majesty out of regard to Ahmad, for he did not wish to see his son associating with the body guards. The Khwája added, "I was ashamed to tell you this, for it is not right to require a pledge from you; but although the Sultán has not given a distinct order about it, yet the conditions and the customs must not be departed from. I have no option, but to look after all the affairs of the country, great and small, and to protect the interest of you and the like of you." Ahmad answered, "I am obedient and think it best both now and henceforth to do that which the great Khwája approves and directs." He gave a handsome present to the Hájib and dismissed him. He also made proper arrangements for his son. His equipment as a general, retinue, arms, guards, and everything else he carefully prepared in the manner which he had seen and had learnt to be the rule in such cases. When all was done he got leave to set out.

On Saturday, five days before the end of Sha'bán, the king rode and came to the desert of Shábahár with many attendants and riding under a canopy on an elephant. He stopped there, and Ahmad Níáltigin came before him, dressed in a red garment, and paid his respects. A very fine calvacade, many armed men, military officers, the Dailamís, and others, who were placed under his command, passed by. They were followed by one hundred and thirty royal slaves whom the Amír had set free, who carried their letters of freedom, and delivered them to him. These were under three of the king's own officers, and had with them three flags, bearing the device of a lion and spears, according to the fashion of royal slaves. After them came kettle drums, and the banners of Ahmad of red cloth and with gilded balls on their tops, accompanied by seventy-five slaves, richly caparisoned camels and dromedaries. The king said, "Ahmad, rejoice, and be happy; be careful to understand the value of this favour. Keep my image ever before your eyes and do good service, so that you may attain to greater honour." He promised to do all

that could be required of a servant, and saluted. The horse of the commander of the army of Hindustán was called for; and he mounted and rode away.

In the end, this Ahmad Níáltigín was ruined; he turned away from the the path of rectitude, and took a crooked course, as I shall have to relate in the proper place.

*Ahmad Níáltigín at Benares.<sup>1</sup>*

In this summer [424 H., 1033 A.D.] another event took place in which Ahmad Níáltigín, the commander of Hindustán, was concerned. A certain man was driven to rebellion by tyranny, and this was the cause of the rise of disturbances in Khurásán, and of the Turkománs and Saljúkians becoming powerful, according to the decree of God, whose name is glorious. There is a cause for everything. The great Khwája, Ahmad Hasan, was badly disposed towards this Ahmad, for the reason we have before stated, that is, he had formed designs against the Khwája's goods and effects, at the time when he was involved in law troubles. The Khwája was also at variance with Kází Shíráz, because Amír Mahmúd had often declared him to be fit for the office of Wazír. Ahmad Hasan, at the time of dispatching Ahmad Níáltigín on the command to Hindustán, had instructed him to be watchful against Kází Shíráz, saying, you are by the Sultán's order appointed generalissimo in Hindustán, and the Kází has no control over you. Let him not cast his spell over you and bring you under his control. Ahmad Níáltigín went boldly and proudly; he did not heed the Kází in the least in his duties of commander. This Ahmad was a bold man. He was called the *alter ego*<sup>2</sup> of Amír Mahmúd, and well knew the distinction between right and wrong. People used to tell stories about his mother, his birth, and Amír Mahmúd. There was certainly a friendly relation between that king and his mother,—but God knows the truth. This man thoroughly understood the affairs

<sup>1</sup> [Page 495 to 497 of the Text.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Atsat*, lit. "the sneeze," or as we have it in the vulgar tongue, "the spit."]

and habits of Amír Mahmúd, by association and converse with him. When he reached Hindustán, he kept several sturdy slaves, and had a fine equipage and retinue. A difference took place between him and Kází Shíráz with respect to the command of the army. The Kází said, "The command ought to be given to 'Abdu-llah Karátigin, as was expressed in his farmán." Ahmad protested he would not agree to anything of the kind, saying, "The Sultán conferred this office on me, and I am in all respects better and greater than 'Abdu-llah: he and others must march under my banners." The matter went very far. The army of Lahore and the warriors sided with Ahmad; and he with his followers irritated the Kází, and formed a plan of going to some distant place. The Kází sent messengers complaining of him, who reached Bust just as we were about to go toward Hirát and Naishapúr. Amír Mas'úd asked the great Khwája, Ahmad Hasan, what he thought most advisable, and he replied, "Ahmad Níáltigin is a fitter person to be general than anyone else. An answer must be written to the Kází that his business is to manage the revenue, and that he has nothing to do with the command or with the army. Ahmad must himself do what he ought to do, and take the revenue and the tribute from the Thákurs, go on expeditions and bring large sums into the treasury. There is a proverb—'There must be no contention between the door and the house.'"

The Amír approved of this, and an answer was written to the above effect. Ahmad Níáltigin was much encouraged, because the Khwája wrote to inform him of what Kází Shíráz had written, and what reply had been sent. He marched out with his warriors and the army of Lahore, and exacted ample tribute from the Thákurs. He crossed the river Ganges and went down the left bank. Unexpectedly (*ná-gáh*) he arrived at a city which is called Banáras, and which belonged to the territory of Gang. Never had a Muhammadan army reached this place. The city was two parasangs square, and contained plenty of water. The army could only remain there from morning to mid-day prayer,

because of the peril. The markets of the drapers, perfumers, and jewellers, were plundered, but it was impossible to do more. The people of the army became rich, for they all carried off gold, silver, perfumes, and jewels, and got back in safety.

The Kází, on the achievement of this great success, was likely to go mad. He speedily sent messengers, who reached us in Naishápúr and represented that Ahmad Níáltigín had taken immense riches from the Thákurs and tributaries. Enormous wealth had been obtained, but Ahmad had concealed the greater portion of it, and had sent only a little to the Court. The Kází went on to say that "his confidential agents had secretly accompanied Ahmad, who knew not of their presence. Some accountants and the chief of the couriers were also there, and these had kept an account of all that he had exacted. This account he had now sent for the information of his Majesty, without the knowledge of that base dishonest man. Ahmad had also clandestinely sent men to Turkistan *via* Banjhír (Panjshír?) to procure Turkish slaves for him. That up to this time about seventy slaves (*háftad o and*) had been brought and others were expected. That he had made all the Turkománs who were there his friends, and they were disaffected; what his intentions are nobody knows, but he calls himself son of Mahmúd. Your slaves have dutifully given the information. Your Majesty's will is supreme."

These letters took effect on the Amír's heart, and produced a deep impression. He ordered my instructor, Bú Nasr, to keep the matter secret, and let no one be informed of it. Bearers of good tidings also soon arrived, and brought letters from Ahmad Níáltigín, Governor of Hindustán and general of the army, reporting the news of the conquest of Benares, which was a very great achievement, and by which the army had become rich. Immense wealth had been obtained, and tribute had been exacted from the Thákurs. Several elephants had also been taken. His Majesty's servants wrote these letters from Indar-dar-bandi,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [This is the reading of Morley's edition. Sir H. Elliot's MSS. have Indar-bedi.]

and were returning towards Lahore very happy : what had passed they had reported.<sup>1</sup>

*Tilak the Hindú appointed General.*<sup>2</sup>

One day the Amír went to the garden of Sadhazára with the intention of staying there a week, and all necessary furniture was taken. In this interval letters were constantly arriving with the information of Ahmad Níáltigín having reached Lahore with the Turkománs, and that numerous turbulent fellows of Lahore, from all classes of people, had flocked around him, and that if his proceedings were not soon taken notice of, the affair would reach an awkward length, for his power and dignity were increasing every day. The Amír, in the garden of Sadhazára, convened a private council of the commander-in-chief and the generals and officers of the army,<sup>3</sup> and asked their opinions as to what ought to be done in order to extinguish the fire of this rebellious general so that their hearts might be relieved of all concern on his account. The commander-in-chief said, "When one runs away from Ahmad there cannot be much honour left, but whatever general is sent against him, he will have enough to do, for there is a strong force at Lahore. If my lord orders me to go, I can set out in a week, although the weather is very hot." The Amír observed, "It is wrong and impossible for you to go on such an insignificant duty, because there are disturbances in Khurásán, and insurrections have also broken out in Khatlán and Tukháristán. Our minister has gone there and he is sufficient, yet as the autumn has passed, it is expedient for me to march to Bust or Balkh, and you must accompany my standard. We will send a general, to Sind it may be." The commander-in-chief said, "It is for my lord to order, the generals and officers are present here in your council, and others are at the court ; whom do you order to go." Tilak Hindú said, "May my lord's life

<sup>1</sup> [Here occurs the *lacuna* mentioned in the Bibliographical notice at page 54.]

<sup>2</sup> [Page 500 to 503 of the Text.]

<sup>3</sup> [Khawája Ahmad, the *wazir*, was absent on a journey.]

be prolonged ! Be pleased to let me go and perform this service that I may make some return for favours received and obligations incurred. Besides, I am a native of Hindustán, the weather is hot, and I can travel in that country with greater ease. If your high wisdom deems me fit for this service, I will not fail." The Amír admired him for the readiness he thus showed ; and asked those who were present for their opinions. They replied, he was a famous man and was fit for any duty, for he had a sword, equipments, and men, and as he had received the royal favour he might accomplish the object. The Amír told his councillors to retire and leave him to consider about it. So they left. The Amír said to his private councillors, "None of these officers have their hearts in the business, and in fact they have not exhibited their wonted devotion. So Tilak, perhaps, felt ashamed and stepped forward." The Amír sent a Persian secretary to Tilak, secretly, with many kind messages, saying, "I am fully alive to what you have said and have promised to perform, but the people around me did not at all like it. You have shamed them all, and your words shall be proved true, for to-morrow you shall be named for the service. I will do whatever is possible in this matter, and I will give you much money, a strong force, and everything necessary, so that the work may be accomplished by your hands, and the insurrection may be put down without any thanks or obligations to these people. You shall be raised to higher rank ; for these people do not at all like that I should exalt a man, but wish me to remain always dependent on them, though they do nothing. They have been greatly annoyed at your exaltation, Now you must be resolute in doing what you have said. The fault has been committed : it was manifest in their talk and observations ; and what is passed cannot be recalled." Tilak kissed the ground, and said, "If this undertaking were beyond the powers of your slave, he would not have ventured to speak with such boldness before your majesty and the assembly ; what I have sought for in this matter I will accomplish. I will draw up a plan for the approval of his

Majesty ; and I will soon set forth and overthrow that rebel." The Persian came back and related all this. The Amír highly approved it, and ordered the writing to be sent in. The secretary devoted himself with all his heart to the execution of this mission, and laid before his Majesty the detailed statement which Tilak had drawn up of his designs. The Amír then gave power to Tilak to do whatever he deemed proper, after passing Bazghúrak<sup>1</sup> for securing the allegiance of the Hindús. He also sent a message by the Persian to the Secretary of State, directing him to draw up a farman and letters in behalf of Tilak. It was customary with Bú Nasr to write in very hyperbolical language<sup>2</sup> on all matters that he was directed to pen by the Amír himself, because he was afraid that the responsibility might fall upon him. What was to be written was drafted. The ministers of the Court considered it a foolish proceeding—or as the Arab proverb says "A shot without a shooter."

This man (Tilak) was the cause of the death of Ahmad Níáltigin, as I will mention in its proper place. But first I must recount the history of this Tilak, showing what his origin was and how he attained to this rank. Many advantages attend the writing of such matters.

### *Account of Tilak of Hind.*<sup>3</sup>

This Tilak was the son of a barber, but he was handsome in face and appearance, and had an eloquent tongue. He wrote an excellent hand, both in Hindí and Persian. He had lived a long time in Kashmír, where he studied and acquired some proficiency in dissimulation, amours, and witchcraft. From thence he came to Kází Shíraz Bú-l Hasan, who was captivated by him, for every great man who saw him was enamoured of him. \* \* \* \* The Kází restrained him from going anywhere else ; but Tilak contrived by stratagem to have his

<sup>1</sup> [See Vol. I. p. 49.]

<sup>2</sup> [مبالغتي سخت تمام كردى]

<sup>3</sup> [Page 503 to 505.]

case, and the iniquity of which the Kází was capable, reported to the great Khwája Ahmad Hasan (May God be pleased with him). There was ill-feeling between the Khwája and the Kází. The Khwája sent royal orders with three peons, and to the great disgust of the Kází they brought Tilak to the court. Khwája Ahmad Hasan heard what he had to say, saw the way clear before him, and took measures to have the matter brought to the notice of Amír Mahmúd in such a manner that he did not know the Khwája had contrived the means. The Amír ordered the Khwája to hear Tilak's complaint, and the Kází fell into great difficulty.

After this event Tilak became one of the great confidants of the Khwája. He was made his secretary and interpreter between him and the Hindús.<sup>1</sup> Thus he acquired great influence in the minister's court, where I, says Bú-l Fazl, used to see him standing before the Khwája, doing the duties of a secretary and interpreter, and carrying and bringing messages, and managing difficult affairs. When that trouble fell on the Khwája, which I have before mentioned, Amír Mahmúd called together his servants and secretaries, in order that he might appoint the most clever to offices in his court. Tilak met with his approval, and was associated as interpreter with Bahrám. He was a young man and a clever speaker. Amír Mahmúd wanted such persons. His fortune thus improved. Secretly he rendered valuable services to Sultán Mas'úd, that is, he brought all the Hindú Kators and many outsiders under his rule,<sup>2</sup> and he obtained honour from such a great king as Mahmúd.

When Sháh Mas'úd arrived in Balkh from Hirát and the affairs of the country were settled, Sundar, the general of the Hindús, was not in his place. He therefore promoted Tilak,

<sup>1</sup> [The text has the words *hamchundn bírbdl', badíwón-i má*, "like Bírbal in our Court." These words, unless they will bear some other interpretation, would seem to apply to Akbar's officer Bírbal, and if so they must be an interpolation of a later date.]

<sup>2</sup> همه هندوان كنور و بعضي را از بيرونيان در عهد وي] See Thomas' Prinsep, Vol. I. p. 317.]



and granted him a gold embroidered robe, hung a jewelled necklace of gold round his neck, and placed an army under him. Thus he obtained the name of man. A tent and an umbrella were also given to him. Kettle drums were beaten at his quarters, according to the custom of the Hindú chiefs, and banners with gilded tops were granted. Fortune befriended him; he was elevated to such a degree as to sit among the nobles in the privy councils, and, as I have said, he was employed in important duties, until at length he undertook the command against Ahmad Níáltigin. His luck and fortune aided him, and carried him through. The Arabs say, "There is a cause for everything, and men must seek it." Wise men do not wonder at such facts, because nobody is born great—men become such. But it is important that they should leave a good name behind. This Tilak soon became a man, and had excellent qualities. All the time he lived he sustained no injury on account of being the son of a barber. But if with such a character, wisdom, and spirit, he had been of good extraction, he would have been better, for nobility and talents are both very agreeable. But nobility is good for nothing, if learning, propriety and spirit are wanting.

\*       \*       \*       \*       \*

*The rebellion of Ahmad Níáltigin in Hindústán.<sup>1</sup>*

In the middle of this month (Ramazán H. 425; July, 1033) letters were received from Lahore (Lahúr), stating that Ahmad Níáltigin had arrived there with several men; that Kází Shíráz, with all his counsellors, had entered the fort of Mandkákúr;<sup>2</sup> that there was perpetual fighting, and that the whole neighbourhood was in a state of turmoil and agitation. The Amír became exceedingly thoughtful, because his mind was troubled from three

<sup>1</sup> [Pages 523, 524. This and all the following Extracts from Baihakí were translated by Sir H. Elliot himself.]

<sup>2</sup> Two copies concur in this reading; a third omits the first syllable. [See Vol. i. pp. 62 and 530.]

different sources, viz. the Turkománs of 'Irák, Khwárizm, and Lahore, as I have already described. \* \* \* On Tuesday, the 'Id was celebrated, when the Amír (God be satisfied with him!) directed that great preparations should be made, and ordered trays of food to be set down, with wine, in order that the officers and men might regale themselves, which they did, and departed drunk.

The Amír also sat down to drink wine with his companions, when, in the middle of his happiness, while he was fully occupied with every kind of pleasure, a very important despatch was received from Lahore, stating that Ahmad Níáltigín had taken the fort; but it was reported that Tilak Hindú had collected a powerful army from every detachment and quarter, and was advancing in that direction; that the heart of that vile rebel was quaking within him, and that there was a space of only two *kos* between the two armies. The Amír read this despatch even while he was drinking, and ordered a letter to be written to Tilak Hindú, and placed in its case. He directed Tilak to proceed against Ahmad with all speed. The Amír sealed the letter, and added a postscript with his own hand, written with all the force which characterized his style, imperious, and at the same time appropriate to the person addressed. This was concealed from his confidential Díwán, and sent off with all haste.

On Thursday, the 18th of Shawwál, a despatch arrived from Gurdez,<sup>1</sup> stating that General Ghází, who was stationed in that quarter, had died.

\* \* \* \* \*

*The Cowardice of the Hindús at Kirmán, and their Disgrace.<sup>2</sup>*

Ahmad 'Alí Noshtigín made every kind of exertion, but the Hindús would not advance, and turned their backs in flight. The panic spread to the rest of the troops, and Ahmad was obliged to fly from the field. He, with his own troops and the royal army, returned, by way of Káín, to Naishápúr. Part of

<sup>1</sup> [A town fifty miles east of Ghazní.]

<sup>2</sup> [Page 533.]

the army fell back to Makrán. The Hindús fled to Sístán, and thence to Ghaznín.<sup>1</sup>

I, who am Abú-l Fazl, had gone on duty to the Amír, at the Sad-hazára Garden, and I saw the officers of the Hindús who had come there. The Amír ordered that they should be kept in the large house, which is used as the despatch office. Bú Sa'id, the accountant, brought several severe orders to them from the Amír, and matters went so far, that a message came to tell them they were dismissed. Six of their officers committed suicide with their daggers, so that blood was flowing in the office. I, Bú Sa'id, and others, left the place, and came and told the Amír what had happened. He said they should have used these daggers at Kirmán. He treated them severely, but in the end forgave them.<sup>2</sup> After this, all went wrong, and it was not possible to send any one else to Kirmán. Ahmad 'Alí Noshtigin also came to Ghaznín, and as he was ashamed and deeply grieved, no long time elapsed before he died.

\* \* \* \* \*

*The Death of the Rebel Ahmad Níáltigin and the Sultán's Rejoicings.*<sup>3</sup>

Amír Mas'úd wrote orders to Tilak to expedite matters against Ahmad Níáltigin, who should be driven from Lahore, and the Kází and his army should leave the fort. The Kází also was ordered to exert himself to the utmost in order that the Amír's mind might be at once relieved from anxiety on account of this rebellion. \* \* \* \* The Amír arrived at

<sup>1</sup> This was at the battle of Kirmán, where they formed one-half of the cavalry force, there being 2000 Hindús, 1000 Turks, and 1000 Kurds and Arabs.

<sup>2</sup> The Hindus, about 100 pages after this, are represented as incurring similar disgrace near Merv, when they fled before the Turkománs; but there they were not a bit more culpable than the rest of the army, and the reason assigned was sufficient. "The Amír also summoned the Hindús and reprimanded them, when their leaders said—We are ashamed to speak before our Lord, but the fact is our men are hungry, and our horses weak, for it is now four months since any of us have eaten barley-bread. Notwithstanding what has happened, as long as we live we shall not be found deficient."

<sup>3</sup> [Page 535 to 538.]

Takínábád<sup>1</sup> on the 7th of Zí-l ka'da [A.H. 425, Sept. 1034 A.D.], and remained there seven days, on one of which he drank wine, for he was troubled on many accounts. After that, he went to Bust for three days, and on Thursday, the 17th of this month, he arrived at the palace of Dasht-langán, where he laid out much money in gardens, buildings, and *sarás*.

\* \* \* \* \*

On Wednesday, the last day of this month, he left Bust, and while on the road messengers arrived from Tilak, bringing intelligence of his having slain the proud rebel Ahmad Níáltigín, of having taken his son prisoner, and of his having subdued the Turkománs who were with Ahmad. The Amír was exceedingly rejoiced at this news, for it relieved the anxiety of his heart. He ordered the drums to be beaten, and the clarions to be sounded; he invested the messengers with robes of honour upon their introduction, gave them plenty of money, and directed that they should be paraded through the camp.

The letters of Tilak, Kází Shíráz, and the intelligencers were to this effect:—When Tilak arrived at Lahore, he took several Musulmáns prisoners, who were the friends of Ahmad, and ordered their right hands to be cut off; that the men who were with Ahmad were so terrified at this punishment and display of power, that they sued for mercy and deserted him; that the proper arrangements were then made for the conduct of affairs of Revenue and Police; that Tilak, in full confidence and power, pursued Ahmad with a large body of men, chiefly Hindús; that in the pursuit several skirmishes and actions took place; that Ahmad, the forsaken of God, kept flying before him; that Tilak had persuaded Ahmad's men to desert; that a severe engagement ensued, when Ahmad, not able to stand his ground, was defeated and took to flight; that the Turkománs left him in a body, and asked for quarter, which was given to them; that Ahmad escaped with his personal attendants, and others, amounting to three hundred horsemen in all; that Tilak did not abate his

<sup>1</sup> [The largest town in Garmsir. See *Tabakdt-i Násiri*, *post.*]

pursuit, and had written letters to the Hindú Jat rebels to desert the cause of that godless man, and to remember that whoever should bring him or his head should receive a reward of 500,000 dirhams. On this account the span of Ahmad's life was narrowed, his men deserted, and at last matters reached so far, that the Jats and every kind of infidel joined in the pursuit of him.

One day, the despatches continued, he arrived at a river on his elephant, and wished to cross it, when two or three thousand mounted Jats were close upon him, whereas he had less than two hundred horsemen with him. He plunged into the water, while the Jats were attacking him on two or three sides, chiefly for the purpose of seizing his property and money. When they reached him, he attempted to kill his son with his own hand, but the Jats prevented him, and carried off the son, who was on an elephant, and then fell upon Ahmad himself, with arrow, spear, and sword. He defended himself most gallantly, but they at last killed him and cut off his head. They killed or took captive all who were with him, and immense wealth fell into the hands of those Jats. Their Chief sent some messengers from the spot to Tilak, who was not far off, to convey intelligence of what had happened. Tilak was greatly delighted, and despatched some men to demand the son and the head of Ahmad; but the Jats asked for the reward of 500,000 dirhams. Tilak replied, that the immense wealth which belonged to Ahmad had fallen into their hands, and they ought to forego their demand. Twice messengers went backwards and forwards upon this errand, and at last it was agreed that they should receive 100,000 dirhams. When this sum was sent to them they brought the head and the son of Ahmad to Tilak, who having obtained his object returned to Lahore to complete his arrangements for the management of the country, and then to hasten to Court with all expedition, God willing.

The Amír ordered congratulatory answers to be written, expressed his obligations to Tilak and the others, and praised them

for their conduct. He sent the couriers back, and ordered Tilak to come to Court with the head and the son of Ahmad Níáltigín.

Such is the end of the perfidious and disobedient ! From the time of Adam (peace be with him!) to this day, it has so happened that no servant has rebelled against his master who has not lost his head ; and since it is written in books, there is no occasion to make a long story about it.

The Amír wrote letters on this subject to his nobles and officers, and despatched messengers to different parts of the country to proclaim this very great victory.<sup>1</sup>

The Amír arrived at Hirát on Thursday, the middle of Zí-l hijja.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Prince Majdúd appointed Governor of Hindustán.<sup>2</sup>*

On Saturday, the 6th of Zí-l ka'da, the Prince Amír Majdúd, who was appointed Governor (Amír) of Hindustán, received a khil'at before his departure for Lahore. It was such a one as befitted a governor, especially one who was son of such a king. Three chamberlains were appointed, with their attendants ; Mansúr, son of Bú-l Kasam 'Alí Nokí of our office, was appointed to be his secretary, Sa'd Salmán to be accountant and treasurer, and Sarhang Muhammad to be paymaster of the troops. A drum, a standard, and a kettle-drum, an elephant and seat were bestowed on the Prince, and the next day he went by appointment to visit his father in the Fírozí garden. The Sultan embraced him, and gave him a dress upon taking his leave. So he went on his way, and took with him Rashíd, the son of Khwárizm Sháh, that he might be kept under surveillance in the city of Lahore.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> A few pages after this we find the minister Khwája-buzurg Ahmad 'Abdu-s Samad stating at a council, that, notwithstanding the death of Ahmad Níáltigín, Hindustán was still in so disaffected a state that he considered it imprudent that the Sultán should enter upon an expedition against the Turkománs.

<sup>2</sup> [Page 622.]

*Prince Maudúd appointed Governor of Balkh.<sup>1</sup>*

Trays of food were put down in abundance, and they drank wine. On the next day, a khil'at was given to Amír Maudúd, such as he had not received before, for it comprised a kettle-drum, standards, a tymbal, and a tabor, and the Sultán made over to him the country of Balkh, and issued a patent to that effect; so the Prince returned with all these honours to his residence, which was the sarái of Arslán Jázib, and the Sultán ordered all the nobles and officers to pay him their visits there, and they accordingly showed him such honour as had never been shown before.

*The Sultán determines to take the Fort of Hání—His Consultation with the Nobles.<sup>2</sup>*

On another day of the 'Yd, the public audience being dissolved, the minister, the Commander-in-Chief, the 'Ariz, my preceptor, and the chamberlains Bagtaghdí and Bú-l Nasr, were told to remain, and the conversation turned upon the direction in which the Sultán ought to march. These counsellors observed, "Let our lord explain to his servants what his own reflections are, for his opinion is probably the soundest; then will we speak what we know on the subject."

The Amír replied, "At the time that I was attacked by my illness at Bust, I made a vow that, if Almighty God would restore me to health, I would go to Hindustán, and take the fort of Hání; for, from the time that I returned from that place without accomplishing my object, my heart has been filled with vexation, and so it still remains. The distance is not very great, and I have determined to go there, for I have sent my son Maudúd to Balkh, and the Khwája, and the Commander-in-Chief will accompany him with large armies. The Chamberlain Sabáshí is at Merv with a powerful army, so that the Turkománs dare not make inroads upon the inhabited tracts. Súrí also is at

<sup>1</sup> [Page 660].<sup>2</sup> [Page 660 to 664.]

Naishápúr with an army. Tús, Kohistán, Hirát, Ghurjistán, and other places are well garrisoned, so that there can be no disturbance, rebellion, or other obstacle from Khurásán; and if there should, you all of you, one with the other, are at hand, and can arrive at the spot immediately. The sons of 'Alí Tigín and the Kotwál are quiet in their several places; 'Abdu-s Salám is near them and has bound them by strong engagements, as Bú Suhál Hamaduní has written. The son of Kákú is possessed of no power, and his men can do nothing, and the Turkománs place no reliance in his promises, so that on that side also there can be no obstacle. I will at once relieve my neck of the burden of this vow, for until I have taken the fort of Hánsí, I can undertake no other expedition. I can come back in time to be at Ghaznín by New Year's Day. I have thought well over the business, and I must of necessity carry my plans into effect. Now do you tell me without fear what you think on the matter."

The minister looked round the assembly and asked what they had to say on the subject on which their master had addressed them. The Commander-in-chief replied, "I and those who are like me wield the sword and obey the orders of the Sultán. We are ready to go to wherever we are ordered, and lay down our lives for his sake. The evil and the good of these matters the great Khwája knows, for they are included amongst the difficult questions of Government, and we cannot tell what he wishes, hears, knows, and sees. This is the business of the minister, not ours." Then he turned his face towards the chamberlains and said, "You are doubtless of my opinion," to which they replied, "We are."

The minister then said to the 'Áriz and Bú Nasr. "The Commander-in-chief and the Chamberlains have laid the responsibility on my neck and freed themselves from it. What say you." The 'Áriz, who was a man of few words, said, "I am not able to say anything better than what has been advanced. My own business is difficult enough to occupy all my time." Bú Nasr Mishkán said, "It appears that this matter is devolved



upon the responsibility of the great Khwája. It is necessary to speak with great deliberation, for our lord calls upon us to do so." The minister said, "He has been graciously pleased to tell us to speak out without hypocrisy. Therefore I give it as my opinion, that he should on no account go to Hindustán. It is not expedient that he should stay even at Balkh, but proceed to Merv, and after the Sultán has subdued Re, Khurásán, and the Jabbál (hills), he should then fulfil his vow. If his intention is to conquer Hánsí, the chief of the Gházis, the army of Lahore, and a chamberlain deputed by the Court might undertake the business, and thus the intention might be fulfilled, and Khurásán be secured at the same time. If my lord should not go to Khurásán, if the Turkománs should conquer a province, or if they should conquer even a village, and do that which they are accustomed to do, namely, mutilate, slaughter, and burn, then ten holy wars at Hánsí would not compensate. These evils have actually occurred, for they are already at Ámul,<sup>1</sup> and still it is considered more expedient to go to Hindustán! I have now said what seemed to me best, and have relieved myself from all responsibility. The Sultan can do as he pleases."

My preceptor said, "I agree entirely, and may add this to aid the argument. If my lord sees proper, let him send some persons secretly about the camp amongst the people and amongst the nobles, and let them ascertain the general opinion, let them mention the present perturbed state of Khurásán, Khwárizm, Re, and the Jabbál, and let them say that the Sultán is going to Hánsí, and then let them ask whether this is proper or not proper. Your slave feels confident that they will all say it is not proper. The people will give their opinions freely, when they are told that it is the desire of the Sultán that they should do so without reserve."

The Amír replied, "Your friendship and good advice are unquestionable. The vow is upon my neck, and accomplish it I will, in my own person. If any great disturbance should

<sup>1</sup> [A town on the Oxus. The river is also known by the name of Ámul or Ámu.]

arise in Khurásán, I rely upon Almighty God to set it all to rights." The minister replied, "As it is so we must do whatever men can do. I only trust that during this absence no difficulty may arise."

He then went away, and the rest also went away after making their obeisances. When they had gone out, they went aside to a private spot, and exclaimed, "This lord of ours is very obstinate, beyond all bounds and degrees. No one could have spoken more openly than we have done, and one could not have done more so without being disrespectful; and as for what he said about Almighty God! we shall see;" and then they separated.

On Thursday, the middle of Zí-l hijja, the Commander-in-chief, 'Alí, was invested with a very superb robe of honour, for which he came forward and paid his respects. The Amír praised and flattered him, and said, "The confidence of my son, my minister, and my army, reposes upon you. The Khwája will remain with you as my vicegerent. To give good advice and find pay for the army, is his business; discipline and fighting is yours. You must attend to his orders, and all of you should have but one hand, one heart, one opinion; so that no interruption to business may arise during my absence." The Commander of the forces kissed the earth and said, "Your slave will obey your orders implicitly," and departed.

On Saturday, the 17th of this month, a very handsome khil'at was bestowed upon the minister, according to the usual value, and even much more than that, because the Sultán was anxious in every respect to maintain a good understanding with him, seeing that he was to conduct the affairs of State during his absence. When he came forward the Amír said, "May this robe be auspicious, as also this confidence which I repose in you during my expedition to Hindustán. May the grace of God rest with the Khwája. I have made a vow, and that vow I must needs fulfil. To him I have made over, first, my son, then, the commander, and the whole army which remains here, and all should be obedient to his orders." The minister replied, "Your

slave is ready to discharge all obligations of his service." He then retired, after having been treated with very great distinction.

*The Sultán leaves Ghazni—Falls ill, and Forswears Drinking.*<sup>1</sup>

On Monday, the 19th of Zí-l hijja, the Amír rose early, and went to the Fírozí garden, that he might see the different detachments of his army pass by in review; and afterwards, about mid-day prayers, those three precious individuals, his son, the minister, and the commander, came on foot, and paid him their respects and then went away. He appointed Khwája Bú Nasr Nokí, my preceptor, to be in attendance on him, and an order went to the minister to this effect.

At last, on Thursday, when eight days of Zí-l hijja remained, the Amír, (God be satisfied with him!) departed from Ghazní on his way to Hindustán, by the road of Kábul, to prosecute his holy war against Hání. He remained ten days at Kábul. The first day of Muharram, A.H. 429 (14 Oct., 1037), fell on a Saturday.

On Thursday, the 6th of Muharram, he left Kábul, and on Saturday the 8th despatches arrived from Khurásán and Re, all of them important; but the Amír cared nothing for them, and told my preceptor to write a letter to the minister and enclose these despatches in the same case, for that the minister knew all about the matter, and would do all that was necessary in every respect; adding, "I myself am not well acquainted with the subject."

On Tuesday, when five days of Muharram remained, the Amír arrived at the Jailam, and encamped on the banks of that river near Dínárkotah. Here he fell ill, and remained sick for fourteen days, and got no better. So in a fit of repentance he forswore wine, and ordered his servants to throw all his supply of it, which they had in store, into the Jailam, and to destroy all his other instruments of frivolity. No one dared to drink wine openly, for the officers and censors who were appointed to superintend this matter carried their orders strictly into effect.

<sup>1</sup> [Page 664.]

Bú Sa'id Mushrif was sent on an expedition against Chakki<sup>1</sup> Hindu, to a fort about which no one knew anything. We were still on the Jailam, when news arrived of the great Rái and the state of the roads to Kashmír, and we were still there when intelligence reached us of the death of the Rái of Kashmír,

*The Sultán takes the fort of Hánsi.<sup>2</sup>*

On Saturday, the 14th of Safar, the Amír had recovered, and held a darbar, and on Tuesday, the 17th, he left the Jailam, and arrived at the fort of Hánsi on Wednesday the 9th of Rabí'u-l awwal, and pitched his camp under the fort, which he invested. Fights were constantly taking place in a manner that could not be exceeded for their severity. The garrison made desperate attempts at defence, and relaxed no effort. In the victorious army the slaves of the household behaved very gallantly, and such a virgin fort was worthy of their valour. At last, mines were sprung in five places, and the wall was brought down, and the fort was stormed by the sword on Monday, ten days before the close of Rabí'u-l awwal. The Brahmans and other higher men were slain, and their women and children were carried away captive, and all the treasure which was found was divided amongst the army. The fort was known in Hindustán as "The Virgin," as no one yet had been able to take it.

*The Sultán Returns to Ghazní.<sup>3</sup>*

On Saturday, when five days remained of this month, he left Hánsi, and returned to Ghaznín on Sunday, the 3rd of Jumáda-l awwal. He came through the pass of Sakáwand, where so much snow had fallen, that it was beyond all calculation. Letters had been sent to to Bú 'Alí, the Kotwál, to send out some men to clear the road, and if they had not done so, it would have been impossible to pass it. It is all one ravine, like a street, from the caravanserai of Muhammad Salmán to the city.

<sup>1</sup> In allusion to one of the Chak tribe apparently once so powerful in Kashmír.

<sup>2</sup> [Page 665]

<sup>3</sup> [Page 666.]

For the three last days before entering the city, snow fell uninterruptedly. Amír Sa'id, the Kotwál, the principal inhabitants, and others, came out two or three stages to meet him. The Amír alighted at the old palace of Mahmúd and stayed there one week, until the carpets were laid down in the new palace, and the decorations for his reception<sup>1</sup> were prepared, when he went and remained there. The commanders and officers of the garrison of the five forts returned also to Ghaznín. Ever since I have served this great family, I have never seen such a winter as there was this year at Ghaznín. I am now worn out, for it is twenty years that I have been here, but please God! through the munificence of the exalted Sultán Ibráhím, Defender of the Faith, (may his dominion last for ever!) I shall again be restored to what I was then.

On Tuesday, the 3rd of Jumáda-l awwal, the Amír celebrated the festival of New Year's Day, when the lower classes presented their offerings, and were received kindly by the Amír. A drinking bout was also held, in which he repaid himself for his past abstinence, for, from the time of his repentance on the Jailam to this day, he had drunk nothing.

### *Misfortunes in Khurásán and Re.<sup>2</sup>*

On Tuesday, the 3rd of Jumáda-l ákhir, very important despatches arrived from Khurásán and Re, stating that during his absence the Turkománs, at the beginning of the winter, had come down and plundered Tálikán and Fáriyáb,<sup>3</sup> and misfortunes had fallen on other places which it was impossible for the victorious armies to reach at such a season. All this had befallen on account of the Sultán's expedition to Hánsí. It was beyond endurance. Re itself was in a state of siege. The Amír was

<sup>1</sup> The word used is آذین, signifying "a temporary arch or structure, on which boughs and flowers are arranged, to celebrate the entry of a Prince into a city.

<sup>2</sup> [Page 666.]

<sup>3</sup> [According to Ibn Haukal, who is followed by Abú-l Fidá and the Marásidu-l Ittilá', Tálikán is between Merv and Balkh at three days' journey from Merv.—Fáriyáb is a city west of the Oxus in Júzján six days' journey from Balkh. There is a Tálikhán in the maps east of Kunduz, but this is not the place intended.]

ashamed of his having gone to Hindustán, from which he had derived no advantage, for no one can oppose the desires of God. He ordered answers to be written, telling his officers to keep up their courage, for as soon as ever the weather was fair, the royal standards would advance.

On Saturday, the middle of this month, Amír Maudúd and 'Alí the Commander of the forces, came to Ghaznín from Balkh, where the minister remained according to order, for he had many important matters there to occupy his attention.

*'Abdu-r Razzák appointed Governor of Pesháwar.*<sup>1</sup>

On Wednesday, the 23rd of Rajab, 'Abdu-r Razzák was invested with a robe of honour on his appointment to the government of Pershaur<sup>2</sup> and received his orders, and ten military<sup>3</sup> slaves of the household were appointed as his chamberlains. The office of preceptor and a khil'at was bestowed on Suhail 'Abdu-l Malik, a man admirably adapted for the situation; he was born in the household of Ahmad Mikáíl, and was a long time in the service also of Bú Suhail Hamadúní. The governor departed for Pershaur, on Tuesday the 9th of this month, in great state, and took with him two hundred slaves.

*Punishment of Hindu Elephant Riders.*<sup>4</sup>

The Amír celebrated the festival of the new year, on Wednesday, the 8th of Jumáda-l ákhir (430 H., March 1039 A.D.) On Friday, the 10th of this month, news arrived that Dáúd had reached Tálíkán with a powerful and well equipped army. On Thursday the 16th of this month, further news was received, that he had reached Fáriyáb, and from that had been summoned in haste to Sabúrkán,<sup>5</sup> and that plunder and massacre had attended him wherever he went. On Saturday, the 18th of this month, ten Turkomán horsemen came during the night near the garden of the Sultán for the purpose of plunder, and killed four Hindu foot soldiers,

[Page 666.]    <sup>2</sup> Pesháwar.    <sup>3</sup> One copy says "black."    [Page 708.]

<sup>5</sup> ["Shibbergán" of Thornton's Map, west of Balkh. Ibn Haukal's reading seems to be "Shabúrkán."—*Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, xxii. p. 186.]

and retreated to the neighbourhood of Kundúz, where the elephants were stabled, and after looking about them intently, they found a boy asleep on the neck of an elephant. The Turkománs came up and began to drive the elephant away, the boy sleeping all the while. When they had gone as far as a parasang beyond the city, they awoke the boy, and threatened to kill him if he would not drive the elephant quickly, which he agreed to do. The horsemen rode behind the elephant, brandished their spears, and goaded the animal on. By the morning, they had travelled a good distance, and reached Sabúrkán, where Dáúd rewarded the horsemen, and told them to take the animal to Naishápúr. Great discredit was incurred by this affair, for it was said—"Is there so much neglect amongst these men that they allow an elephant to be driven off?" Next day, it was reported to the Amír, who was exceedingly vexed, and severely rebuked the drivers, and ordered one hundred thousand dirams, the price of the animal, to be recovered from them. Some of the Hindu<sup>1</sup> elephant-riders were chastised.

On Monday, the 20th of this month, Áltí Salmán, the chamberlain of Dáúd, arrived with two thousand horsemen at the gates of Balkh, encamping at the place, which is called "the Infidels' embankment," and plundered two villages, at which the Amír was greatly annoyed.

\* \* \* \* \*

*The Author out of Employ.*<sup>2</sup>

Just now, in the year 451 H. (1059 A.D.) I am residing in my own house by command of my exalted master, the most puissant Sultán Abú-l Muzaffar Ibráhím, (may God lengthen his life and protect his friends!) waiting for the period when I may again be called before the throne. It is said that a service subject to the fluctuations of rising and falling will probably be permanent,

<sup>1</sup> A curious change has occurred in this respect. There are no Hindu elephant-riders in the Muhammadan parts of India. They are now almost invariably Saiyids, or if not Saiyids, are addressed as "Mír Sáhíb," for their position is one of honour, being seated in front, with their backs to potentates and grandees. <sup>2</sup> [Page 823.]

but that which smoothly jogs on is liable on a sudden to incur the whims or rancour of one's master. God preserve us from fickleness and vicissitude !

*Prince Maudúd proceeds to his Government.*<sup>1</sup>

The Amír (God's satisfaction rest on him !) held an audience, and when the minister and nobles had taken their places, Khwája Mas'ud was introduced, and after paying his respects, stood before the Amír, who said,—“ I have appointed you tutor to my son Maudúd. Be on the alert and obey the orders which the Khwája gives you.” Mas'ud replied,—“ Your slave obeys.” He then kissed the ground and departed, after being received with distinguished honour. He lost not a moment in going to Amír Maudúd, to whom he was introduced by the same parties who presented him at Court. Amír Maudúd treated him with great kindness, and then Mas'ud went to the house of the minister, who received his son-in-law very graciously.

On Sunday, the tenth of Muharram [432 H. Sept. 1040 A.D.], Amír Maudúd, the minister, the chamberlains Badar and Irtigín, received each a very valuable khil'at, such as were never remembered to have been given before at any time. They came forward, and retired after paying their respects, Amír Maudúd received two elephants, male and female, a drum and tymbal, and other things suited to his rank, and very much more, and the others in like manner, and thus their business was brought to a close.

On Tuesday, the 12th of the month, the Amír went to the Fírozí Garden, and sat in the green pavilion, on the Golden Plain. That edifice was not then as it is now. A sumptuous feast was ordered to be prepared, and messes of pottage were placed round. The Amír Maudúd and the minister came and sat down, and the army passed in review before them. First passed the star of Amír Maudúd, the canopy, flaunting standards, and two hundred slaves of the household, with jackets of

<sup>1</sup> [Page 823.]



mail and spears, and many led horses and camels, and infantry with their banners displayed, and a hundred and seventy slaves fully armed and equipped, with all their stars borne before them. After them came Irtigin the chamberlain, and his slaves, amounting to eighty. After them followed the military slaves of the household, amounting to fifty, preceded by twenty officers beautifully accoutred, with many led horses and camels. After them came some other officers gaily decorated, until all had passed.

It was now near mid-day prayer, when the Amír ordered his son, the minister, the chief chamberlain Irtigin, and the officers to sit down to the feast. He himself sat down, and ate bread, and then they all took their leave, and departed. "It was the last time they looked on that king (God's mercy on him!)"

*The Sultán has a Drinking Party.<sup>1</sup>*

After their departure, the Amír said to 'Abdu-r Razzák:—"What say you, shall we drink a little wine?" He replied:—"When can we better drink than on such a day as this, when my lord is happy, and my lord's son has attained his wish, and departed with the minister and officers: especially after eating such a dinner as this?" The Amír said,—“Let us commence without ceremony, for we have come into the country, and we will drink in the Fírozí Garden.” Accordingly much wine was brought immediately from the Pavilion into the garden, and fifty goblets and flagons were placed in the middle of a small tent. The goblets were sent round and the Amír said:—"Let us keep fair measure, and fill the cups evenly, in order that there may be no unfairness." Each goblet contained half a *man*. They began to get jolly, and the minstrels sang. Bú-l Hasan drank five goblets, his head was affected at the sixth, he lost his senses at the seventh, and began to vomit at the eighth, when the servants carried him off. Bú-l 'Alá, the physician, dropped his head at the fifth cup, and he also was carried off. Khalil Dáúd drank ten; Siyábírúz nine; and both were borne away to the

<sup>1</sup> [Page 325.]

Hill of Dailamán. Bú Na'im drank twelve, and ran off. Dáúd Maimandí fell down drunk, and the singers and buffoons all rolled off tipsy, when the Sultán and Khwája 'Abdu-r Razzák alone remained. When the Khwája had drunk eighteen cups, he made his obeisance and prepared to go, saying to the Amír,—“If you give your slave any more, he will lose his respect for your majesty, as well as his own wits.” The Amír laughed and gave him leave to go; when he got up and departed in a most respectful manner. After this, the Amír kept on drinking and enjoying himself. He drank twenty-seven full goblets of half a *man* each. He then arose, called for a basin of water and his praying carpet, washed his face, and read the mid-day prayers as well as the afternoon ones, and so acquitted himself, that you would have said he had not drunk a single cup. He then got on an elephant and returned to the palace. I witnessed the whole of this scene with mine own eyes—I, Abú-l Fazl.

On the 19th, Bú 'Alí Kotwal left Ghaznín with a strong army on an expedition against the Khilj, who had been very turbulent during the Amír's absence, and he was ordered to bring them to terms, or attack them.

*Bú Suhál Hamadúní.<sup>1</sup>*

After the departure of the minister, all State business was referred to Bú Suhál Hamadúní, who had an exceeding aversion to the work, and avoided giving his own opinion by referring everything to the minister. He called on me at every private audience and consultation, to testify what the objections of the minister were, for I was present at all of them. He carried his dislike to the administrative business so far, and he was so hesitating in his opinion, that one day, at a private audience, when I was present standing, the Amír said,—“The country of Balkh and Tukháristán should be given to Portigín, that he may go there with the army of Máwaráu-n Nahr and fight against the Turkománs.” Bú Suhál replied:—“It would be proper to

<sup>1</sup> [Page 826.]

address the minister on this subject." The Amír said: "You throw off everything upon him, and his sentiments are well known on the subject." He then directed me on the spot to write the orders and letters, and sealed them, saying: "You must give them to a horseman to deliver." I said, "I obey." Bú Suhál then said: "It certainly would be right to send the horseman to the minister first, and to hold back the order so that he may send it off." I agreed, and went away. It was then written to the great Khwája, that the Sultán had given such and such foolish commands, and that the Khwája knew best what orders to issue. Bú Suhál told me that his intention was to relieve himself of responsibility, as he could not participate in such injudicious counsels and sentiments. I wrote in cypher to the minister, and told him all that had happened, and the horseman was despatched. When he reached the Khwája, the Khwája detained him as well as the order, since he considered it injudicious, and he sent me a sealed answer by the hands of the Sikkadar, or seal-bearer.

*Reception of Prince Muhammad and his Sons.<sup>1</sup>*

On Monday, the 1st of Safar, Prince Yazdyár came from Naghar<sup>2</sup> to Ghaznín, had an interview with the Amír, and returned. During the night Amír Muhammad was brought from the fort of Naghar, accompanied by this prince, and was carried to the fort of Ghaznín, and Sankóí, the chief jailer, was appointed to guard him. The four sons of Muhammad, who also were brought away with him, namely, Ahmad, 'Abdu-r Rahmán, 'Umar, and 'Usmán, were placed in the Green Pavilion in the Fírozí garden.

Next day, the Amír drank wine from early morning, and about breakfast time sent for me and said: "Go quietly to the

<sup>1</sup> [Page 826.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sir H. Elliot read the name "Naghz" and the *Marsidu-l Ittilá'* gives this as the name of a city in Sind; but the printed text has "Naghar," which probably means the fort of Nagarkot.]

sons of Muhammad, and engage them by strong oaths to remain faithful to me, and to offer no opposition. Take great care in this business, and after you have accomplished this, affect their hearts warmly in my favour, and order robes of honour to be put on them. Do you then return to me, when I will send the son of Sankoí to bring them to the apartments prepared for them in the Sháristán.”<sup>1</sup>

I went to the Green Pavilion in the Fírozí Garden, where they were. Each of them had on a coarse old cotton garment, and was in low spirits. When I delivered my message, they fell on the ground and were extravagantly delighted. I wrote out the oaths binding them to allegiance, which they read out aloud, and after subscribing their names, they delivered the document to me. The robes were then brought, consisting of valuable frocks of Saklátún<sup>2</sup> of various colours, and turbans of fine linen, which they put on within their apartment, and then they came out with red boots on, and sat down. Valuable horses were also brought forward with golden caparisons.

I returned to the Amír, and told him what had transpired. He said: “Write a letter to my brother, and tell him I have done such and such things respecting his sons. I have enlisted them in my service, and mean to keep them near me, that they may come into my views, and that I may marry them to my children who have their heads covered (daughters), in order that our reconciliation may be evident.” He addressed him as “the Amír, my illustrious Brother.” When the letter was written, he put his seal to it, and gave it to Sankoí, saying: “Send it to your son,” which he promised to do.

Next day, the nephews of the Sultán came with their turbans on, and paid their respects, when the Amír sent them to the wardrobe chamber, that they might be clothed with golden frocks, caps with four feathers, and golden waistbands. Valuable horses, one thousand dinárs, and twenty pieces of cloth, were presented

<sup>1</sup> A suburban villa.

<sup>2</sup> Usually translated as “scarlet cloth,” being the origin of our word “scarlet;” but this cannot be correct here, as the Saklátún is described as of various colours.

to each, and they returned to their apartments. An agent was appointed to attend them, and pensions were assigned to them. They came twice every day, and once at night, to pay their respects. Hurra-i Gauhar was at once betrothed to Amír Ahmad, preparatory to the betrothal of the others; but the nuptials were not then celebrated.

*The Sultán determines to go to Hindustán.—His Perverseness.—The Consultation of the Nobles.—The Author's Concern in these transactions.*<sup>1</sup>

Orders were despatched with the utmost secrecy to the confidential servants of the Amír, to pack up everything he had at Ghaznín—gold, and dirhams, and robes, and jewels, and other property, and the work was commenced on. He sent a message to his mother, sisters, daughters, aunts, and freed slaves, to prepare themselves for a journey to Hindustán, and to leave nothing behind at Ghaznín on which they might set their hearts. They had to set all in order for that purpose, whether they would or no. They asked Hurra Khutalí, the mother of the Sultán, to interpose in the matter, but she replied, that any one who wished to fall into the hands of the enemy might remain behind at Ghaznín; so no one dared to say a word. The Amír began to distribute the camels, and passed the greater part of the day in private audience with Mansúr Mustaufi on the subject of providing camels for his great treasures, his officers, and his army. They asked me privately—"What is all this about?" but no one dared say a word.

One day, Bú Suhál Hamadúní and Bú-l Kásim Kasír said,—“The minister should be consulted on this matter, and some one should be deputed to call him back;” but no one would take the initiative in writing to him, so long as he was absent from the Amír. It so happened, that, next day, the Amír ordered a letter to be despatched to the minister, telling him “I have deter-

<sup>1</sup> [Page 828.]

mined to go to Hindustán, and pass the winter in Waihind, and Marminára, and Barshúr (Pesháwar) and Kírí, and to take up my quarters in those parts away from the capital. It is proper that you should remain where you are, till I arrive at Barshúr and a letter reaches you, when you must go to Tukháristán, and remain there during the winter, or even go to Balkh if you can, to overthrow my enemies." This letter was written and despatched. I wrote at the same time, in cypher, a full explanation how my master was alarmed at the mere anticipation of danger, and would not draw rein till he reached Lahore, for that letters had privately been despatched there to prepare everything for his reception, and that it appeared to me that he would not rest even at Lahore; that none of the ladies of the household were left at Ghaznín, nor any of the treasure, and that the officers and army which were left had neither hand nor foot to use, and were in great alarm; that the hopes of all rested on him, the great Khwája; that he should take every care to oppose this dangerous resolution, and that he should write distinctly, as he could act with very much greater effect than we could to prevent the mischief. To the officers also I wrote in cypher such and such things, and I said—"We are all here of the very same opinion. Please God! that sage old adviser, the minister, will write a reply at length, and rouse our king from his lethargy."

I received an answer to this letter, and, praised be God! it was written in terms awfully plain,<sup>1</sup> and the minister discharged every arrow from his quiver. He said distinctly,—“If my lord departs from the capital, the enemy will fight at the very gates of Balkh, and your majesty will not be able to enter the city, for the people are already so ill-disposed, that they are leaving the city and fighting against us. If your majesty gives orders, your slave will go and drive the enemy from those parts. Why should my lord go towards Hindustán? He should remain this winter at Ghaznín, for, God be praised! there is no cause for

<sup>1</sup> [*“Sukhanhde hawl”*—a curious anticipation of the English school-boy's use of the word “awful.”]

alarm, as your slave has despatched Portigin against this people, and he will arrive shortly. Know of a surety, that if my lord goes to Hindustán with the ladies of the household and treasure, when the news gets abroad amongst friends and enemies, calamity will befall him, for every one is desirous of increasing his own power. Besides, I have no such confidence in the Hindus, as to trust my lord's ladies and treasures to their land. I have no very high opinion of the fidelity of the Hindus, and what confidence has my lord in his other servants, that he should show his treasure to them in the desert? My lord has already seen the result of his excessive obstinacy, and this opinion of his obstinate disposition is entertained by all. But if, which God forbid! he should depart, the hearts of his subjects will be broken. His slave has given this advice, and discharged the obligations of gratitude and relieved himself of further responsibility. My lord can do as he sees best."

When the Amír had read this address, he immediately said to me,—“This man has become a dotard, and does not know what he says. Write an answer and say, ‘that is right which I have determined on. I am ready to acknowledge that you have written according to the dictates of affection for me, but you must wait for further orders, which will explain my resolution; for that which I see you cannot see.’”

The answer was written, and when all knew it, they sorrowed without hope, and began to prepare for their departure. Bú 'Alí Kotwál returned from the Khilj<sup>1</sup> expedition, having adjusted matters. On Monday, the 1st of Rabí'u-l Awwal he had an interview with the Amír, was kindly received, and returned.

Next day, he had a private audience with the Amír; they read mid-day prayers, and it was soon learnt that the Amír had made over to him the city, fort, and environs of Ghaznín. He said: “I will return by the spring. Take great care that no evil

<sup>1</sup> The original says “Balkh,” but “Khilj” must be meant, as it was before represented that the Kotwál was sent against that people. The Amír as well as the minister have already spoken about sending Portigin to Balkh.

befals the city, for my son Maudúd, the minister, and a large army, will be away. Whatever may happen during the winter, in the spring I will settle the matter in another fashion. The astrologers have declared that my star is not propitious during this winter." The Kotwál replied, "To secure the ladies and treasure in strong forts is preferable to carrying them into the plains of Hindustán." The Amír rejoined,—“I have determined that they shall remain with me, and may Almighty God grant us all peace, welfare, and success during this journey!” He then went away.

At the time of afternoon prayers, the officers of the army went and sat with the Kotwál, and held a long conversation, but it was of no avail. God only knew the secret of what was to happen. They said,—“To-morrow we will throw the stone again, and see what will come of it.” The Kotwál observed, “Although there is no use in it, and it is very vexatious to the Amír, yet it will be proper to make another attempt.”

Next day, the Amír held a private audience after the Darbár with Mansúr Mustaufi, and said he still wanted several camels to enable him to go, but they were not procurable, and he was much vexed at it. The chiefs came to the Darbár, and 'Abdu-l Jalíl the son of Khwája 'Abdu-r Razzák sat amongst them and said,—“I cannot stay to hear any ridiculous suggestions,” and went away.

They then came down to the Iron Gate and sat in the room with four projecting windows, and sent to me to say, they had a message for the Sultán, which I was to deliver quickly. I went and found the Amír sitting in his winter apartment, alone with Mansúr Mustaufi, and Ághájí at the door. I sent in to announce my arrival, and the Amír said, “I know he has brought a formidable remonstrance; let him come in and tell me.” I came back to them, and said, “A holy man tells no lies to his lord, yet, though he never heard my message, he said you have brought a handful of nonsense.” They said, “We must at any rate cast this responsibility from our own shoulders.” So they



stood and dictated a long message to me, to the same effect as the minister had written, and even plainer. I said, "I have not ability sufficient to remember every particular in the order in which you dictate; it is better that you should write, for when it is written, he must necessarily read the whole." They said, "You have spoken well." So I took a pen, and wrote most fully, while they stood by suggesting improvements. They then wrote their signatures at the bottom, attesting that this was their message.

I took it to the Amír and stood while he read it over twice, deliberately. He then said,—“Should the enemy make their appearance here, let Bú-l Kásim Kasír give up to them the wealth he has, and he may obtain from them the appointment of 'Áriz. Let Bú Suhál Hamadúní, who also has wealth, do likewise, and he may be appointed minister. Tahir Bú-l Hasan, in like manner. I am doing what is right in my own estimation. You may return and deliver this short reply.”

So I came, and repeated all that I heard, when all were thrown into despair and distraction. The Kotwál said:—“What did he say about me?” I replied, “I declare to God that he said nothing about you.” So they arose, saying: “We have done all that we were bound to do, we have nothing further to advance,” and departed. Four days subsequent, the Amír commenced his march.

Now this volume has been brought to a conclusion. Up to this I have written the history of the king's going towards Hindustán, and there I have stopped, in order that I might commence the tenth volume with an account of Khwárizm and the Jabbál, complete up to this date, and in the mode in which history requires. After I have completed that, I will return to the account of the king's journey to Hindustán down to the end of his life: please God!

*Beginning of the Tenth Volume.*<sup>1</sup>

At the end of the ninth volume I brought the history of

<sup>1</sup> [Page 832.]

Amír Mas'úd down to that period when he had completed his arrangements for proceeding to Hindustán four days after the interview, and there I ended the volume. I begin the tenth with an account of Khwárizm, Re and the Jabbál, and Bú Suhál Hamadúni, and the period of his family's residence here, and their departure, and of my being appointed to the Government of Khwárizm, and of my losing it and going to Re, and of Altún-tásh. All this I will mention, to make my history complete. After I have performed this task, I will revert to the history of this king, giving an account of those four days down to the end of his life, of which but little then remained.

I will now commence these two chapters replete with wonders and marvels. Let wise men reflect upon this, and be well assured that man by mere labour and exertion, notwithstanding that he has property, armies, and military stores, can succeed in nothing without the aid of Almighty God. In what was Amír Mas'úd deficient in all the appurtenances of a king?—Pomp, servants, officers of State, lords of the sword and pen, countless armies, elephants and camels in abundance, an overflowing treasury, were all his, but destiny decided that he should live a reign of pain and vexation, and that Khurásán, Khwárizm, Re, and the Jabbál should depart from his hands. What could he do but be patient and resigned to the decree, that “man has no power to strive against fate.” This prince made every exertion and collected large armies. Notwithstanding that he was exceedingly independent of the opinion of others, and passed sleepless nights in contemplating his schemes, yet his affairs were ruined, because the Mighty God had decreed from all eternity that Khurásán should be inevitably lost to him, as I have already described, and Khwárizm, Re and the Jabbál in like manner, as I shall shortly relate, in order that this truth may be fully established. God knows what is best!

\* \* \* \* \*

## IV.

## JĀMI'U-L HIKĀYĀT.

OF

## MUHAMMAD 'U'FY.

[The full title of this work is *Jawāmi'u-l Hikāyāt wa Lawā-mi'u-l Riwayāt*, "Collections of Stories and Illustrations of Histories," but it is commonly known by the shorter title prefixed to this article. The author was Maulānā Nūru-d dīn Muhammad 'U'fi, who lived during the reign of Shamsu-d dīn Altamsh, to whose minister, Nizāmu-l Mulk Muhammad, son of Abu Sa'id Junaidī, the book is dedicated. In one of his stories he states that his tutor was Ruknu-d dīn Imām, and that he attended the Madrasa in Bukhārā, from which it may be inferred that he was born in or near that city. It would appear also that he was a traveller, for he speaks in different places of the time when he was in Cambay, and of when he was in Khwārizm.

In the Preface of the work he relates in very inflated language the defeat of Nāsiru-d dīn Kubācha by Nizāmu-l Mulk Junaidī and his subsequent suicide. It does not exactly appear what part the author took in this transaction, but he distinctly says that he was besieged in the fort of Bhakkar with Nāsiru-d dīn, and he was evidently well acquainted with all the details. A short abstract of this account will be given at the end of the historical extracts.

The work may shortly be described as a Romance of History. It bears much the same relation to the history of India and Central Asia as the "*Memorabilia of Valerius Maximus*" bear to the History of Rome. Gen. Briggs (*Firishta* I. 23 and 212)

describes it as "a collection of historical stories and anecdotes illustrative of the virtues, vices, and calamities of mankind, but more useful in commemorating the prevailing opinions of contemporaries than as a source of authenticity." This estimate of the work is somewhat tempered by the remarks of Mr. Thomas (Prinsep I. 37,) who says, "the compiler of a succession of tales does not ordinarily carry the weight that belongs to the writer of history; and favourite oriental legends, as is well known, are suited from time to time with many and various heroes, but the author of the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát* is something better than a mere story-teller and his residence at Dehlí under Altamsh (A.H. 607, A.D. 1211) gave him advantages in sifting Indian legends of no mean order." Many of the stories which are here recorded of historical persons have no doubt a foundation of fact, but some of them have certainly been amplified and embellished to make them more agreeable reading. Thus the story about the miraculous spring of water which is said to be quoted from 'Utbi enters into details which are not to be found in the original relation (*supra* p. 20.)

The work is divided into four *Kisms* or parts, each containing twenty-five chapters, but the first part is the longest and comprises about half the work. The first five chapters are devoted respectively to (1) Attributes of the Creator, (2) Miracles of the Prophets, (3) Marvellous Stories of the Saints, (4) Anecdotes of the Kings of Persia, and (5) Anecdotes of the *Khalifas*. The next chapter is upon Justice, and all the rest are similarly devoted to the illustration of some moral or intellectual quality. This arrangement, however well adapted to accomplish the object of the author, is particularly perplexing to those who are seeking for historical or biographical notices, and a long and laborious search is necessary to find any anecdote which has not been carefully noted down. The extracts which follow have therefore been arranged in something like chronological sequence, but the chapters from which they are taken are always specified so as to make easy a reference to the original.

A great number of different books are mentioned as the sources from which the stories have been derived. Among them are the *Tárikh Yamíní*, *Tárikh-i Násirí*, *Tárikh-i Mulúk-i 'Ajam*, *Tarikhu-l 'Abbás*, *Majma'u-l Amsál*, *'Aínu-l Akhbár*, *Sharfu-n Nabí*, *Faraj b'ada-l Shiddat*, *Khalku-l Insán*, *Fawáid-i Kutb-i Hikáyatí*, *Miftáhu-l Hajj*, *Sarru-l Darí*, *Shajratu-l 'Akl*, *Akbár-i Barámika*, etc.

The work has been a popular one, and has served as a mine from which many subsequent writers have drawn largely. *Hájí Khalfa* notices three different Turkish versions, and one of these has been described by *Hammer-Purgstall*.

Besides the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyat* the author produced a Persian *Tazkira*, bearing the title "*Lubábu-l Albáb*," which is, however, more of an *Anthology* than a *Biography*.

Copies of the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyat* are not uncommon. *Sir H. Elliot* used in India two large folio MSS., one containing 850, and the other 1000 pages. There is a fine copy in the *East India Library*. The Editor has had three large MSS. for use and reference. One fine perfect copy in *Naskh* characters belonging to *Mr. H. T. Prinsep*, size, 16 × 11 inches; another in folio belonging to the late *Raja Ratan Sing*, of *Bareilly*, in which the third *Kism* is deficient, and lastly, a MS. which formerly belonged to *Ranjít Singh* and is now the property of *Mr. Thomas*. This last contains only the first two *Kisms*, but as far as it goes it is fuller and more accurate than the others. The different copies vary considerably in the number of stories.<sup>1</sup>

*Stratagem of the Minister of King Fúr of Hind.*

[*Kism I. Báb xiii. Hikáyat 46.*]

It is related in the books of the people of Hind that when *Fúr* the Hindu succeeded to the throne of *Hindustán*, he brought the country under his rule, and the *Ráis* made submission to him.

<sup>1</sup> See *Hájí Khalfa* II. 510; *Rampoldi* VI. 485, 514, XI. 185; *Gemäldesaal* II, 244 *et passim*; *Assassins*, 221, *Goldene Horde* XXVII; *Firishta* I. 23, 212, IV. 420; *Jahrbücher*, No. 70.

He had a minister exceedingly clever and intelligent, unequalled in ability and unsurpassed in ingenuity. This minister maintained a firm government and made himself most valuable to his master. Under him the power of the Brahmans was curtailed and their mummeries unheeded ; hence they hated him, and conspired to overthrow him. They at length resolved to write a letter to Fúr in the name of the deceased Rái to this effect :—

“I am very happy where I am, and the affairs of my State are well administered, still I am distressed for the want of my minister, for I have no one like him to confer with,—you must send him to me.” They sealed this with the royal signet, and gave it to one of the king’s personal attendants, with directions to place it on his pillow while he was asleep. When the king awoke, he saw the letter, and having read it he sent for his minister and showed it to him, telling him that he must prepare for a journey to the next world. The minister evinced no repugnance, but expressed his willingness to go. He knew full well that the dead cannot write, and that they have no power to send letters and messengers, so he felt assured that this was a plot of the Brahmans. He said to the King, “Grant me one month that I may make preparation for my departure—to satisfy my enemies, redress some injuries, and bestow a few gifts and offerings on the meritorious, so that I may depart in peace.” The King granted the respite. The minister then had a large hole dug in the open ground, and all around it he had quantities of firewood placed. He then had a tunnel dug from his house to this hole, and made its outlet immediately under the firewood. When all things were ready, the minister took leave of his master, who gave him a letter addressed to his father saying, “According to your command, I have sent my minister, and I am now awaiting further directions from you, for I will do whatever you desire.” The King proceeded to the appointed place, the minister placed himself under the firewood, and the Brahmans set fire to it. The minister then went through the tunnel to his home, and remained closely concealed there for four months. At

the end of that time, he one night sent information to the King that his minister had returned from the other world. The King was amazed, but the minister waited upon him, and kissing the ground, presented a letter written in the language of the King's father, which said, "You sent me the minister in compliance with my direction, and I am greatly obliged; still I know that your kingdom is going to ruin without him, and that all the affairs of State are in confusion, so I send him back to you, and make this request, that you will despatch the Brahmans to me, so that I may be at peace and your throne may receive no injury from them." When the King had read this, he called the Brahmans before him and made known to them the communication he had received. They were greatly alarmed, and saw that it was all a trick of the minister's, but as they were unable to expose it, they were all burnt.

*Rái Shankal and Bahrám Gúr.*

[I. iv. 16.]

When Bahrám resumed the government, and again exercised a beneficial influence over his subjects, he desired to examine the country of Hindustán, and bring it under subjection. So he placed his army and country in charge of his brother Zasí, and clothing himself in the garb of a merchant he went to Hindustán. At that time the Rái of Hind was named Shankal, who in dignity and prosperity, in territories, treasures, and armies, excelled all the other Ráis.

Bahrám arrived in his territory, and made himself acquainted with all its affairs. It happened that at this time a huge elephant made its appearance in the forest without the city, and so distressed the people that all traffic on the road was put a stop to. The King's men were unable to prevent this, but Bahrám went out against it, and, single-handed, killed it. This exploit being reported to the Rái, he called Bahrám before him, and asked him who he was, whence he had come, and for what reason he had hitherto kept aloof from him. These questions Bahrám

answered by saying that he was a native of Írán, that he had fled thence to save his life, which had been attempted by the king of that country, who for some reason had become inimical to him. On hearing this, Shankal treated him with great kindness and received him into his especial favour. Bahrám remained in attendance upon Shankal, until shortly after a powerful enemy rose up against and threatened the Rái, who, deeming himself not sufficiently strong to hold his own, wished to submit to, and become a tributary of his invader. This, however, Bahrám would not hear of, but, putting himself at the head of an army, expelled the enemy. This feat made his courage famous throughout Hindustán, and Rái Shankal, having witnessed his valour, and how by his aid the enemy had been overthrown, loaded him with honours. One day, Bahrám was drinking wine in the company of the Rái, and having become intoxicated, blurted out the following Persian verses:—

“I am that ferocious lion; I am that huge elephant;  
My name is Bahrám Gúr, and my patronymic Bújabala.”<sup>1</sup>

Shankal heard this, and becoming aware that his friend was Bahrám, he rose up, and leading him into the presence chamber, and kissing the ground before him, excused himself for his apparent neglect, saying, “though greatness is depicted in your countenance, yet I, through my blind folly, have hitherto been wanting in the respect due to so exalted a character. I stand before you stupified, and shall ever bless my fate, if you will but condescend to take up your abode at my residence, and grace my poor house with your august presence. I am altogether and devotedly at your service. Your orders shall be my law, even should you command me to leave my kingdom and become an exile.”

Bahrám answered, “You have nothing to reproach yourself for; you have invariably treated me with the greatest kindness and hospitality, and have done all, nay, more than all, that could

<sup>1</sup> The *Haddiku-l Baldghat* and the *Majma'u-s 'Sandyá* say that this was the first verse composed in the Persian language.



be expected. One request I would make of you. You have in your harem a daughter, whose beauty outshines the sun, and whose figure shames the cypress. Give her to me, by so doing our friendship will be more strongly cemented, and you will have laid me under the deepest obligation to you."

Shankal promptly complied, and gave him his daughter in marriage, and many gifts and presents. He also made such magnificent preparations for the ceremony, that they became the topic of conversation amongst all people. Bahrám, protected by the prestige of his name, returned to Írán. His army and subjects came forth to meet him, and celebrated the joyous occasion by sacrificial offerings, almsgiving, and every sort of festivity. Bahrám, gratified by the delight his subjects showed on his return, gave orders that the taxes of seven years should be refunded to them, and that for the ensuing seven years, all business should be set aside, and the people should give themselves up to complete ease and pleasure.

Accordingly, all devoted themselves to the pursuit of pleasure, and neglected their professions, and trade, and farming; in consequence of which, an utter stagnation of all commerce ensued. No grain was grown—a dearth followed, and the condition of the people was altogether changed. On seeing this, Bahrám directed that the people should divide the day into two portions,—the first half was to be spent in work and business, and the other half in ease and enjoyment. This arrangement being carried out, the time flew by with lightning speed.

### *The Solis of Persia.*

[L. iv. 17.]

Bahrám Gúr, while out hunting, observed a party of shopkeepers diverting themselves in the evening with drinking in a boat without musicians. He asked them why they had no minstrels, and they replied that his Majesty's reign was a happy one for musicians, who were in great demand, and could not be obtained even for a high price. They themselves had offered

100 dirhams, but could not get one. Bahráṁ said he would consider the matter and provide for their pleasure, so when he got home he wrote off to Shankal requesting him to send a supply of them. Shankal accordingly sent 1000 sweet-voiced minstrels to Persia, there to dwell and multiply. The present Solís are descended from the colony which came over upon this invitation.<sup>1</sup>

*Anecdote of Kisrá.*<sup>2</sup>

[IV. x. 5.]

It is related that when Kisrá (Naushírwán) became king and inherited vast possessions, he sent an officer to Hindustán,<sup>3</sup> entrusting him with the government of that country, and told him that he should rule with equity over the subjects and not distress them by tyranny and injustice, for until the people were made happy, the country could not be populated and his fame would never spread itself over the world. The first object in becoming a king is to obtain a good name. The officer promised to observe these precepts, and accordingly marched towards Hindustán. He had no sooner reached its borders, than he taxed the subjects and demanded one year's revenue from them. He exacted from them one-tenth of their property, and the people finding it too heavy for them to pay, objected, saying that the former kings had exempted them from such a payment, and they could not submit to such a rule. They therefore consulted with each other, and addressed a petition to Kisrá, containing a full representation of the case. Kisrá consequently ordered that it was but proper for them to follow the customs and rules of their forefathers, and any others ought not to be introduced.

*Rát Jai Sing of Nahrwála.*

[I. vi. 2.]

Muhammad 'Ufí, the compiler of this work, observes that he never heard a story to be compared with this. He had once been

<sup>1</sup> The same assertion is made in the *Tabakdt-i Ndsírl*.

<sup>2</sup> [I have not found this story in either of the MSS. that I have used.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Another copy reads Tabaristán.

in Kambáyat (Cambay), a city situated on the sea-shore, in which, a number of Sunnis, who were religious, faithful, and charitable, resided. In this city, which belonged to the chiefs of Guzerát and Nahrwála, was a body of Fire-worshippers as well as the congregation of Musulmáns. In the reign of a king named Jai Singh, there was a mosque, and a minaret from which the summons to prayer was cried. The Fire-worshippers instigated the infidels to attack the Musulmáns, and the minaret was destroyed, the mosque burnt, and eighty Musulmáns were killed.

A certain Muhammadan, a khatíb, or reader of the khutba, by name Khatíb 'Alí, escaped, and fled to Nahrwála. None of the courtiers of the Rái paid any attention to him, or rendered him any assistance, each one being desirous to screen those of his own persuasion. At last, having learnt that the Rái was going out to hunt, Khatíb 'Alí sat down behind a tree in the forest and awaited the Rái's coming. When the Rái had reached the spot, Khatíb 'Alí stood up, and implored him to stop the elephant and listen to his complaint. He then placed in his hand a *kastda*, which he had composed in Hindí verse, stating the whole case. The Rái having heard the complaint, placed Khatíb 'Alí under charge of a servant, ordering him to take the greatest care of him, and to produce him in Court when required to do so. The Rái then returned, and having called his minister, made over temporary charge of the Government to him, stating that he intended to seclude himself for three days from public business in his harem, during which seclusion he desired to be left unmolested. That night Rái Jai Sing, having mounted a dromedary, started from Nahrwála for Kambáyat, and accomplished the distance, forty parasangs, in one night and one day. Having disguised himself by putting on a tradesman's dress, he entered the city, and stayed a short time in different places in the market place, making enquiries as to the truth of Khatíb 'Alí's complaint. He then learnt that the Muhammadans were oppressed and slain without any grounds for such tyranny. Having thus learnt the truth of the case, he filled a vessel with

sea water, and returned to Nahrwála, which he entered on the third night from his departure. The next day he held a court, and summoning all complainants he directed the Khatíb to relate his grievance. When he had stated his case, a body of the infidels wished to intimidate him and falsify his statement. On this the Rái ordered his water carrier to give the water pot to them that they might drink from it. Each one on tasting found that the vessel contained sea water, and could not drink it. The Rái then told them that he had felt unable to put implicit confidence in any one, because a difference of religion was involved in the case; he had himself therefore gone to Kambáyat, and having made personal enquiries as to the truth, had learnt that the Muhammadans were the victims of tyranny and oppression. He said that it was his duty to see that all his subjects were afforded such protection as would enable them to live in peace. He then gave orders that two leading men from each class of Infidels, Brahmans, Fire-Worshippers,<sup>1</sup> and others, should be punished. He gave a lac of Bálotras<sup>2</sup> to enable them to rebuild the mosque and minarets. He also granted to Khatíb four articles of dress.<sup>3</sup> These are preserved to this day, but are only exposed to view on high festival days. The mosque and minaret were standing until a few years ago. But when the army of Bálá<sup>4</sup> invaded Nahrwála, they were destroyed. Sa'id Sharaf Tamín rebuilt them at his own expense, and having erected four towers, made golden cupolas for them. He left this monument of The Faith in the land of Infidels, and it remains to this day.

*Rái Jai Sing of Nahrwála.*

[I. xiii. 15.]

In the city of Nahrwála there was a Rái who was called Jai Sing. He was one of the greatest and wisest princes of the time.

<sup>1</sup> [*Tarad.* This name is used for Christians and for Fire-worshippers. It would also sometimes seem to be applied to Buddhists.]

<sup>2</sup> These Bálotras appears to derive their name from the Bálás.

<sup>3</sup> [چهار چیز بداد از جامه طیفور طرقا]

<sup>4</sup> [One MS. writes this name "Balwá," another "Máld."—Málwá?]

Before his time there was no Rái in Guzerat and Nahrwála. He was the first man who possessed dominion and claimed sovereignty there. He ruled over the country with great gentleness, and controlled the other chiefs. When his fame had reached all quarters of the world, the Rái of Daur,<sup>1</sup> who was the head of all the Ráis of Hindustán, heard of him and sent ambassadors to ascertain upon what grounds he had assumed royalty ; for in former times there was no Rái in Nahrwála, which had only been a den of thieves, and threatening that if he did not relinquish his pretensions he would lead an army against him, and hurl the very earth of Guzerat into the air with the hoofs of his horses. When the ambassadors arrived and delivered the message, the Rái showed them the greatest civility and hospitality. One night the Rái changed his clothes, putting on such as were worn by soldiers, and having buckled a sword round his waist, he went out and proceeded to the house of a courtesan, and having bargained with her, he stayed in her house that night, but kept himself under control. When the woman was fast asleep, the Rái took away all the clothes and property he could find, and buried them in a certain place. He then turned homewards, but as he was going along he saw a weaver, who was engaged in weaving cotton. He called him and said, "If to-morrow you are brought before the Rái, and are charged with having committed a theft in the night preceding, you first deny it, but afterwards confess and say that you buried the property in such and such a place. Rest assured that you shall receive no harm, but shall be made happy by my reward." Next morning, the Rái mounted an elephant, and the ambassadors of the Rái of Hind rode out with him, intending to go to the forest. When they had gone a little way, the Rái saw the courtesan worrying the chief police officer of the city, and saying, "Last night my clothes were stolen ; find out who the thieves

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps meant for Drávida, or the country of Coramandel ; on which name see M. Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 284, and *Fragments Arabes*, pp. 104 and 121. Mr. Thomas's MS. reads "Kaur."]

were, or make good the loss." The Rái asked what the woman was saying, and what she was complaining about. He replied that she complained of a man who came to her house in the previous night, and consorted with her, and when she was asleep stole her clothes. I want time to find the thief or the clothes, but she will not hear of any delay. The Rái said, "She is right. She had only those clothes, and it is your duty to be vigilant, and as you have been negligent you must pay the penalty." The police officer replied, "It is as the king says; still if a man goes at night to the house of a prostitute and carries off her clothes, how am I to blame? I promise, however, that if I do not find the thief within a week I will pay the value of the things." The Rái replied, "You must find the thief instantly, or I will punish you as a warning to others." The police officer said it was not in his power to produce him. The Rái asked him, "Would you like me to find him?" and the poor man replied, "Yes." There was an idol of stone in Nahr-wála resembling a negro. The Rái told the ambassadors that this idol was obedient to him. He then made a signal to it, and waited a moment, then turning his face towards the ambassadors he said, "Do you see this negro?" They said, "We see nothing." The Rái then addressed it, saying: "A theft was committed last night, and the clothes of a prostitute were stolen; tell me where they are." After a short time he exclaimed, "They are buried in such and such a place." People proceeded to the spot, and there found the things which had been stolen. The police officer said, "If the Rái would be pleased to give the necessary directions the thief also might be caught and punished." The Rái answered: "The idol says you have recovered the stolen goods, what more do you want?" The police officer still pressed the point, and the king replied, "The idol says he will direct you to the thief if you will promise to pardon him." The officer gave the required promise, and the king then said, "The idol says that a weaver who dwells in such and such a place was the thief." The weaver was brought forward. At first he denied

the theft, but at length confessed, and told them where he had buried the clothes. The ambassadors were surprised at this. Some days after, Jai Sing Deo said to the ambassadors, "Go and tell your master that I have a slave who, if I give him the order would bring your master's head to me in a moment ; but as he is a great king, and his territory is a long distance off, I will not molest him. If, however, he again shows hostility, he shall get the punishment he deserves." The ambassadors returned and related all the circumstances to their master. The Rái of Daur was much alarmed, and sent him great presents. By this artifice the Rái of Nahrwála gained his purpose, without shedding the blood of a single man.

*A Hindú Merchant of Nahrwála.*

[I. vi. 12.]

In the city of Nahrwála there lived a Hindú merchant who having deposited nine lacs of Bálotras in the hands of a certain person, after some time died. The trustee then sent for the merchant's son and said,—Your father left with me nine lacs of Bálotras. The son replied that he knew nothing about it, but that there would probably be mention made of the transaction in his father's accounts. These he sent for but could find nothing about nine lacs ! on this he observed : "Had my father entrusted anybody with so large a sum, surely mention would have been made of it in his account book ; this not being the case, I cannot feel myself justified in taking possession of the money." The trustee urged the youth to take the money, but he still refused, and the contention grew hot between them. At last they agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of Rái Jai Sing Deo, who gave it as his opinion, that since the two could not agree as to the disposal of the money, it was advisable that it should be expended on some work of lasting utility, so that the real owner would reap the reward of virtue and charity. Accordingly, the 'nine-lac reservoir,' the finest in the world, hitherto unsur-

passed by all that the cleverest and wisest have executed or imagined, was built ; and remains to be seen to this day.

*The Biter Bit.*

[I. vi. 19.]

A certain Rái of Hind conferred on his brother the chieftainship of Nahrwála. This brother was of an exceeding cruel and wicked disposition. He made counterfeit dirhams and circulated them in different parts of the country. After the lapse of some time, a certain person became acquainted with this dishonest act, and reported it to the Rái, who, on hearing it, sent a powerful force which captured and sent this brother to him.

It happened curiously enough, that this brother had given one of his servants some poison with instructions to go and seek employment in the Rái's kitchen, and, when opportunity offered, to administer some of the poison to the Rái, in order to procure his death, so that he himself might succeed to the vacant throne. On his employer's capture and imprisonment, it occurred to this servant that, as things had so fallen out, it was advisable that he should inform the Rái of the circumstance. So he went to the king and having showed him the poison, told him of the plot his brother had laid against his life. On hearing this, the Rái returned thanks to Almighty God for his great escape, and punished his brother for his intended crime. Thus by this act of royal justice was he saved from assassination, and the fame of his goodness spread abroad through all nations.

*Rái Gúrpál of Nahrwála.*

[I. vi. 33.]

The following is one of the most interesting stories relating to the people of India. There was a Rái of Nahrwála named Gúrpál,<sup>1</sup> who surpassed all the other rulers in Hindustán in good

<sup>1</sup> [This name is so given in the draft translation made in India, and it is written "Gúrbál" in Rája Ratan Singh's MS; but in the other MSS. that I have used it is "Alúrbár," and "Alúdbal."]



qualities and amiable disposition. Before he had been raised to the throne he had passed many of his years in beggary, during which period he had experienced all the vicissitudes of fortune, having shared both its smiles and frowns, and endured all the miseries of travel. When he obtained power he exercised it with a right appreciation of the duties of a ruler, remembering his own days of adversity he afforded full protection and justice to his subjects, ruling with impartiality and equity.

It is said that one day having left the city, he rode into the surrounding country on an elephant. While looking about him, his eye suddenly fell on the wife of a washerman who was going to the jungle to wash clothes. She was dressed in red, and of surpassing beauty; all who beheld her became passionately in love with her and lost all control over themselves.

The Rái overcome by the feelings her beauty excited in his heart, turned his elephant towards her and was tempted to let his passion get the mastery over his better feelings. Suddenly he came to himself, and, restraining his wrongful desires, said, "O passions you are doing wrong, beware. Good never comes to him who does ill." He then turned back filled with remorse, and assembling all the Brahmans, he ordered them to prepare fuel, declaring his intention of burning himself alive. The Brahmans asked him what sin he had committed. He then told them of the wicked desires he had entertained in his heart. The Brahmans having heard his relation, said that they undoubtedly must burn him, and that even then the expiation would be incomplete. For he was king, and his power supreme; if he could not restrain his passions, then in a short time all the female inhabitants of the city would become degraded and all the offspring illegitimate. It was right, therefore, that he should immolate himself, and by so doing, obtain forgiveness for his sins, and enter into eternal life. Wood was then brought, and a funeral pile having been made, it was lighted. When it was thoroughly on fire and the flames mounted high, then the Rái made preparations to throw himself into the midst, but the Brahmans prevented him, saying :

"The work of expiation is complete, inasmuch as the fault was of the mind and not of the body. The innocent should not be punished for the guilty, had your body been a participator in the crime, then indeed it had been necessary to have burnt it also. Your mind has already been punished and purified by fire." They then removed the Rái from the pyre, and he in celebration of this sacrifice, gave as a thank-offering one lac of Bálotras, and bestowed large sums in charity.

"If a king be just, although he be an infidel,  
His country will be secure from all injury and loss."

*March of the King of Zábulistán upon Kanauj.<sup>1</sup>*

[I. xii. 15.]

In the early part of their career there was friendship between the King of Zábulistán<sup>1</sup> and the Rái of Kanauj, but it ended in animosity and war. The King of Zábulistán marched against Kanauj with a large army. The Rái called together his advisers and asked their opinions, when each one spoke to the best of his ability. One of them said that he had a decided opinion on the matter, but he could only speak it in private. The Rái ordered the council chamber to be cleared, when the minister said: "War is attended with great dangers, and the result is doubtful; the best thing the Rái can do is to inflict punishment upon me and to drive me forth in disgrace to the highway, so that when the enemy shall approach, I may be taken to act as his guide. I will then lead them into the desert so that all may perish with thirst, and you will thus be relieved from all apprehension. The Rái praised him for the proposition he had made, and a few days after he put it in execution, giving orders for him to be expelled the country. The Hindú then went and placed himself in the way of the King of Zábulistán, and when the king drew near with his army, the Hindú made his case known. The king said "How can a minister who has been thus treated have any kind

<sup>1</sup> [This is another version of the story told by Abú Rihán at page 11, *supra*; and a similar one is given with Mahmúd for the hero, at page 191, *infra*.]

feeling towards his persecutor?" The Hindú said, "All this was done on the absurd suspicion of my being friendly to you." He then added, "From this place where you now are to that where the Rái is, the distance is eleven days' journey by the desert, but no one besides me knows the road, and the Rái feels secure that your army cannot make the passage; if, however, you will assure my life and will hold out promises and hopes of reward, I will lead you by that way and enable you to take the Rái by surprise." The king gave orders for his army to provide eleven days' provision of grain and water, and plunged into the desert. After marching twelve days their water was exhausted, and they nowhere found a trace of any. The king called for the Hindú, and asked how it was that they had not come to any water. He replied: "I have accomplished my object in bringing you here, and have discharged my duty to my master. You are now in the middle of the desert, and no water is to be found within eleven days march—my work is done, do with me as you please." A cry arose from the bystanders, and a commotion broke out in the army. The king in the extremity of his despair mounted his horse and galloped in all directions. He perceived a hillock crowned with verdure, and joyfully directed his men to dig a well there. When they had sunk about ten yards they came upon some excellent water, at the sight of which the king and all his army gave thanks to God. Each man dug a well in front of his tent, and gained new life. The king then called together his elders, and asked what ought to be done to the man who had misled them. They all declared that he ought to be put to death with the most cruel tortures, and each one specified some particular mode of torture. But the king said, "My judgment is that you should give him a little water and let him go. What he has done has been out of pure devotion to his lord and master; to save him he has risked his own life. He has done what he intended, but our good fortune has rendered his scheme abortive." So they gave him water and permission to depart. The story of this incident spread, and through it the

whole country of Kanauj was secured to him, and the people bowed their heads in obedience.

*Rái Kamlú and the Governor of Zábulistán.<sup>1</sup>*

[I. xii. 18.]

It is related that 'Amrú Lais conferred the governorship of Zábulistán on Fardaghán and sent him there at the head of four thousand horse. There was a large Hindú place of worship in that country, which was called Sakáwand,<sup>2</sup> and people used to come on pilgrimage from the most remote parts of Hindustán to the idols of that place. When Fardaghán arrived in Zábulistán he led his army against it, took the temple, broke the idols in pieces, and overthrew the idolators. Some of the plunder he distributed among the troops, the rest he sent to 'Amrú Lais, informing him of the conquest, and asking for reinforcements.

When the news of the fall of Sakáwand reached Kamlú,<sup>3</sup> who was Rái of Hindustán, he collected an innumerable army and marched towards Zábulistán. Upon hearing of this march Fardaghán secured several Hindús and sent them to Hindustán. These men entered the camp of Kamlú and reported to him that when Fardaghán had conquered Sakáwand, he immediately despatched people to different quarters of the country, calling for additional forces, knowing that the Hindú would certainly endeavour to take revenge. The result was that an army of Muhammadans had been collected around him, such as would coerce the very ends of the earth. Behind him also the army of 'Amrú Lais was advancing, with the design of leading their antagonists into the defiles and there slaughtering them all. When Rái Kamlú heard this intelligence, he halted where he was, and was very cautious in his movements. In the meantime, Fardaghán received reinforcements from Khurásán, such that the enemy had not the power to cope with. By this ingenious device he succeeded in his object.

<sup>1</sup> [The text of this story is printed in Thomas' Prinsep, Vol. I. 317.]

<sup>2</sup> "Baháwand" in another place. [See *supra* p. 140.]

<sup>3</sup> [Mr. Prinsep's MS. reads "Kalmú."]

*Discovery of Treasure.*

[I. vi. 11.]

There is a story to be found in some Hindú works, that a man having bought a house from another, began to make alterations in it. While prosecuting these he happened to light upon a concealed treasure. He took the money to the former owner, and said, "I have discovered this treasure under the wall of the house I purchased from you." The man replied—"I sold the house just as I bought it, and know nothing about the money. I cannot take it, as I do not believe myself to be entitled to it." On this they both agreed to go to the king and deliver the treasure up to him, that he might expend it on some work of public utility. Accordingly they went, and having represented the whole case, made the money over to the king. On this the king exclaimed—"You are people of the middle class, and meddle with what does not become you. I am entrusted with the responsible duty of managing and adjusting the affairs of my subjects, and to me God has entrusted the reins of government. How can I take this charitable money?" The men replied, "You are the king, and we come before you in this difficult case, in order that it might be settled by your justice and equity." The king then told them to make some marriage arrangement between their families. It happened that the seller of the house had a daughter, and the purchaser a son, so the daughter of the former, with the money in question as dowry, was given in marriage to the son of the latter. The king from an innate sense of justice, would not suffer the skirt of his robes of equity and righteousness to be soiled by the dirt of oppression and dishonesty.

*The Herb which produces Longevity.*

[I. vi. 14.]

I have read in a book that certain chiefs of Turkistán sent ambassadors with letters to the kings of India on the following mission, viz.: that they, the chiefs, had been informed that in India drugs were procurable which possessed the property of prolonging

human life, by the use of which the kings of India attained to a very great age. The Ráis were careful in the preservation of their health, and the chiefs of Turkistán begged that some of this medicine might be sent to them, and also information as to the method by which the Ráis preserved their health so long.<sup>1</sup> The ambassadors having reached Hindustán, delivered the letters entrusted to them. The Rái of Hind having read them, ordered the ambassadors be taken to the top of an excessively lofty mountain, and then he told them that, when the hill on which they then were should be rent asunder and thrown down, then he would give them their answers, and permission to return to their own country. The ambassadors on hearing this became greatly alarmed, and despaired of living to revisit their home, relations, and friends. They pitched their tents in the valleys, and fervently prayed to Almighty God for deliverance from their troubles. They spent their whole time in offering up prayers to heaven. In this manner a long time passed. At last having one day offered up their prayers to God most earnestly, they observed the mountain shaking. The sorrow of their hearts had moved the heart of the mountain. It began to totter, and presently its lofty summit toppled over and fell to the ground. Having lifted up their voices in praise and thanksgiving to God, they informed the Rái of what had occurred. The Rái said "this is my reply to your mission. Though you are few in number, having given up your minds to prayer, by the force of your devotions you have caused the mountain to fall down. Your kings rule tyrannically, so that the people pray earnestly for their destruction, and by means of their prayers they at last blast the prosperity and annihilate the power of their oppressors. It is the paramount duty of all those in whose hands authority and power are placed, to walk in the path of justice and benevolence, in order that those who are weak should be

<sup>1</sup> This was a favourite persuasion of the Orientals. In the fourth Book and fifteenth chapter of this work, the third story relates to a chief of Jálándhar, who had attained the age of 250 years.

strengthened and protected by the law, and that those who are wealthy should enjoy their riches in peace and security. Wealth is but a faithless friend, and life but an uncertain companion; neither one nor the other is enduring and permanent."

*Self-possession of an Indian Minister.*

[I. xiv. 17.]

A certain Indian prince had in his employ a minister remarkable for his learning and wisdom. The prince had also some slave girls, who were most elegant and beautiful, and possessed of every imaginable charm. One day the minister went before the king while these slaves happened to be in attendance, for the transaction of certain business. The minister cast an eye of love on one of them, and then perceived that the prince was observing him. He therefore still kept his eye fixed in the same direction. For twenty years he continued in the prince's service, and every time he went into the presence he kept his eye fixed in that direction. By this means he allayed the royal jealousy, as the prince thought that the glance he had observed was not intentional, but merely the effect of a natural squint.

*The Arming of Ya'kúb Lais.*

[I. xiii. 35.]

At the commencement of the career of Ya'kúb Lais, a body of his friends bound themselves to raise him to the dignity of chief. When Sálîh Nâsr had taken Sístân, and become powerful, they observed to Ya'kúb that Sálîh had grown strong, and that if he did not take heed at once, he would not be able to do much afterwards. Ya'kúb consulted with an old and wise man in this matter, who said, "It is as your friends have told you, something must be done instantly." Ya'kúb then asked him what steps he should take, and the old man replied that there were two divisions of Sálîh's army—one the Sanjarís, the other the Bustís, and the best thing he could do was to irritate the Sanjarís by telling them that though battles were won by their hard fighting, the

plunder obtained by the conquests was carried off by the Bustís. "By your persuading them of this," said the old man, "hostility will be created between them. They will separate from each other; and in all probability the Sanjarís will come over to you, because they are fully aware of your skill and address, and of the courage you have shown in battle; they are also conscious of your having saved them from the Khárijís." Ya'kúb acted upon this advice, and so worked upon the Sanjarís, that enmity sprung up between them and the Bustís, and Sálíh Nasr found himself in a very precarious situation. The Sanjarí troops went over to Ya'kúb, and when Sálíh Nasr saw that affairs were come to extremities, he proceeded with his army of Bustís towards the enemy. Ya'kúb, Ibráhím and Hafz came forward and encamped at the pass of Ghanjara. Ya'kúb resolved to make a night attack, and Sálíh being apprized of it, fled in alarm towards Bust. Thus did Ya'kúb, by a clever stratagem, obtain the victory over his enemy.

*Ya'kúb Lais and Rúsal.*

[I. xiii. 21.]

Almighty God endowed Ya'kúb Lais with a very lofty mind so that he rose from the most abject position to the highest pitch of glory and prosperity. He encountered many dangers and passed through great difficulties, till at length he aspired to the acquisition of dominion. When Sálíh Nasr<sup>1</sup> fled from before him, he went and joined Rúsal,<sup>2</sup> and excited him to collect his troops and march against Ya'kúb Lais. Rúsal assembled his armies, and placed Sálíh Nasr at the head of the foremost division. Ya'kúb Lais on receiving the intelligence, called together some old and experienced men and asked their advice as to the

<sup>1</sup> In one of the stories of the next chapter Ya'kúb is said to have been the *darwán*, or doorkeeper of Sálíh Nasr.

<sup>2</sup> In most of the passages where the name recurs in this story it is spelt as "Rúsal," but in one as "Ratbal," and in another as "Ratbil." [Mr. Prinsep's MS. has "Rasal" and "Rútsal," but Mr. Thomas' "Zambil." See Vol. I. pp. 167, 168.]



means of repelling the invasion of Rúsal. They advised him to oppose the enemy, and represented that although he had a small force, yet he ought to trust in the help of God, and resort to every wile and stratagem to harass his opponent, but not to engage in a pitched battle. When Ya'kúb reviewed his army, it was found not to consist of more than three thousand horse. However, he proceeded to oppose Rúsal, and when he reached Bust, people derided him, saying, "How can he fight against Rúsal with this small number of horse." Ya'kúb Láis now had recourse to stratagem and deception. He sent one of his confidential servants to Rúsal with a message to say that, he wished to come and meet him, and render him homage; he knew he was not able to cope with such a potentate, but that if he should tell his people that he was going to meet Rúsal, they would not obey him, and might possibly kill both him and his dependants. He had consequently told them he was proceeding to give battle to his enemy, in order to induce them to accompany him; but that when he should join Rúsal and make his submission, they must perforce follow his example. When the ambassadors of Ya'kúb came to Rúsal and delivered the message to him, it was very agreeable to him, because he was greatly harassed by Ya'kúb, who continually made incursions into his country, and attacked it in different directions. He made the ambassadors welcome, and sent messages to Ya'kúb, giving him many kind promises and holding out hopes of preferment. Ya'kúb despatched his messengers one after the other, and to prevent his followers from being disheartened he told them that he had sent the messengers to reconnoitre the enemy's army.

When both the armies came in front of each other, Rúsal called Sálíh Nasr and told him that as the enemy had come to proffer his submission, there must be no fighting. A day was fixed for a parley between the parties. It was not the habit of Rúsal to ride a horse, but he used to sit on a throne which a party of his servants carried on their shoulders. When both the armies were drawn up in array, Rúsal seated himself upon his throne

and ordered his troops to stand in line on each side of it. Ya'kúb with his three thousand brave horsemen advanced between these two lines, and his men carried their lances concealed behind their horses and wearing coats of mail under their garments. The Almighty made the army of Rúsal blind, so that they did not see the lances. When Ya'kúb drew near Rúsal, he bowed his head as if to do homage, but he raised the lance and thrust it into the back of Rúsal, so that he died on the spot. His people also fell like lightning upon the enemy, cutting them down with their swords, and staining the earth with the blood of the enemies of religion. The infidels, when they saw the head of Rúsal upon the point of a spear, took to flight, and great bloodshed ensued. The bride of victory drew aside her veil and Ya'kúb returned victorious. Next day six thousand horsemen of the infidels were sent prisoners to Sístán. He also placed sixty of their officers on asses, and having hung the ears of the slain upon the necks of these officers, he sent them in this manner to Bust. In this conquest he obtained such immense treasure and property that conjecture cannot make an estimate of them.

Sálih Nasr fled from the field and went to the king of Zábulistán. His troops deserted him and joined Ya'kúb, who, after he had secured peace to the country, sent a messenger to the ruler of Zábulistán requesting him to surrender Sálih Nasr. His request was complied with; and when Sálih came, Ya'kúb put him in prison, where he died. The hostility which the people of Bust had shewn to Ya'kúb, he now retaliated upon them. He fixed the same poll-tax upon them as was levied from the Jews, and this was collected with severity. This victory which he achieved was the result of treachery and deception, such as no one had ever committed.

### *Surrender of Ghaznín to Alptigin.*

[I. vi. 25.]

When Alptigin, the master of Subuktigin, deserted the Sámá-nians and went to Ghaznín, they were by his departure reduced

to great destitution, and serious disturbances broke out in the country. We will make mention in the proper place of this occurrence, as well as of his reasons for separating himself from them. On his reaching Ghaznín, the garrison shut themselves up in the fort and refused to surrender to him. He, therefore, pitched his camp without, and speedily possessed himself of the suburbs and surrounding country.

There he exercised his power with such impartiality and regard for justice, that the people around were in the enjoyment of perfect peace. One day he was going along the road when he perceived a party of his servants coming from a village, with poultry slung from their saddle-straps. Having stopped them, he enquired how the fowls came into their possession. They pretended that they had purchased them in a neighbouring village. On this Alptigin sent a horseman to the village with instructions to bring the head man of it into his presence. When he was brought, Alptigin asked him whether the men had bought the fowls or seized them by force. The man appeared desirous of hiding the truth, so Alptigin told him to tell the truth on pain of punishment. The man then said, "When a Turk comes into a village he does not buy fowls but always takes them by force." On hearing this, Alptigin gave orders that the culprits should be punished with death. Those around implored mercy, and entreated that some lesser punishment than death might be inflicted on the thieves. He complied with this request, and ordered the offender's ears to be bored and the birds to be suspended from them by a string tied to their legs. This having been done, the birds, in struggling to escape, so flapped and beat with their wings the men's heads and faces that blood flowed copiously from the wounds inflicted. In this condition they were paraded through the army. The news of this act of justice having reached the ears of the people, they all assembled together, and agreed that a man so upright and just was worthy to be their ruler. That very evening they went to him and agreed upon the terms of capitulation. The following day the

city was surrendered. So, by this one act of judicious impartiality he became possessed of the city of Ghaznín, which rose to be the shrine of prosperity and abode of wealth.

*Bravery of Amír Subuktigín.*

[I. xiii. 24.]

When Bilkátigín<sup>1</sup> went towards Ghaznín, the Sámánians were informed that the Turks were coming from Khurásán. He (the king) sent his minister, Abú Is'hák, with a large body of men, and another force also to stop the advance of the enemy. When information of this design reached Bilkátigín, he despatched Subuktigín with his followers to frustrate it. Subuktigín observed that the passes were narrow and difficult, and that his enemies were acquainted with them, while he was a stranger. He therefore considered it advisable to employ stratagem in resisting them. So he proceeded to the head of one of the passes and there formed three ambuscades, in which he placed some of his men, while he with another party advanced into the pass. When the enemy saw the smallness of his force they came out and attacked him. Subuktigín pretending to fly from before them, induced them to leave the passes in which they were posted, and they were thus drawn out into the open plain. Amír Subuktigín then made such an attack on them that the earth shook, and the enemy fled with precipitation to seek safety among the passes.

Subuktigín then let loose his three ambuscades, and these falling on the foe ere they reached the defiles, not one of them escaped. Subuktigín then cleared the passes of the enemy's men, and he (Bilkátigín) having witnessed the dauntless courage of Subuktigín, spoke of him in terms of admiration. He went through the passes in safety, so that not a single camel was missing; and this was solely attributable to the judgment of Subuktigín.

<sup>1</sup> [See a coin of this chief and some observations on the time of his reign by Mr. Thomas in *Jour. R. A. S.* Vol. xvii. p. 140. See also *Tabakát-i Ndsiri*, *infra*.]

*The Vigilance of Subuktigin.*

[II. xv. 6.]

When Bilkátigin<sup>1</sup> came from Khurásán to Ghaznín and took possession of the country, the chief of it, Abú 'Alí Kúbak,<sup>2</sup> abandoned it.<sup>3</sup> Bilkátigin soon gave himself up to debauchery, and entrusted Subuktigin with the management of the city. In this high post, Subuktigin discharged the duties with great efficiency and courage, and with all vigilance and care. One day, Amír Bilkátigin took wine, and held a great carouse, and from early dawn to midnight was engaged in drinking. He also endeavoured to persuade Subuktigin to drink, but without success. When the curtain of darkness was drawn over the face of the sun, Amír Bilkátigin fell into a sound sleep, but Subuktigin was very watchful and his eyes were open like the stars. Suddenly he heard a noise which proceeded from some corner, and immediately after it was followed by an uproar. With lamps and torches he went in that direction, and then he saw a body of armed men standing in the street, ready to raise a tumult. He demanded, in a loud voice, who they were? They gave an incoherent reply. Subuktigin threatened to attack them, when they were constrained to confess that a body of malcontents had conspired to make a rising that very night, and, as a sign of their success, to light a fire upon the roof of the fort. At this signal, Abú 'Alí was to bring up his force, capture Bilkátigin and his adherents, and drive all his troops out of the country. Subuktigin, on hearing these words, killed four men upon the spot and rushed out of the fort. He found a large

<sup>1</sup> [The munshi's translation had the name "Alptigin," on which Sir H. Elliot made a note that another copy (Ratan Singh's) read "Badkátigin." The name is Bilkátigin in Mr. Prinsep's MS., and consequently I have substituted that name in the translation.]

<sup>2</sup> [Mr. Prinsep's MS. has "Amír Alí Kúbak, and, when the name next occurs, Kúbak. Sir H. Elliot read the name as "Uvek." The *Tabakát-i Ndsiri* (post) reads the name Amír Antík. See *Journal R. A. S.*, xvii. p. 141.]

<sup>3</sup> M. Reinaud observes that Ibn Haukal, who, in consequence of his personal acquaintance with Abú Is'hák Ibráhím, might be supposed to be well acquainted with the affairs of the Ghaznivides, does not mention to whom Ghaznín belonged when it was taken by Alptigin.—*Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 244.

number of men assembled in arms, who were waiting for Abú 'Alí Kúbak. He put them all to the sword, and then advanced against Abú 'Alí. He took his brother prisoner, and then returned to the city. When morning dawned, Amír Subuktigín brought some of the insurgents, with the heads of some of those he had killed, to Bilkátigín, and related the whole story of the transactions of that night. The Amír expressed admiration of his conduct, and considered him worthy of great favours; and because he was very cautious and never negligent of his enemy, he appointed him his deputy and elevated his rank above that of all his equals. He also rewarded his companions with five hundred thousand dirhams. All this was the fruit of watchfulness. Wise men know that vigilance is necessary in all circumstances.

*Mahmúd's Youthful Strategy.*

[IV. xx. 6.]

It is related by Abú-n Nasr 'Utbí in his work called *Tárikh Yamíni*<sup>1</sup> that the King of Kábul made war upon the Muhammadans at the beginning of the career of Násiru-d daula Subuktigín. When intelligence of this war was brought to the Amír Násiru-d dín, he called out his forces from Khurásán to oppose him. Sultán Mahmúd was then about fourteen years of age. Amír Násiru-d dín summoned his officers and consulted with them upon the plan to be pursued. Amír Mahmúd gave it as his opinion that the best course was to go in advance of the army and seek a strong place in the mountains, where they might make themselves secure, and from whence they might make nocturnal and unexpected assaults upon the enemy. They would thus prevent the foe from advancing against them, and distress him with incessant raids. The counsel was approved by all, and Amír Násiru-d dín advanced and occupied a position near Baghrú.<sup>2</sup> The King of Kábul marched thither with a countless army, and for some time the opposing forces encamped there.

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Prinsep's MS. reads "*Tárikh-i Daulat-i Yamíni*."]

<sup>2</sup> [The first letter has no point.]

One day a woman of the neighbourhood came to Amír Násiru-d dín and told him that there was a spring not far off in the mountains which had this property, that if filth was cast into it the sky became overcast, snow and storms followed, and the weather became so cold that no one in these parts could endure it. This cold and foul weather would last as long as the filth remained in the fountain. He sent and had some dirt thrown into the spring. Cold and stormy weather followed. The army of Hind was reduced to extremities, and the Musulmáns were completely victorious.<sup>1</sup>

*Sultán Mahmúd and the Sister of Ayáz.*

[II. xxi. 8.]

It is said that Sultán Yámínu-d daula Mahmúd Subuktigín had been long enamoured of the sister of Ayáz—he was sincerely attached to her, and anxious to espouse her. But it occurred to him that he might by this act incur the reproaches of the neighbouring kings and princes, and forfeit the respect and esteem of his own servants. This apprehension he entertained for a long time.

Abú Nasr Mishkání says—"I was one night in attendance on the king, and when all the assembly was gone, he stretched out his legs and ordered me to "shampoo" them. I knew that he certainly intended to tell me some secret. At last he said, "It is a maxim with wise men that there are three people from whom a secret should not be concealed, viz. : a skilful physician, a kind preceptor, and a wise servant. I have been long greatly perplexed, but I will this night unburden my mind and learn your opinion on the matter." I observed, "I am not worthy of the high honour done me by the king, but as he, in his high wisdom has determined it, I will to the best of my ability represent what may appear to me as good or evil in the matter." The king said, "It has long been a secret within me, that I am desirous of espousing the sister of Ayáz. But will not the neighbouring

<sup>1</sup> [See page 20, *supra*.]

kings call me a fool and low-minded, and will not you also, my servants and slaves, speak ill of me in respectable society. I ask your advice in this matter; have you ever heard or read, in any history, of kings wedding the children of their slaves?" I made obeisance and said—"Many cases similar to this have occurred. Several kings of the Sámánian dynasty married their own slave girls. This act will not seem to the world as derogatory to the king's honour and rectitude. Perhaps your Majesty is unaware that Kubád, at the time he went to Turkistán, took as his wife the daughter of a villager, from whom was born Naushírwán. In Persian history, I have also read that Bahrám Gúr married a washerman's daughter. The Sultán asked me the particulars of the story, so I said, "I have heard that one day Bahrám Gúr went out hunting, and having started a stag, followed it so far that he became separated from his train. He felt thirsty and went towards a village. He there saw a washerman sitting on the edge of a pond washing clothes; his wife and daughter were sitting by him with a heap of clothes ready to be washed. Bahrám approached them, and said, 'O washerman, give me some water to drink.' The washerman stood up, and having paid him the usual marks of respect, ordered his wife to fetch some water for the king. She took the cup, and having washed it several times in clean water, said to her daughter, 'I am not a virgin, man's hand has touched me, but you, who are an unbored pearl, should give the water to the king.' The girl took the cup and brought it to the king, who, looking at her, perceived that she was incomparably beautiful and charming, and possessed of excellent disposition and manners. He then asked the washerman if he would admit him as a guest for that day, who replied, that if the king could be contented with dry bread he would spare nothing in his power; saying this, he spread a clean cloth on the bank, and Bahrám sat down. The washerman then took his horse and fastened it to a tree, and gave his daughter a fine cloth with which she fanned the king, and protected him from flies. He himself hastened to the village and procured



food, wine, meat, in short, everything on which he could lay his hand, he brought. He gave his daughter the wine and cup, and ordered her to act as cup-bearer to the king. On which she cleansed the cup, and having filled it with wine, brought it to the king, who took her hand within his—she kissed them. Bahrám said, ‘O girl, the lips are the place to kiss and not the hand.’ The girl paid her respects, and said that the time had not yet come for that. The king was surprised at the elegance of her appearance and the eloquence of her speech. They were thus engaged when the train of Bahrám appeared in sight. He told the girl to conceal her face, on which she pulled her veil over it. He then on that spot having performed the nuptial ceremony, placed her on an elephant under a canopy, and made her father ride away with them; her mother also accompanied them.”

When the Emperor heard this story, he was much pleased, and bestowed presents upon me: saying, “You have relieved me of this care.” After two days he espoused the sister of Ayáz.

*Anecdote of Sultán Mahmúd.*

[I. xii. 9.]

When Khwája Ahmad acted as minister to Sultán Mahmúd (may God be merciful to him!) all the principal officers of State were inimical to him and traduced him to the Emperor, who thus contracted a great dislike to him, and was desirous of removing him from office. On this subject Abú Nasr Mishkán says that Arslán wrote him a letter, saying that “The king is displeased with Khwája Ahmad, and we, his Majesty’s servants, must beware of resisting his will. But in common charity we are bound to declare what we know or have heard. Khwája Ahmad is undoubtedly the most able minister of the time, and has been very useful to our sovereign. He has long been in government employ and has experienced great changes of fortune. It is now some time since he was appointed Minister of State, and now all men of influence, rank, and dignity are his enemies. The cause of their hatred to him is his devotion to his master, and his dis-

regard of their wishes and pleasure. His associates in office are also inimical to him for the same reason. You would do right to communicate this letter to his Majesty, although I know that his mind has been so perverted by them that my counsel will be useless. Still the time may come when his Majesty may feel some regret, when he will not check but excuse our representations."

Abú Nasr Mishkán continues: I read the letter and for a long time I was watching for an opportunity to lay it before the king. I also received constant messages from the minister imploring my support and assistance. I replied that it would not do to be precipitate, but that I must wait till a suitable occasion offered itself.

The Sultán Mahmúd also knew that I was watching my opportunity, but he kept strict silence on this matter, till at length it happened one day that the Sultán went out on a hunting excursion, and though it was not customary with me to attend him, yet on this occasion I did so. The Sultán asked me why I, who never went out hunting, had now come with him. I replied that it was always the duty of a servant to attend on his master. The Sultán then said, "I know that you have come in order that you might speak to me about Ahmad, but matters like these ought not to be forced upon me." I replied, "May your Majesty's judgment be always right." He then became silent and spoke not another word. That day and that night passed by. On the next night the Sultán was drinking wine and enjoying himself, when he made me sit down with him, and he talked upon all sorts of topics. At length he asked me if I had ever heard or had ever read in any book that ministers were their king's enemies. I said, "No; but I have read that the man is foolish and stupid who seeks to be a minister." He asked wherefore, and I replied, "Kings cannot endure that any one should share their authority, nor will they allow any one but themselves to give orders. If the office of minister is given to one who is looked upon as the dearest of friends, before a week

has passed he is deemed an enemy and is despised." Nothing farther passed at this meeting. After his return to Ghaznín, he was sitting one night alone, and calling for me, bade me be seated, and said, "Hitherto I have kept silence with you regarding Ahmad. Now be mindful that you tell me the truth without equivocation or reservation." I replied that I would obey his Majesty. He observed that Ahmad was an experienced and well qualified minister, who had been in the service from his youth, and had conferred lustre on his office, but he held his master in slight esteem, and he was at the same time covetous of the wealth of the Musulmáns, which he extorted from them, and opposed the king's orders. He said that he had been informed of many oppressive acts towards the slaves (*ghulám*) and such people. That he had resolved on his dismissal, and that all with whom he had consulted on this business had concurred with him. He then asked me what I had to say on the subject. I replied, that "What your Majesty in your wisdom deems most advisable is certainly best,—who can gainsay it?" The king then insisted on my expressing an opinion,—I said, "Arslán Jázib<sup>1</sup> had sent me a letter," and having it with me, I shewed it to him, and begged his permission to give him my views on the case to the best of my ability. The king consenting, ordered me to speak. I then said,—"If the charges of oppression and opposition which have been brought against the Khwája are proved to your Majesty's satisfaction, they must not be passed over, but punishment must be meted out to the minister, so that no injury may come to the country. But if, on the other hand, merely suspicions have been excited in the king's mind, then search and enquiry must be patiently made throughout the country for a man competent to fill Ahmad's place. On such a man being found, then his Majesty may follow his own will and pleasure. If one cannot be found, the greatest precautions must be taken." Having finished, the king said he would consider of it, and gave

<sup>1</sup> [One MS. calls him "Jázib," another "Kháriz." Baihakí uses the former name, p. 135, *supra*.]

me permission to depart. At last, the Khwája was deprived of his situation and imprisoned, but the king soon regretted it, for the affairs of the State and country fell into great confusion.

### *Depreciation of Coin.*

[I. xii. 14.]

When Yamínu-d daula Mahmúd came to the throne, and the effects of his greatness spread through all countries, and his rule swept away the idol temples and scattered the worshippers, some sharp men of India formed a plan (for enriching themselves). They brought out a dirham of great purity and placed a suitable price upon it. Time passed on and the coin obtained currency. Merchants coming from Muhammadan countries used to purchase these dirhams and carry them to Khurásán. When the people had grown accustomed to the value of the coin, the Indians began by degrees to debase the standard. The merchants were unaware of this depreciation, and finding a profit upon silver, they brought that metal and gold from all parts of the world, and sold it for (debased coins of) copper and brass, so that by this trick the wealth of the Muhammadans was drawn to Hindustán.

When 'Aláu-d daula<sup>1</sup> ascended the throne, this grievance had become intolerable, and he determined to remedy it, and consulted with the merchants as to the measures most proper to be taken to effect this purpose. They advised that the debased coinage should be exchanged for good from the royal treasury. Accordingly 'Aláu-d daula gave the necessary orders, and 100,000,000 dirhams were issued from the treasury to the mint, and thence distributed to the servants of the Almighty as redress and compensation. The fame of this act spread the lustre of 'Aláu-d daula's glory throughout the world.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "'Aláu-d daula" is not the title of the Mas'úd who succeeded Mahmúd, but of Mas'úd III.

<sup>2</sup> [A translation of this story is given by Mr. Thomas in *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. xvii. p. 181.]

*Anecdote of Khwāja Hasan Maimandī.*

[III. xi. 1.]

In the reign of Sultān Yamīnu-d daula Mahmūd, and in the days when Khwāja Hasan Maimandī was his minister, there was a man called Abū Ahmad Suhāl Barār. He was a great spend-thrift, a speculator and a wine-bibber. At one time twenty thousand *mans* of indigo, which belonged to the Sultān, fell into the hands of the son of Ahmad.<sup>1</sup> Some of this he sold and spent the proceeds. One day, Abū Suhāl Barār came to the minister to pay his respects. The minister said, "I have heard that your son has embezzled government property, when you saw him doing so why did you connive at it? Do you think that I will pass it over? Should he who possesses such a name as Ahmad ('most laudable') be such a fool and commit such follies?" In short, he expressed himself in unmeasured terms. Abū Suhāl exclaimed, "May your life, my lord, be increased! pardon my son; his name is Ahmad, and he should be forgiven." The Khwāja was extremely annoyed, but laughed at his ignorance and folly. He said to Abū Suhāl, "You are worse than your son. Curses be upon you, thoughtless fool." Abū Suhāl, on hearing this abuse, did not even then perceive that what he had said (was improper), nor did he consider that his name was Ahmad, and that it did not become him to utter such words. He commenced to retort in disrespectful language, and said, "Perhaps somebody has excited you against me, and consequently you are thus angry with me." The Khwāja replied, "No, I have heard it from your own tongue." He then dismissed him ignominiously from his service.

It is proper for those who have access to kings and great men, that they should take heed to their actions and speech, and neither do or say anything boldly and rashly, to bring shame

<sup>1</sup> It appears from a statement of Ibn Haukal, that the Sultāns used to reserve a large portion of indigo to themselves as a sort of royalty.—See M. Reinaud, *Mémoires sur l'Inde*, p. 246.

and destruction upon themselves. They should behave respectfully towards their master, so that they may reap the benefit of their services.

*Anecdote of Mahmúd.*

[I. xi. 46.]

One night Sultán Mahmúd was drinking wine, while his sons, Muhammad and Mas'úd, were present. Abú Nasr Mishkán says that, when some time had passed in this manner, the conversation happened to turn upon Amír Subuktigín, when the Sultán offered up prayers for his father, and his eyes were filled with tears. He said, "My father (may God's mercy be on him!) had established very good rules for the management of the country, and took great pains in enforcing them. I thought that when he should be no more, I should enjoy the exercise of my power in peace and security, and eat and enjoy myself. I also considered that after his demise I should become a great king. But the truth was revealed to me when he died and his shadow was removed from my head, for since his departure I have not had one day's happiness. You think I drink this wine for pleasure, but this is a great mistake. I take it merely as a device to gain a few days' peace, and relieve the people from all annoyance from me. These my sons entertain similar ideas to those which I did in my youth; but when the kingdom devolves upon them, they will find out the truth."

His sons made their obeisances and said, "May such thoughts never enter our minds. We both desire to sacrifice our lives at your Majesty's feet." The king commended them and bade them to sit down, which they did, but they soon afterwards departed. He then (says Abú Nasr) called me to him, and making me sit down, he stretched his legs towards my lap, and I shampooed them for a short time. He asked me what I thought of his sons, I kissed the ground and answered, "What can I say, how can tongue describe the excellencies of those two sons of grandeur, and those two moons of the heaven of prosperity! Thank God,

they possess such qualities as are beyond all expression." He said, "The excellence you ascribe to them does not mean much."<sup>1</sup> (I said) "Fathers know best the character of their sons." He then enquired whether I had a son. I replied, "Yes, I have one, his Majesty's slave." He said, "Tell me by my soul and head, is he like you, and as worthy as you?" I answered, "My lord, you know all, but my son is young, and not old enough to have shown what his real disposition is." On this the king observed, "Let him grow up and then you will see that he will not be worth your finger; if he is he will be one of the marvels and wonders of the time. Mas'úd," he continued, "is a proud fellow and thinks there is nobody better than himself. Muhammad is stout of heart, generous, and fearless, and if Mas'úd indulges in pleasure, wine, and the like, Muhammad outdoes him. He has no control over himself, has no apprehension of Mas'úd, and is heedless of the important concerns of life. I fear I find but little satisfaction in the thought of Muhammad succeeding me; for woe to him at the hands of Mas'úd, who will devour him, and woe also to the generals of my army, for Mas'úd is a very covetous man and has great love of money. If he should hear of any officer possessing a little property, he will be sure to destroy him in a few days, and appoint some worthless fellow in his place. It will thus come to pass that in this great kingdom every one will strive to benefit himself, and you may imagine the pass to which matters will come." I replied, "My lord, may you ever enjoy sovereignty! dominion in this kingdom will for ever remain in this family!" The conversation was continued for some time in this strain, and when the Sultan went to sleep, I returned. Eventually what the king had said came to pass in every particular. The history of Muhammad and Mas'úd is well known, and will be related in this book in its proper place.

<sup>1</sup> [The MSS. differ slightly here, but the sense appears to be as translated.]

*Mahmūd's return from Somnāt.*

[I. xii. 16.]

A stratagem similar to that narrated in the last story<sup>1</sup> was employed when Sultán Yamínu-d daula was returning from Somnāt. Two Hindús came to him and offered themselves as guides. They led the way for three days and conducted him into a desert where there was neither water nor grass. The Sultán asked them what kind of road they called that by which they had come, and whether there were any habitations in the neighbourhood? They replied that they had been commissioned by the Rái, their chief, and had fearlessly devoted themselves to the work of bringing him thither. "Now you have," continued they, "the sea (*daryá 'azim*) before you, and the army of Hind behind. We have done our business, now do you do with us what you like, for not one single man of your army will escape." In the midst of this conversation, a water-fowl was suddenly seen flying in the air. The Sultán said, where there are water-fowl there must be sweet water, and proceeded after it. At length he reached the banks of a great river, the water of which was very brackish and quite unfit to drink. He was in this plight when he perceived another water-fowl, he followed it up and came to a village in which they discovered sweet water. He then ordered a suitable punishment to be inflicted on the two guides. Upon searching the village they found an 'Alawí (descendant of 'Alí) who was dwelling there with his family. They asked him if he knew the road, but he declared his ignorance, adding that there was an old man in another village who knew all the intricacies of the roads.

The Sultán then had the 'Alawí and his sons mounted on camels, and went with them to the village mentioned. He called the old man before him and inquired where the ford was. The old man said he had never seen any one cross the river excepting on one occasion when it was crossed by a body of men, but the place where they passed he could not tell. Had he

<sup>1</sup> [See p. 170, *supra*.]



strength to walk, perhaps he might find it out. On this the Sultán ordered him to be placed on horseback, and the old man led them to a certain spot on the bank of the river, when he said, I think this was the place where the passage was made. The Sultán sent some men into the river, but nowhere did they find it fordable. The Sultan, casting himself upon the protection of Providence, regardless of himself and fearless of the consequences, with the name of God upon his tongue, urged his horse into the stream. His whole army and all his attendants followed his example, and, with the assistance of God, crossed the water in safety. This was one of the many marvellous deeds of the Sultán, in which also the treachery of the infidels became evident to all men.

*Destruction of Robbers by Sultán Mas'úd.*

I. xiii. 47.

When Sultán Mahmúd sent costly presents to the ruler of Kirmán, the ambassador who took them proceeded *viâ* Tabbas. In the desert of Khabís<sup>1</sup> there was a body of Kafaj<sup>2</sup> and Bulúchís who robbed on the highway. They were eighty in number, and had built a stronghold upon an eminence, and had sunk a well. They had committed many robberies, but their conduct had never yet reached the ears of the Sultán. When the ambassador came to this place these people came out and carried off all the presents and rarities in his possession. Some of the men attached to the embassy were slain, but others who escaped returned to Tabbas, and there reported the circumstance to the Sultán, who was proceeding from Ghaznín to Khwárizm by way of Bust. When he arrived at Bust, Sultán Mas'úd came from Hirát and met him. On his arrival, the Sultán would not look at him or give him his hand, but appeared evidently displeased with him. Mas'úd was greatly alarmed, and kissing the

<sup>1</sup> [Khabís in Kirmán. Variouslly written in the MSS. as Habas, Hasar, Hasir, Habis, and Khabís.]

<sup>2</sup> [So in Mr. Thomas' MS. The word representing *Kafaj* is illegible in Mr Prinsep's MS., and is omitted in Ratan Singh's.]

ground, he asked what fault he had committed? The Sultán replied, "How can I be pleased with you, and why should I look at you. You are my son, and yet robberies are committed under your nose without your knowing anything about them?" He replied, "Oh king, I was staying in Hirát, and if robberies are committed in the desert of Khabís, what fault is it of mine?" The king replied, "I care not what you say, but I will not look at you unless you bring all the thieves to me, either alive or dead." Sultán Mas'úd, after his interview with the Sultán, returned to Hirát, and there having chosen a party of two hundred men he started in search of the robbers, making continual enquiries about them. On approaching their fort, it occurred to him that they would probably have spies about, and that on hearing of the approach of so large a body of horse, they would take to flight. He therefore ordered fifty horsemen to fasten on their turbans, give their horses their heads, hide their arms under their saddles, so that no one could see them, and to ride forward and keep the enemy engaged until he should come up. He himself slowly followed with 150 horse. The robbers fought strenuously, seeing only a few horsemen before them, but suddenly the Sultan Mas'úd came up in the rear and captured them all. Not one of them escaped, forty were slain, and forty were sent prisoners to the Sultán. Large booty also was taken. The Sultán ordered them to be punished, and they were executed in a most ignominious way. The fame of his vigilance and justice thus spread far and wide.

*Poisoning a Band of Robbers.*

I. xiii. 48.

A band of robbers had collected in the desert of Kirmán, and whenever the king sent a force against them they saved themselves by flight. Sultán Mas'úd was informed of this when he was king in 'Irák, and after some consideration he hit upon a plan for getting rid of them. Some poison was taken out of the store-house, and a quantity of apples were brought from Isfáhán.

He then directed a trusty servant to make holes in the apples with a bodkin and to introduce the poison. When the apples were all poisoned, they were given in charge of a caravan that was passing through the desert. A party of the king's men was also sent with the caravan, and directed to lag behind when they approached the haunt of the robbers. The caravan would no doubt be attacked and taken, and the robbers would eat up the apples and all of them would die. The king's men were then to advance and liberate the caravan. This scheme was effectually carried out. The thieves, delighted with their prize, devoured the apples, and no one that ate thereof ever rose again. Sultán Mas'úd's men then came up, released the merchants, and restored them their goods without any loss. By this ingenious scheme<sup>1</sup> the robbers were destroyed without giving any trouble to the soldiers. The wise may thus learn that stratagem will accomplish that which a thousand horsemen cannot effect.

*Conquest of Ghor by Sultán Mas'úd.*

III. xii. 9.

An injured man came to Sultán Mas'úd and complained that as he was proceeding to Ghor, the chief of the country seized and forcibly took from him all his property. A letter was consequently written to the chief directing the restoration of the man's property. The man got the letter and took it to the chief of Ghor. The chief was vexed, and ordered him to be punished. The man returned to Ghaznín and complained once more against the Ghorians. The Sultán directed that another letter should be written in threatening terms, that if the chief did not in every way satisfy the man, he would march against him and humble his pride. The man said, "O king, direct that the letter be written in as small a compass as possible, because I shall be forced to swallow it, and if there is but a small quantity of paper it will be the easier to get down." Sultán Mas'úd was extremely incensed at this, and on the same day pitched his

<sup>1</sup> [*"Hilah-i latif,"* a clever or pleasant trick.].

tents, and marched against Ghor. He took possession of the country, and chastised the chief, returning to the poor man more than had been taken from him. The Amír of Ghor was thus punished for his tyranny.

*The Punishment of Túmán.<sup>1</sup>*

III. xix. 7.

It is related in the *Tárikh-i Násirí* that during the time Amír 'Abdu-r Rashíd reigned at Ghaznín, he had a young slave named Túmán, a man of bad disposition, base and low minded, 'Abdu-r Rashíd was, however, favourably disposed towards him, and conferred on him a high rank. The slave began to interfere in the affairs of government, and being a mean and worthless fellow he did all in his power to ruin and extirpate the nobles and great men. He showed favour to Abú Suhail Rázihí, and they both joined cause and conspired against the great Khwája, the minister of the throne, 'Abdu-r Razzák. He quarrelled with Ahmad Maimaní and had him suspended and called to account. He elevated his own brother, called Mubárák Marde, to high rank, and at last entrusted him with several offices at Parsháwar. He encouraged tale-bearers and back-biters, and these people obtained great influence at court. They gave false reports, representing that the assignments were in excess of the authorised amount, and this brought destruction upon the kingdom, for the government servants and the orphans were subjected to reductions in a manner which had not been resorted to by any one before.

Amongst the other slaves who were notorious for their wickedness and bad character, was one whose name was Khatib Lút. This man was exalted by him and made accountant of the state, an office which had been held by Khwája Abú Táhir Husain with great credit and to the satisfaction of the government. When three months had elapsed after the Khwája's appoint-

<sup>1</sup> [I have not found this story in the MSS. that I have used.—Ed.]

ment, he was ordered to go to Hindústán, and after collecting the revenues of that country, to return to the capital.

Khwája Abú Táhir proceeded to Hindústán, and in every place that he visited he found an agent of Túmán oppressing the people and exercising authority; and thus great embarrassment had arisen in the affairs of the state. The Khwája reported all the circumstances to the Secretary of State, which office was then held by Abú-l Fazl Baihakí. When numerous reports had been received from Husain, Sultán 'Abdu-r Rashíd threatened Túmán with condigna punishment. Túmán now became an enemy of Abú-l Fazl, and secretly circulated false reports against him. The Sultán, without investigation, ordered Túmán to seize and imprison Abú-l Fazl, and plunder his house and property.

When Abú-l Fazl was removed, Túmán had an unbounded field for the exercise of his power. He conferred a khil'at of investiture on Khatíb Lút, and sent him to Parsháwar. This officer lighted the fire of oppression, and exalted the standard of bloodshed. He made all kinds of demands upon the people. When Khwája Husain reached Parsháwar to examine and report upon the affairs of that province, people complained to him against the Khatíb. The Khwája admonished him, but it was all in vain. The Khatíb gave him disrespectful replies and uttered abusive words against him to his very face. Husain could not restrain his indignation, and ordered him to be taken away from his presence. The matter was reported to Túmán, who told 'Abdu-r Rashíd that as Khatíb Lút was aware that Husain had unlawfully exacted money from the people, the latter had thrown the Khatíb into prison with the view that he might retain in safety the money which Husain had extorted.

When Túmán had made these representations, Amír 'Abdu-r Rashíd ordered him to go and bring Husain a prisoner to the court. Túmán marched the same night to Parsháwar with three hundred thousand<sup>1</sup> horse, and when he arrived there he showed

<sup>1</sup> "Thousand" is omitted in the *Zinatu-l majlis*, which gives us the same anecdote.

the royal mandate to the governor of the place. He seized Khwája Husain, and took Khatib out of prison. He dishonoured and disgraced many good Musulmáns, and then returned to the court.

Khwája Husain was put in heavy chains, and when they had reached the pass at Búdrí some horsemen came and reported that Amír 'Abdu-r Rashíd had himself been murdered, and that the ingrate Tughril had usurped the government. On receiving this intelligence, the soldiers, horse and foot, all came forward to Khwája Husain and said unto him, "circumstances have now taken altogether a different turn: he who had triumphed has been vanquished, and now we are all ready to obey your command. What orders may you be pleased to address to us?" The Khwája replied, "Your first duty is to remove the chains from off my feet, and put them on those of Túmán." Upon this the soldiers seized Túmán, pulled him down with great ignominy, and put the chains on his feet. They placed the Khwája on a horse, and Túmán, Khatib Lút, and his other slaves were seated on camels, and in this manner they took them to Ghaznín. God the most glorious and powerful thus punished Túmán for his wickedness. The moral of this story is to show the consequences of tale-bearing, and to teach that great and wealthy men should not encourage base characters, or take wicked men into their favour, and thus bring disgrace and shame upon themselves.

*Anecdote of Sultán Ibráhím.*

II. xxiv. 6.

One day when Sultán Razí Ibráhím (God's mercy on him!) was in Ghaznín, he saw a labourer carrying a heavy stone on his head to some building which was then in course of erection, and that he staggered under the load. The Sultán, observing his suffering, ordered him to put down the stone. The labourer obeyed his orders, and after that time the stone remained on that identical spot. One day, some of the royal attendants represented to the

king that the stone was still lying in the plain, that it frightened the horses and prevented them passing on quietly, and that it would be well if the king gave the order to have it removed. The king said, I have once ordered it to be placed where it is, and there would be an incongruity in my now ordering it to be removed. So the stone remained lying in the plain of Ghaznín, and in order to maintain the words of the Sultán, his sons also would not, any of them, suffer it to be taken away.<sup>1</sup>

### *Death of Malik Arslán.*

I. v. 147.

It is narrated that after the demise of Sultán Mas'úd bin Ibráhím, Malik Arslán, his son, mounted the throne, and determined to overthrow Sultán Bahrám Sháh. This prince fled from his brother, accompanied by only one of his attendants, and they took the precaution of having their horses shod backwards. He proceeded first to Sístán, from thence to Kirmán, and at last he threw himself on the protection of Sultán Sanjar, who, espousing his cause, marched to Ghaznín against Malik Arslán, and defeated him there, on Wednesday, the fourteenth of Shawwál, A.H. 511 (Feb. 1118, A.D.). Sultán Sanjar appointed Sultán Bahrám Sháh his deputy in Ghaznín and Hindustán, and having seated him on the throne, he himself went to Balkh. When Sultán Sanjar had returned, Malik Arslán again advanced to recover his kingdom, and Bahrám Shah retired towards Balkh, from whence Sultán Sanjar sent out a force to meet him. He thereupon returned to Ghaznín. Malik Arslán fled before him, and being pursued, was captured in the Shakrán<sup>2</sup> hills, and despatched to the next world. The army then returned to Balkh.

<sup>1</sup> [This story is told in the *Akhlák-i Muhsini*, but is there attributed to Mahmúd.]

<sup>2</sup> These are the hills spoken of in the account of Sultán Jalálu-d dín's retreat to Hindustán. [The name is written "Safán" in Mr. Prinsep's MS.]

*Muhammad Sâm's Victory over Kola [Pithaurá].*<sup>1</sup>

[I. xiii. 43.]

It is related that when the martyr Mu'izzu-d dunya wau-d dín Muhammad Sâm (May God illumine his tomb,) was about to fight the second time against Kola, between Hanjar<sup>2</sup> and Tabarhindh,<sup>3</sup> it became known to him that (the enemy) kept their elephants drawn up in a separate array when preparing for action. The horses were afraid of them, and this was an element of disaster. When the opposing forces approached each other and the camp fires were visible on either side, the Sultán gave directions that every man should collect plenty of wood before his tent. At night he directed a party of soldiers to remain in the camp, and to keep fires burning all the night, so that the enemy might suppose it to be their camping ground. The Sultán then marched off in another direction with the main body of his army. The infidels saw the fires and felt assured of their adversaries being there encamped. The Sultán marched all night and got in the rear of Kola. At dawn he made his onslaught upon the camp followers<sup>4</sup> and killed many men. When the rear pressed back on the main army Kola sought to retreat, but he could not get his forces in order, nor the elephants under control. The battle became general, the enemy was signally defeated, and Kola was taken prisoner. The Musulmáns obtained a complete victory and the Sultán returned triumphant.

*Equity of Muhammad Sâm.*

[I. vi. 37.]

When the heroic Sultán Muhammad Sâm, the honour of the world and of religion, who by his sword had darkened the pros-

[The *Tíju-l Ma-dsir* and *Tabakdt-i Ndsiri* (*infra*) use the same term "*Kola*." The word signifies "bastard" in Persian, and Firishta so explains it.—Briggs. *Ferishta* I. 179.]

<sup>2</sup> [The orthography is doubtful. In two MS. it is حجير Mr. Thomas' MS. has حجير *hajiz*.]

<sup>3</sup> [Mr. Thomas' MS. gives the name so distinctly. The other two MSS. are defective, and simply give رهندو See note on the name in the *Tabakdt-i Ndsiri*, *infra*.]

<sup>4</sup> [*Buna*, baggage.]



perity of the infidels, marched upon Nahrwála, he sustained a defeat, and returned without having effected his object. He then made preparations to retrieve his disasters and avenge his loss of fame and treasure. One of his well-wishers represented to him that in Nahrwála there resided a certain person, by name Wasa Abhir,<sup>1</sup> who was one of the head men of the city. This man always sent consignments of his merchandize to his agents for sale, and at that time there was property belonging to him in Ghaznín, to the amount of ten lacs of rupees. It was suggested to the king, that were he to confiscate this money to his own use, he might by means of it be enabled to raise an army and replenish the exhausted treasury. The king wrote his answer on the back of the petition, to the effect that, if Nahrwála falls into my hands, then the appropriation of Wásá Abhis' wealth would be lawful, but to seize his property in Ghaznín would be contrary to the dictates of justice. So he did not touch the money; and his virtue met its reward, for it happened that, two years afterwards, the most generous king, the staff of the world and supporter of religion (may the Almighty be merciful to him and pardon him!), marched at the head of his army from Dehli, and conquered the territory, and punished the people for their previous misconduct. So the whole world received proofs that the injury which the cause had once received was but as a black spot on the face of The Faith to guard it from the effects of an evil eye.

*Preface.—Death of Násiru-d dín Kubácha.*

In the beginning of Rabi'u-l awwal, 625 H. (Jan. 1228), the king of kings, Shamsu-d dunya wau-d dín sent an army to repress the inroads of Násiru-d dín Kubácha. Unable to oppose this force, Násiru-d dín sent his forces in boats to the fort of Bhakkar. The royal forces reached Bhakkar on the 10th, and under the directions of Nizámu-l Mulk, made preparations for assaulting the fort. The attack was made on the 1st Jumáda-l awwal, and

<sup>1</sup> ["Rúsá Aima" in one MS., "Asád Abhir," in another.]



was so successful that Násíru-d dín was driven from the fortifications (*hisár*) and compelled to take refuge in the inner fort (*kiṭāh*) without the assailants losing a single man. A proclamation of amnesty to all Musulmáns was then issued, which was joyfully accepted. Násíru-d dín, with his few remaining adherents offered to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to send away his sons and his treasure, but was told that he must hasten to make an unconditional surrender. He had no faith in his conqueror, and preferred death to submission; so on the night of Thursday, the 19th Jumáda-l Ákhir he went to the bank of the river and cast himself into the water. The good fortune of Nizámu-l Mulk thus gained a complete victory.

### *A Rare Animal.*

#### IV. xxiii. 4.

Abú Rihán<sup>1</sup> mentions in his writings that within the boundaries of Hindustán, to the east of the Ganges, in the forests of Oudh, there exists an animal called Sharú. It is larger than a rhinoceros,<sup>2</sup> and has two long horns and a small trunk. On the back it has four protuberances resembling four feet. It is so powerful that it will attack an elephant and tear him asunder. No animal has strength enough to contend against it, nor does man venture to hunt it, in fact nothing has power over it except death. Besides natural death, one cause of its destruction is that it often takes up an animal on its horns and tosses it in the air. The flesh adhering to the horns creates worms, which falling on its back, eat into the flesh till it becomes very sore; they then attack its stomach and destroy it. Or, if there be a

<sup>1</sup> [Sir H. Elliot omitted this passage from the version given by Rashídu-d dín (Vol. i, p. 61). Reinaud's translation says the animal is to be found in the Konkan (*Fragments*, p. 109), and Rashídu-d dín confirms this (Lucknow MS.). The page is introduced in speaking of the Konkan, so that there can be little doubt of the Konkan being there intended. In the passage before us, the locality is distinctly given as "east of the Ganges," and the name of it is no doubt Oudh, though Mr. Prinsep's MS. gives only "Ou." Konkan and Ganges (Gang) present only a difference of one letter in the original characters.]

<sup>2</sup> [The word in the text may be read *karg*, "rhinoceros," or *garg*, "wolf."]

high mountain near, when it thunders, it will rush as if to attack (some unseen foe) and falling from the mountain destroy itself. People go out to pick up its horns. Its specific peculiarities (*khāssiyat*) are not known.

*A Description of the Rukh.*

IV. xxiii. 5.

This animal resembles a camel. It has two protuberances on the back and it generally has teeth, the limbs and organs of the body are venomous, and no other animal can escape it. Its spittle, dung, etc., are all deadly poison. Whatever meets its eye becomes its prey, for it runs as swift as the wind, and overtakes all creatures. It kills every animal that it may encounter. If anyone takes refuge from it in the top of a high tree which it cannot get up, it stands at the foot, and curling its tail into a sort of ladle, it tosses its water up—this in a very few moments brings its victim down. If any one to avoid it gets into a well, it will stand at the brink and cast its dung and urine down, and if one drop of this falls upon a man he will die.

## IV.

## TÁJU-L MA-ÁSIR,

OF

## HASAN NIZÁMÍ.

This celebrated work is devoted chiefly to the history of Kutbu-d dín Aibak, but it also contains portions of the history of his predecessor Muhammad Ghází, and his successor, Shamsu-d dín Altamsh, but without any notice of Áráam, the son and immediate successor of Kutbu-d dín. The name of Táju-l Ma-ásir is nowhere given to the work by the author himself, but it has never been known by any other name from the earliest period. It means "The Crown of Exploits." Titles similar to this are common in Asiatic literature, the most celebrated being the *Táju-t Tawárikh* of the Turkish historian Sa'du-d dín Muhammad, better known as Khwája Effendi, "the Prince of Ottoman Historians."<sup>1</sup> Considering that the historical portion of this work is devoted exclusively to India, it enjoys a wide reputation throughout the Eastern Muhammadan world; which is ascribable less to the subject of the history than to the peculiar mode of its treatment. This has already been brought to the knowledge of European scholars by a very good account which has been given of the work by Hammer, in his life of Kutbu-d dín Aibak, contained in the *Gemäldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen grosser Moslemischer Herrscher*, (Vol. iv. pp. 172-182). He re-

<sup>1</sup> A. L. David's *Grammar of the Turkish Language*, p. 1, where there is a long extract given from the work. More may be found respecting the author and the work in the *Biographie Univ.* Vol. xxxix. p. 399; the *Penny Cyclopædia*, Vol. xi. p. 292, and the *Geschichte d. Ottom.* Other works with the title of "Táj" are noticed, but with some omissions, by Hájí Khalfá; *Lexicon Biblic.* Vol. ii. pp. 91-4.

marks that Kutbu-d dín would probably have been enrolled among other conquerors of whom history is silent, had not Hasan Nizámí of Lahore, the writer of the *Táju-l Ma-ásir*, entered into competition with Sábí the historian of Kábas, and 'Utbí the historian of Subuktigín and Mahmúd. This is paying too great a compliment to the historical value of the work, for the simple style of the *Tabakát-i Násiri*, a work nearly contemporaneous, was much better adapted to rescue from oblivion the exploits of Kutbu-d dín, who receives his due share of notice in that history.

The *Táju-l Ma-ásir* is in fact exceedingly poor in historical details, though the period of which it treats is one of the most interesting in the history of Asia,—that of the first permanent establishment of the Muhammadan power in India. It contains, according to Hammer's enumeration, twelve thousand lines, of which no less than seven thousand consist of verse, both Arabic and Persian. It is swelled out to this unnecessary magnitude by the introduction of tedious and meaningless descriptions and digressions, which amount to not less than an hundred in the first half of the work. M. Hammer considers that there are fewer in the second, as the descriptive faculty seems to have been exhausted; but this apparent barrenness is occasioned more by the omission of the marginal notes indicating their recurrence, than by any exhaustion of the author's power, which flows on to the end in an even strain of eloquence, which is perfectly marvellous for its abundance, continuity, and fantasticalness. It is produced apparently with but little effort, leaving us to regret that the author should have admitted into an historical work so much rhapsodical and tropological stuff, which is of little use except to show his powers of fancy and invention. It is, however, this which constitutes its value in the estimation of oriental writers, who to this day are fond of attempting imitations, without any of the richly exuberant vein of Hasan Nizámí.

Towards the close, indeed, there is a new variety of illustration, which makes it appear that the descriptions are fewer. But though fewer, they are much longer, for here the author occa-

sionally introduces a subordinate series of descriptions, or *sifats*, within one leading subject. For instance, in the second half we have images derived from mirrors, pens, and chess, each running on for many pages, but all containing several minor descriptions referrible, as it were, to those chief subjects. Here also we are introduced to new conceits, where whole sentences and pages are made to consist of nothing but sibilants and labials. Even the death of Muhammad Ghází is not sufficient to repress the gaiety of his imagination, for we are told that, “*one or two* men out of the *three or four* conspirators, inflicted *five or six* wounds upon the lord of the *seven* climes, and his spirit flew above the *eight* paradises and the *nine* heavens, and joined those of the *ten* Evangelists.”

Some of the passages where these descriptions are introduced are noticed in the following abstract, showing that they are derived from anything in heaven or earth, as the prolific fancy of the author may suggest. The *Gemälde-saal* has given the following classified distribution of them:—Of nature, its elements and phenomena,—fire, water, heat, cold, lightning, thunder, rain, snow, the sea, the desert, fields, woods, meadows, and gardens. Of seasons,—day, morning, evening, night, spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Of flowers,—the rose, the tulip, the basilicon, the jasmin, the lily, the narcissus, the violet, the lotus, the hyacinth, the anemone. Of fruits,—the pomegranate, the apple, the orange, the citron. Of beasts,—the lion, the serpent, the elephant, the horse, the camel, the lynx, the falcon, the peacock, the dog. Of war and its appurtenances,—the contending armies, arrows, bows, clubs, lances, spears, daggers, and spoils. Of musical instruments,—kettle-drums, viols, tymbals, and barbytons. Of beautiful women,—cheeks, hair, curls, eyes, and moles. Of festivals and their appurtenances,—cup-bearers, singers, bowls, wines, and fire-pans; and lastly, pens, physicians, and learned men. Most of these have been given in the following abstract in the order in which they occur, and they by no means include the whole series introduced by the author.

The reader may satisfy himself of the nature of these descriptions by reading the commencement of one devoted to the sword, which he will find in the abstract under "The Conquest of Gwáliár." If he should be desirous of seeing the conclusion of it, he will find it in the *Gemäldesaal*, pp. 178, 179.

There is but little related of the author by biographers, and all we know of him is to be ascertained only from his own account in the preface of the *Tāju-l Ma-ásir*. He gives his own name as Hasan Nizámí simply. Mírkhond in his preface, and Hájí Khalfa (No. 2051), call him Sadru-d dín Muhammad bin Hasan Nizámí, and so he is styled by Abú-l Fazl, in an untranslated chapter of the *Ayin-i Akbari*. Hammer calls him Hasan Nizámí of Lahore, but that was neither his birthplace nor chief residence.

Hasan Nizámí was born at Naishápúr, and he tells us that he never dreamt of travelling abroad, until the troubles of his native country of Khurásán induced him to seek a residence elsewhere. Another cause was that no regard was paid to learning, in consequence of these distractions, and that ignorant and envious men were seeking to injure him, for it is a matter of common observation that "the wise are rarely regarded in their own country."<sup>1</sup>

He for a long time entertained the thought of leaving his country before he could put it into execution, and at last, when the disorders of which he complains had reached their climax, and he himself was reduced to the greatest distress, "in the very prime of manhood, and before his hair began to turn gray," he left his native city, notwithstanding the continued remonstrances of his friends, to which he had yielded for some time. He set out for Ghazní, at the suggestion of Shaikh Muhammad Káfi, and on his arrival at that capital, after being delayed by a severe

<sup>1</sup> This resembles the Hindi proverb, *Apne gánu ká jogí, an gánu ká sídh*. "The jogí of his own village is a deity in another," and our Saviour when he says, "A prophet is not without honour save in his own country, and in his own house," is merely repeating a common Asiatic proverb.

attack of fever on the road, he made several agreeable acquaintances amongst the learned, and after a short time departed in company with some of his new friends for Dehli, "the country of mercy and the altar of wealth.—The reins of choice were given to his horse, the traverser of deserts and the passer of hills.—The heat of the fiery blast opened the very gates of hell, and the wild beasts of the mountain and deserts sought for the shade of trees.—The boughs of the jungle were so closely interlaced, that the wind in the midst of them was confined like a bird in a cage.—A tiger was seen in every forest.—In every ravine and plain poisonous serpents were met with.—It came into his thoughts, will the boat of his life ever reach the shore of safety?—The crow-like Hindús had intercepted the roads, and in the rapidity of their movements exceeded the wild ass and the deer, you might say they were demons in human form, and covered with blackness."

Having escaped from all these dangers, he arrived at Dehli, and paid his respects to the Chief Judge, Sharfu-l Mulk, and was received with great kindness. After he had resided for some time in this city, his friends recommended him to write something in the shape of contemporary history, "for the purpose of ascertaining the powers of his style;" and as the king had about that time issued orders that an account of his victories should be recorded, Hasan Nizámí determined to engage himself upon that particular subject.

With regard to the dedication of his work, Hammer informs us (*Gemäld.*, iv. 174), that "this history of Kutbu-d dín Aibak, was composed by Nizámí, his contemporary, as early as twelve years after his death, for Muhammad bin Sâm bin Husain, the ruler of Lahore, who styled himself 'Násir-i Amíru-l Muminín, helper of the prince of the believers.' Nizámí of Lahore, a slave of Muhammad bin Sâm, wrote this history for his master, who being an admirer of the great achievements of Aibak, took them for the model and rule of his reign."

There is evidently a great misapprehension here respecting



Muhammad bin Sâm, who is no other than the famous Muhammad Ghorí, the master of Kutbu-d dín Aibak. Muhammad Ghorí died before Kutbu-d dín reigned, and he could not therefore have taken his own slave for his great exemplar. What the author really says regarding this potentate is this: After dwelling on the advantage and necessity of holy wars, without which the fold of Muhammad's flock could never be filled, he says that such a hero as these obligations of religion require has been found, "during the reign of the lord of the world Mu'izzu-d dunyá wau-d dín, the Sultán of Sultáns, Abú-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sâm bin Husain, in the person of the puissant Sultán, the lord of the fortunate conjunction of the planets, the pole of the world and religion, the pillar of Islám and Musulmán's, the asylum of princes and sultáns, the destroyer of infidels and plural-worshippers, etc., the Khusrú of Hindustan, Abú-l háris Aibak the Sultán," and that "Almighty God had selected him from amongst the kings and emperors of the time," for he had employed himself in extirpating the enemies of religion and the state, and had deluged the land of Hind with the blood of their hearts, so that to the very day of resurrection travellers would have to pass over pools of gore in boats,—had taken every fort and stronghold which he attacked, and ground its foundations and pillars to powder under the feet of fierce and gigantic elephants,—had made the heads of crowned Ráis crown the top of impaling posts,—had sent the whole world of idolatry to the fire of hell, by the well-watered blade of his Hindí sword,—had founded mosques and colleges in the places of images and idols,—and had made the names of Naushírwán, Rustam, and Hátim Táí to be forgotten." Such was the hero to the record of whose achievements the work was principally dedicated.

The *Táju-l Ma-ásir* was commenced in the year 602 H. (1205 A.D.), in the eighth month of which (Sha'bán) Muhammad Ghorí died, and it is evident that it was begun before his death, because the preface, which, however unusual, was really composed at the beginning, and not the conclusion of the work, contains a prayer

for the prolongation of his life and the prosperity of his kingdom.

The history opens with the transactions of the year 587 H. (1191 A.D.), when Muhammad Ghorí undertook his expedition to India to retrieve the dreadful disaster he had a short time before experienced on the field of Náráin, near Thánesar, to which, however the courtly historian makes no allusion. The copies ordinarily to be met with carry the history down to the year 614 H. (1217 A.D.), or seven years after the death of Kutbu-d dín, and at the close of that portion the author indulges in a panegyric on his own work, in which he invites the reigning monarch Shamsu-d dín, the second Alexander, to compare his work with those of other celebrated historians, and he will see that it is "superior to anything written by ancients or moderns," and he concludes by saying, that if his life is spared, he will continue the work in the same manner. That he did so continue it is evident from a very valuable copy in the possession of Nawwáb Zíáu-d dín of Dehli, written as early as the ear 779 H. (1377-8 A.D.) in the *Naskh* character styled *Hijázi*. In this, though itself imperfect at the end, we have the history carried down even twelve years later, or to 626 H. (1228-9 A.D.), and it is not improbable that it might have been prolonged to the close of Shamsu-d dín's reign, or seven years later than this period. From the general meagreness of historical details, it cannot be said that this deficient portion is worth much enquiry.

Beyond the praise which the author bestows upon his heroes, there is nothing to indicate that he was contemporary with the events which he describes, and the absence of all particulars, as well as a certain confusion and indistinctness about some of the dates, show that he was no active participator in any of his patrons' campaigns. It is singularly strange that he says nothing of the transactions of Kutbu-d dín's actual reign, for the same short chapter records his accession and his death.

The following abstract contains all that is of the remotest historical interest in the work, no name or event being omitted.

The passages between inverted commas imply that the words of the original have been translated, but even in these many intermediate words, such as synonyms and reduplications of the same expression, have been omitted, and it has been considered sufficient to group together words and phrases, which, though actually to be found in the *Táju-l Ma-ásir* do not in the translation preserve the exact order of the original. The passages in the first chapter, which are printed in italics indicate that they are written in Arabic, and nearly the same proportion of Arabic occurs throughout the work, showing that, without a knowledge of that language, it would be impossible to understand thoroughly the *Táju-l Ma-ásir*.

The *Táju-l Ma-ásir* is rare in Europe. Hammer<sup>1</sup> says that the only copy to be found is in the royal library of Vienna, but there is one also in the British Museum. In India it is by no means uncommon, much less so than the difficulty of understanding the work would lead one to suppose. The copy in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is a very clean one, but abounds with errors, and many chapters are recopied towards the close. There is a beautiful copy in the Dehli College, and there is one of surpassing excellence belonging to Maulaví Sadru-d dín, the Sadru-s sudúr of Dehli, written in the Naskh character, apparently about three hundred years ago, by Muhammad bin Muhammad, who professes to have copied it from the author's autograph. The transcriber imitates successfully the style of the work in a chapter at the end, devoted to its praise.

There are also two good copies of the *Táju-l Ma-ásir* in the library of Nawwáb Siráju-l mulk, but so little known and appreciated as to be lettered, one the *Tárikh-i Mahmúd Ghazniét*, the other *Jahán-kushá*; but all must yield the palm to Nawwáb Zíáu-d dín's copy noticed above, on account of its containing the additional matter, but it must be confessed that the character

<sup>1</sup> *Gemäldeaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, vol. iv. p. 173.

is not easy to read, and the manuscript is unfortunately damaged by water and worms.

The copy noticed above, which shows the verses in separate lines detached from the prose, contains 570 pages of twenty lines each; the additional matter being comprised in thirty pages.

[The following Abstract was prepared entirely by Sir H. Elliot himself.]

#### ABSTRACT.

##### *Invasion of Hindustán.*

"In the year 587 H. (1191 A.D.), the Lord of the *World*, the *Sultán of Sultáns*, *Mu'izzu-d dunyá wau-d din* (Muhammad Ghori) in a happy moment, and under a fortunate star, departed from Ghazna, *may God protect it from calamities!*

Had he not imparted movement to his hands and reins,  
The feet of his stirrups would have stopped the air in its course.  
*If his horse be so wearied that it cannot carry him,*  
*His courage would urge him against his enemies.*

Having equipped and set in order the army of Islám, and unfurled the standards of victory and the flags of power, trusting in the aid of the Almighty, he proceeded towards Hindústán.

*His standards proclaim victory,*  
*Indeed, they are almost prepared to write the book of victory,*  
His ensigns and black umbrella are full of adornment,  
How beautiful on the face of time are the curls and freckles of  
*the state!*

When the tent of eternal prosperity, encompassed by splendour, arrived near Lohúr, and when the air of that country became perfumed and crescented by the dust of the armies and the shoes of the horses, the great Sadr Kúcamu-l mulk Rúhu-d din Hamza, who was among the chiefs of the country and the renowned of the state, and had obtained distinction by the customs of embassy and the proprieties of missions, and his position in the service of the sublime Court (*may God surround it with increased glory!*) had met with approval, and in the beauty of his moral character and the excellence of his endowments, the above mentioned person, in whose

*merits all concurred, and from the flame of whose wisdom and the light of whose penetration abundant delight and perfect good fortune arose.*

*Indeed all kinds of excellences united in his person,  
And he was singularly endowed in the practice of all virtues,  
He was such a Sadr that the substance of greatness found in  
him a soul,*

*He was a sea in which the eyes of meaning found vision.*

Such was the man who was sent on an embassy to Ajmír, in order that the Rái (Pithaurá) of that country might see the right way without the intervention of the sword, and that he might incline from the track of opposition into the path of propriety, leaving his airy follies for the institute of the knowledge of God, and acknowledging the expediency of uttering the words of martyrdom and repeating the precepts of the law, and might abstain from infidelity and darkness, which entails the loss of this world and that to come, and might place in his ear the ring of slavery to the sublime Court, (*may God exalt it!*) which is the centre of justice and mercy, and the pivot of the Sultáns of the world, and by these means and modes might cleanse the fords of a good life from the sins of impurity.

*When the ambassador arrived in the country of Ajmír, and in accordance with his orders brought forward the conditions of his mission, and in uttering his speech presented the usual inducements of fixing the mind, and adorned the selection of his words with the excellence of their significations, and strung well the pearls of exhortations and admonitions upon the thread of style.*

*They were such words that if the world were to hear them,  
On account of their beauty the people would incline to become ears.*

*Your words are right and your meaning correct,  
Your opinion is the soul and your greatness the body.  
Your words are the product of the bough of rhetoric,  
And your clemency is the fruit of the seed of eloquence.  
In no respect did the words of threats, or promises become*

*established in the heart of that man of dark understanding, nor did advantages or menaces addressed to the heart (and indeed he who menaces offers the alternative of advantages) have place in the hearing of that obstinate, for from his large army and grandeur the desire of something like the conquest of the world had raised a phantom in his imagination; and he remained neglectful of the subtle principle that armies do not profit when the time has passed, and he had placed on the shelf of forgetfulness the good maxim that "when fate comes the field of opportunity is narrowed," and had not read the divine order that "it is a duty imposed on me to give aid to the faithful;" and in the sight of his idolatry the commands of the law were the dreams of oppression, and the light of instruction showed the darkness of his perdition, and since in the sublime understanding of the sovereign which derived aid and support from the world of holiness, and the light of his wisdom exceeds and surmounts that splendour of the sun and moon.*

*If his light were to contend with the dawn,*

*Even his night would exceed the brilliancy of the day.*

Gold would not be produced from earth by the power of the sun,

Unless his wisdom had power over the sun.

When these circumstances were represented, and the intelligence of the declarations of that God-forsaken reached the blessed hearing, which was filled with gladness, the signs of disturbance overspread his auspicious countenance.

#### *Conquest of Ajmír.*

He accordingly prepared for an expedition against the Rái, and mounted his steed, of which there is a poetical description. "The victorious army on the right and on the left departed towards Ajmír." "When the Kola (natural son) of the Rái of Ajmír, the vaunts of whose courage had reached the ears of far and near, heard of the approach of the auspicious standards and the victorious armies, he advanced for the purpose of fight-

ing, and having adjusted the robe of slaughter and the arms of battle, marched on over hills and deserts with a well-equipped army, the number which cannot be conceived in the picture-gallery of the imagination."

"When the crow-faced Hindús began to sound their white shells<sup>1</sup> on the backs of the elephants, you would have said that a river of pitch was flowing impetuously down the face of a mountain of blue."

Description and attributes of elephants, spears, and arrows.—The army of Islám was completely victorious, and "an hundred thousand grovelling Hindús swiftly departed to the fire of hell." The Rái of Ajmír was taken prisoner during the action, but his life was spared. After this great victory, the army of Islám marched forward to Ajmír, where it arrived at a fortunate moment and under an auspicious bird, and obtained so much booty and wealth, that you might have said that the secret depositories of the seas and hills had been revealed."

Poetical description of fountains, gardens, birds, and flowers.—While the Sultán remained at Ajmír, "he destroyed the pillars and foundations of the idol temples, and built in their stead mosques and colleges, and the precepts of Islám, and the customs of the law were divulged and established." The Rái of Ajmír, who had managed to obtain his release, or at least, immunity from punishment, and whose "ancient hatred against the Musulmáns was deeply rooted and concealed in the bottom of his heart," appears to have been detected in some intrigue, which is only very obscurely indicated, so that orders were issued for his death, and "the diamond-like sword severed the head of that abandoned wretch from his body."

<sup>1</sup> سپید مهرة in the original, to which, as no meaning is attached in the dictionaries, I have thought myself warranted in translating thus; but a few pages after this (the fourth instance of their being used), these words cannot bear this meaning, because the instruments in that case were sounded by the Muhammadans, to whom shells are an abomination. In that passage I have called this instrument a kettle-drum, as it resembles a shell in shape.

*The Government of Ajmír conferred on the son of Rái Pithaurá.<sup>1</sup>*

“The son of Rái Pithaurá, in whose qualities and habits the proof of courage and the indexes of wisdom were apparent, and who, both abroad and at home, exhibited familiarity with rectitude, and prognostications of goodness, was appointed to the government of Ajmír.

\* \* \* \* \*

### *The Conquest of Dehli.*

After settling the affairs of Ajmír, the conqueror marched “towards Dehli (may God preserve its prosperity and perpetuate its splendour!) which is among the chief (mother) cities of Hind.” When he arrived at Dehli, he saw “a fortress which in height and strength had not its equal nor second throughout the length and breadth of the seven climes.” The army encamped around the fort. “A torrent of blood flowed on the field of battle, and it became evident to the chiefs that if they did not seek for safety from the sword of the king of the earth, and if they should deliver into the hands of Satan the time of option and the reins of good counsel, the condition of Dehli would be like that of Ajmír; so from the dread of kingly punishment, the Rái and mukaddams of that country placed their heads upon the line of slavery, and their feet within the circle of obedience, and made firm the conditions of tribute (*mālguzāri*) and the usages of service.”

The Sultán then returned “towards the capital of Ghazna (may God preserve it in prosperity!)” but “the army remained encamped within the boundary of Dehli, at the *mausa* of Indarpat (Indraprastha).”

### *The Government of Kohráam and Sámána.*

The Government of the fort of Kohráam and of Sámána were made over by the Sultán to “Kutbu-d dín, on whose fortunate

<sup>1</sup> This is the heading in the original, but in the preceding chapter the name of the Rái is not given. In this it is spelt Pitaurá. There is mention of the son (پسر) not natural son (كوله) as in the preceding chapter.



forehead the light of world-conquest shone conspicuous," "and who by his lofty courage and pure faith without doubt was worthy of the kingdom and suitable for the throne of sovereignty; and by the aid of his sword of Yemen and dagger of India became established in independent power over the countries of Hind and Sind." "He purged by his sword the land of Hind from the filth of infidelity and vice, and freed the whole of that country from the thorn of God-plurality, and the impurity of idol-worship, and by his royal vigour and intrepidity, left not one temple standing." "He extinguished the flame of discord by the splendour of the light of justice, and the smoke of the darkness of oppression vanished from the face of the earth."

The chiefs of the country around Kohráw came to pay their respects and acknowledge fealty, and he was so just and generous "that the name of Naushírwán and the tale of Hátim Táí were in course of oblivion."

An assembly is commenced, a feast is held, and the sumptuous preparations described.—The merits of cup-bearers, wine, goblets, companions, flowers, hunting, horses, falcons, panthers, dogs, and huntsmen are poetically eulogized.

*The flight of Jatwán and his<sup>1</sup> Death in Battle.*

"When the honoured month of Ramazán, 588 H., the season of mercy and pardon, arrived, fresh intelligence was received at the auspicious Court, that the accursed Jatwán, having admitted the pride of Satan into his brain, and placed the cup of chieftainship and obstinacy upon his head, had raised his hand in fight against Nusratu-d dín, the Commander, under the fort of Hánsí, with an army animated by one spirit."

Digressions upon spears, the heat of the season, night, the new moon, morning, and the sun.—Kutbu-d dín mounted his horse, and "marched during one night twelve parasangs." "The accursed Jatwán, when he heard the news of the arrival of the

<sup>1</sup> The singular prevails throughout. He was probably a mere leader of the Jat tribe, which still maintains its position in the neighbourhood of this scene of action.

victorious armies, felt himself compelled to depart from under the fort," and fled. "The soldiers of Islám came up to the army of Hind on the borders of Bágar; and although Jatwán saw there was no chance of successful opposition in battle, yet as he saw destruction impending on him from the throat of the dragon, and the road for flight was blocked up, and the standards of the State and royal victory were unfurled, yielding to the necessity of the case, and not at his own option," he prepared for fight, and "the noise of the hautbois and shells confounded the world, the thunder of the drums ascended to heaven, and the blast of the brazen clarions resembled the sounding trump (of resurrection.)"

The armies attacked each other "like two hills of steel, and the field of battle became tulip-dyed with the blood of the warriors."—Poetical digression on swords, daggers, spears, and maces. —The Hindús were completely defeated, and their leader slain. "Jatwán, who was the essence of vice and turbulence, and the rod of infidelity and perverseness, the friend of grief, and the companion of shame, had his standards of God-plurality and ensigns of perdition lowered by the hand of power;" "and the dust of the field of battle was commingled with the blood of that God-abandoned wretch, and the whole country was washed from the filth of his idolatry."—Praise of Kutbu-d dín's justice, encouragement of the learned, and his civil administration. Mention of the booty taken by the Musulmán's.—He marched to HÁnsí, "and encamped there a few days, in order to repair the fort, and after that returned towards Kohrá'm, which acquired fresh beauty from his blessed feet."

"The intelligence of this happy victory and these important incidents was divulged over the face of the world, and the noise of it spread to the countries of Hind and Sind, far and near, and proclamations announcing the victory of the chiefs of the State, and the defeat of the enemies of the kingdom were written and despatched to the capital of Ghazna, (may the Almighty preserve it in wealth and prosperity!)" and in them was added "that the

foundation of all this success was the lofty courage and pure faith of his Majesty."

*The Capture of Mírat.*

"When the chief luminary threw its shade in the sign of Libra, and temperate breezes began to blow, after putting to flight the army of heat," Kutbu-d dín marched from Kohráw, "and when he arrived at Mírat—which is one of the celebrated forts of the country of Hind, for the strength of its foundations and superstructure, and its ditch, which was as broad as the ocean and fathomless—an army joined him, sent by the dependent chiefs of the country." The fort was captured, and a Kotwál appointed to take up his station in the fort, and all the idol temples were converted into mosques.

*Capture of Dehli.*

He then marched and encamped under the fort of Dehli, which was also captured, "and the standards of the State were also carried into the neighbouring tracts. The conqueror entered the city of Dehli, which is the source of wealth and the foundation of blessedness." The city and its vicinity was freed from idols and idol-worship, and in the sanctuaries of the images of the Gods, mosques were raised by the worshippers of one God."

*The Rebellion of Hiraj, Brother of the Rái of Ajmír.*

After Kutbu-d dín had settled affairs in this quarter, the chief Sadr, Kiwám-u-l mulk Rúhu-d-dín Hamza, sent him intelligence from Rantanbor, that Hiráj,<sup>1</sup> the brother of the Rái of Ajmír, had gone into rebellion, and "had turned his face towards the siege of the fort of Rantanbor," and that the son of Pitaurá, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime Court, was in a state of extreme danger. On receiving this intelligence, Kutbu-d dín appointed the Amír Sábiku-l

<sup>1</sup> Firishta calls him Hemráj, which is a common Indian name. "Hiráj" is not; but it is plainly so written in all the copies. It is probably an abbreviation of the Sanskrit "Dhiráj," a potentate, which is still used on the seals of Hindú Rájás.

mulk Nasru-d dín" to take charge of the affairs of State during his absence, "a man who in knowledge of the rules and customs of government was superior to his contemporaries, and in resolution and courage was celebrated throughout Hind, far and near," and himself departed for Rantanbor, "passing over hill and desert like a wild ass or an antelope."

"When Hiráj heard of the arrival of the auspicious standards, knowing he could not contend with the army of Islám, and impelled by necessity, he placed the hands of weakness in the skirts of flight, and for fear of the blade of the scimeter fled like the wind with his resurrectionless army." The conqueror then engaged himself in administering "the ways of justice, and received both high and low under the shadow of his benignity," and the people were happy. "At this time the son of Rái Pitaurá was favoured with a robe of honour and other kindnesses; and in return for this friendship, he sent abundant treasure for the service of the State, together with three golden melons, which with extreme ingenuity had been cast in moulds like the full moon."

"About this time they wrote to the heavenly throne, that the Rái who had fled from Dehli had raised an army of idolatrous, turbulent, and rebellious tribes, the vapour of pride and conquest having entered his thoughtless brain." Kutbu-d dín pursued him, "and when the wretch was taken, his head was severed from his body and sent to Dehli, which had been his residence and capital." Kutbu-d dín then himself returned to Dehli, and sent "written accounts of his capture of forts and strongholds, and his victories and holy wars" to Ghazna, to which capital he was invited to receive thanks in person from Mu'izzu-d dín Sám Ghorí. The invitation arrived when the sun was in Cancer, and the heat was so great as to prevent travelling, but he set out on his journey at the commencement of the rainy season.

*Kutbu-d dín proceeds to Ghazna.*

"When the fortunate stirrups reached the capital of Ghazna

(may God shed splendour on it !), he enjoyed the happiness of kissing hands, and received other marks of special favour before the great throne, and in the degree of his rank was raised above all the other chiefs of the world." A festival was held in celebration of his arrival, "and splendid jewels, and valuable clothes, and costly arms, and slaves of great price" were presented to the king.

Kutbu-d dín was accommodated in the garden of the minister Zíáu-l mulk.—Here follow poetical descriptions, of horses, ice, apples, citrons, oranges, cold, wind, and fire.—On the return of the hot season he was taken ill, and "removed from the residence of the minister to the palace of the sovereign, which is the seat of prosperity ; but on account of his illness and want of strength, he could not rejoice in his heart with the festivities." On his recovery, he took his leave of the king, and received a patent conferring upon him the government (of Hindustán) "and every one of the principal officers of his army was rejoiced exceedingly, at receiving from his Majesty suitable presents and promotion of rank."

On his arrival at Karmán<sup>1</sup> from the great capital, Táju-d dín Yalduz received him with great kindness and honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage, and a fête was held on the occasion.—Poetical descriptions follow, of stars, female beauty, cup-bearers, curls, cheeks, eyes, lips, mouths, stature, elegance, cups, wine, singers, guitars, barbats, trumpets, flutes, drums, on the morning, and the sun.

#### *Kutbu-d dín returns to Dehli.*

When he arrived at Dehli, "which is the capital of the kingdom, and the centre of God's aid and victory, the crown and throne of sovereignty received honour and adornment in his kingly person," "and the lords of the sword and pen hastened to pay their respects at the magnificent Court, and observed the usages of benediction and praise ; while the city and its vicinity

<sup>1</sup> This Karmán is in the Bangash country, between Kábul and Banu.

rejoiced and was decorated like the garden of Iram, and the gates and walls were adorned with the gold tissues of Chín and the brocades of Rúm," "and triumphal arches were raised, beautiful to look at, the top of which a strong-winged bird could not surmount, and the glittering of the lightning of the swords and the splendour of the arms, which were suspended on all sides of them, inspired terror in the spirit of the beholder."

Rhapsody upon spring and birds.—Kutbu-d dín built the Jámi' Masjid at Dehli, and "adorned it with the stones and gold obtained from the temples which had been demolished by elephants," and covered it with "inscriptions in Toghra, containing the divine commands."

*Kutbu-d din advances to Kol.*

After staying sometime at Dehli, he marched in the year 590 H. (1194 A.D.), towards Kol and Benares, passing the Jún (Jumna) "which, from its exceeding purity, resembled a mirror." He took Kol, "which is one of the most celebrated fortresses of Hind." Those of the garrison "who were wise and acute were converted to Islám," but those who stood by their ancient faith were slain with the sword. "The nobles and chiefs of the State entered the fort, and carried off much treasure and countless plunder, including one thousand horses."

There intelligence was received of the march of Muhammad Ghorí from Ghazna; Kutbu-d dín advanced to meet him, "and had the honor of kissing hands, which is the highest of glories, and the essence of miracles, and presented an elephant laden with white silver and red gold," "and an hundred horses," "and sundry kinds of perfumes."

*Fight with the Rái of Benares and Capture of Ásí.*

When the army was mustered, it was found to amount to "fifty thousand mounted men clad in armour and coats of mail," with which they advanced to fight against the Rái of Benares. The king ordered Kutbu-d dín to proceed with the vanguard, con-

sisting of one thousand cavalry, which fell upon "the army of the enemies of religion," and completely defeated it. On its return to the king, the officers were presented with robes of honour.

"The Rái of Benares, Jai Chand, the chief of idolatry and perdition, advanced to oppose the royal troops with an army, countless as the particles of sand," "and the noise of the war-drum proclaimed to the ears of the worshippers of one God, aid comes from the Almighty, and the sound of the silver kettle-drum and the blast of the brazen trumpets resounded to heaven." Rhapsodical description of swords, spears, war-nooses, and archers. "The Rái of Benares, who prided himself on the number of his forces and war elephants," seated on a lofty howdah, received a deadly wound from an arrow, and "fell from his exalted seat to the earth." His head was carried on the point of a spear to the commander, and "his body was thrown to the dust of contempt." "The impurities of idolatry were purged by the water of the sword from that land, and the country of Hind was freed from vice and superstition."

"Immense booty was obtained, such as the eye of the beholder would be weary to look at," including one (some copies say three) hundred elephants. The royal army then took possession "of the fort of Āsní where the treasure of the Rái was deposited," and there much more precious spoil of all kinds rewarded the victors.

#### *The Capture of Benares.*

From that place the royal army proceeded towards Benares, "which is the centre of the country of Hind," and here they destroyed nearly one thousand temples, and raised mosques on their foundations; and the knowledge of the law became promulgated, and the foundations of religion were established;" "and the face of the dínár and the diram was adorned with the name and blessed titles" of the king. The Ráis and chiefs of Hind came forward to proffer their allegiance. "The government of that country was then bestowed on one of the most

celebrated and exalted servants of the State," in order that he might distribute justice and repress idolatry.

When the king had settled all the affairs of the city and its vicinity, and "the record of his celebrated holy wars had been written in histories and circulated throughout the breadth of the fourth inhabited quarter of the world," he returned to Ghazna. "The standards of the Khusrú, victorious in battle,<sup>1</sup> were planted for some days on the fort of Ásní, and the chiefs and elders all around hastened to his service with various kinds of rarities and presents, and his noble Court became the scene where the princes and generals of the world came to bow their heads in reverence."

*Kutbu-d dín returns to Kol, and entrusts its Government to  
Hisámu-d dín 'Ulbak.*

There was a certain tribe in the neighbourhood of Kol, which "after the manner of fox playing with lions" had occasioned much trouble by their deceits and stratagems, therefore "by the edge of the sword they were despatched to the fire of hell." "Three bastions were raised as high as heaven with their heads, and their carcases became the food of beasts of prey." "That tract was freed from idols and idol worship, and the foundations of infidelity were destroyed," and all those who were oppressed found protection under the shadow of royal clemency." "The keys of command and prohibition in the kasba of Kol were given to Maliku-l Umará Hisámu-d dín 'Ulbak, one of the chief pillars of the State." Here follows a didactic passage on what he was expected to do as a good governor.

*He returns to Dehli.*

"When he was at complete leisure from the important concerns of Kol, and the affairs of that neighbourhood had been adjusted by the aid of the kindness of his heart, he turned his face towards the abodes of Dehli, the altar of the prosperity of the worlds," and when he arrived there he administered justice

<sup>1</sup> Kutbu-d dín is usually styled throughout the work خسرو پیروز جنگی



with so much impartiality, that among other results "the wolf and sheep drank water out of the same pond," "and the very mention of thieves and theft, which had before been current on the tongues of every one, fell to the dust."

*The Second Visit to Ajmír.*

"In the year 589 H. (1193 A.D.) they represented to the Court that Hiráj, the Rái of Ajmír, having raised the standards of perdition, and fanned the flame of idolatry in his heart, had opened the road of rebellion which he had hitherto closed by his deceit, and that from being exceedingly forsaken by God, he had delivered the reins of vanity into the hands of Satan, and having conceived the ladders of grandeur in his brain, had become proud." "Jíhtar,<sup>1</sup> supported by an army, hastened to the borders of Dehli, and the people were suddenly caught in the darkness of his oppression and turbulence, and the blood and property of the Musulmáns fell into danger and destruction. When the mention of these circumstances was made to the blessed ear of the Khusrú, in a moment of courage and royal determination, he employed himself in the punishment and extinction of the rebel." "He ordered that a portion of his victorious army should be set apart and equipped for his personal service, and that the rest of his army should be detached to the frontiers for the subjection of the accursed, and the destruction of the enemies of the state and religion." Kutbu-d dín marched towards Ajmír in the middle of the hot season, "when the armour on the bodies of the valiant was inflamed by the heat of the sun, and the sword in the scabbard melted like wax," so that he was compelled to make night marches.

"When Jíhtar heard of the approach of the victorious standards, the blackness of sorrow was fixed in his breast," and "knowing that he had not power to oppose them on the field of battle, he tightened the girths of the horse of flight, and sped like the wind out of the net of danger, and arrived at the shore

<sup>1</sup> The name is written "Jíhtar in one MS. and "Jhtar in another.

of safety from the whirlpool of destruction, and from fear of the Khusrú's sword drew his head within the four walls of that strong fortress of Ajmír, like a tortoise," where, in despair, he sacrificed himself in the flames of a pyre, after which the fort, "which was one of the most celebrated in Hind," was easily taken. "The country of Ajmír was restored to the honours of the ancient time and the dignities of its past days, for the circumstances of that province had altogether departed from their former course to which they now reverted," "religion was re-established," "the road of rebellion was closed," "infidelity was cut off, and the foundations of idol-worship were utterly destroyed." The roads were freed from the fear and danger of robbers, and the oppressed subjects were delivered from their distresses." "The blessed lamp was visited by Ráis and Ránas, and the earth was rubbed by the foreheads of the chiefs and celebrated men of Hind." After settling the affairs of Ajmír, Kutbu-d dín returned to Dehli.

*Arrival of Sultán Muhammad Ghori in Hindustán.*

When Kutbu-d dín heard of the Sultán's march from Ghazna, he was much rejoiced, and advanced as far as Hánsí to meet him, and "had the honour of kissing hands, and being distinguished above all the princes of the earth by the endless favours which were lavished on him." In the year 592, H. (1196 A.D.), they marched towards Thangar,<sup>1</sup> and the centre of idolatry and perdition became the abode of glory and splendour, and when the ropes of the royal tent were raised to heaven, the neighbourhood was tinged with an hundred hues by the varied coloured tents which were erected round that fortress, which resembled a hill of iron." "By the aid of God, and by the means of courage and the daily increasing prosperity of the king, that strong castle was taken, which had hitherto remained closed to all the sovereigns and princes of the world."

<sup>1</sup> The text of Firishta says "Thangar, which is now called Biána."

"Kuwar Pál,<sup>1</sup> the Rái of Thangar, who had prided himself on the numbers of his army and the strength of his castle, when he saw the power of the army opposed to him, fear invaded his breast, and he begged for safety for his life, and, like a slave, kissed the face of the earth with the very roots of his teeth." Upon which he was pardoned and admitted into favour, and, though with the loss of his kingdom, was content that his life was left to him." "The Musulmáns, and *harbís*, and *zimmís* entered into conditions for paying revenue. The country was purified from the defilement of infidelity, and no opportunity remained for opposition and rebellion."

"The government of Thangar was conferred on Baháu-d dín Tughril," "who was acquainted with matters of administration, and the customs of setting soldiers in array," and who received advice and instruction from his majesty how to comport himself properly in his new appointment.

### *The Capture of Gwáltár.*

When the affairs of this tract was settled, the royal army marched, in the year 592 H., (1196 A.D.) "towards Gálewár (Gwáliár), and invested that fort, which is the pearl of the necklace of the castles of Hind, the summit of which the nimble-footed wind from below cannot reach, and on the bastion of which the rapid clouds have never cast their shade, and which the swift imagination has never surmounted, and at the height of which the celestial sphere is dazzled."—Description of swords and other military weapons.—"In compliance with the divine injunction of holy war, they drew out the bloodthirsty sword before the faces of the enemies of religion. That sword was coloured of cærulean blue, which from its blazing lustre resembled a hundred thousand Venuses and Pleiades, and it was a well-tempered horse-shoe of fire, which with its wound exhibited the peculiarity of lightning and thunder; and in the perfect weapon the extreme of sharpness lay hid, like (poison in)

<sup>1</sup> [Sir H. Elliot writes the name thus, but his MS. has only "Ká Pál."]

the fangs of a serpent ; and (the water of the blade) looked like ants creeping on the surface of a diamond ;" and so forth.

"Rái Solankh Pál who had raised the standard of infidelity, and perdition, and prided himself on his countless army and elephants, and who expanded the fist<sup>1</sup> of oppression from the hiding place of deceit, and who had lighted the flame of turbulence and rebellion, and who had fixed the root of sedition and enmity firm in his heart, and in the courtyard of whose breast the shrub of tyranny and commotion had shot forth its branches, when he saw the power and majesty of the army of Islám," he became alarmed and dispirited. "Wherever he looked, he saw the road of flight blocked up." He therefore "sued for pardon, and placed the ring of servitude in his ear," and agreed to pay tribute, and sent ten elephants as a peace offering, in which he was graciously admitted to protection, and was allowed to retain his fort. "When the neighbouring country was freed from the enemies of religion, and the Rái of Hind became enrolled amongst the number of servants and friends," the Sultán prepared to return to Ghazna, and Kutbu-d dín, after his departure, returned to Dehli, where festivities were celebrated on his arrival.—Praise of wine-bibbing and cup-bearers.

*The Conquest of Nahrwála, and the Flight of the Rái.*

In the year 591 H. (1195 A.D.), when Kutbu-d dín was again at Ajmír, intelligence was brought him that a party of seditious Mhers, "who were always shooting the arrow of deceit from the bow of refractoriness," had sent spies and messengers towards Nahrwála, representing that a detachment of the army of the Turks had arrived at Ajmír, of no great strength and numbers, and that if from that quarter a force could be immediately sent to join them, before the enemy could find the opportunity of putting themselves in a state of preparation, they could make a sudden night attack upon them, and might rid the country of

<sup>1</sup> Hammer (*Gemäld.*, iv. 181.) translates "den Spannring des Bogens der Umbüll zum Daumring gemacht ;" for which I see no authority in the original.

them, and if anyone of the Turkish army were to escape from the talons of the eagle of death, he must necessarily take the road of flight, and with his two horses would make three stages into one, until he reached Dehli in a state of distraction."

When this treacherous plan was revealed, Kutbu-d dín determined to anticipate it, and during the height of the hot season "before the sun arose, fell upon the advance guard of the black infidels, and like lions attacked them right and left." The action lasted during the whole day, and next morning that immense army of Nahrwála came to the assistance of the vanguard, slew many of the Musulmán's, wounded their commander, pursued them to Ajmír, and encamped within one parasang of that place.

In this predicament, a confidential messenger was sent to Ghazna<sup>1</sup> "to explain before the sublime throne the position of the army of the infidels, and to ask for orders as to future proceedings." "A royal edict was issued conferring all kinds of honours and kindnesses upon the Khusrú, and leaving to his entire discretion the subjection and extirpation of the turbulent." A very large army was despatched to reinforce him, under the command of Jahán Pahlawán, Asadu-d dín Arslán Kalij, Nasíru-d dín Husain, 'Izzu-d dín son of Muwaiyidu-d dín Balkh, and Sharfu-d dín Muhammad Jarah." These reinforcements arrived at the beginning of the cold season, when "the vanguard of the army of winter began to draw its sword from the scabbard, and the season of collecting armies and the time of making raids had returned."

"In the middle of the month of Safar, 593 H. (Jan., 1197), the world-conquering Khusrú departed from Ajmír, and with every description of force turned his face towards the annihilation of the Rái of Nahrwála." When he reached the lofty forts of Pálí and Nandúl,<sup>2</sup> he found them abandoned, and the abode of

<sup>1</sup> In the latter half of the work the spelling is usually Ghaznín.

<sup>2</sup> Hammer (*Gemäld.* iv. 184,) following Briggs (*Ferishta* I. 196) reads "Bali and Nadole." They assume various forms in different manuscripts,—“Rahí and Bartaki, Nadúl and Nazúl." There are places between Ajmír and Mount Ábú, which correspond to the names given in the the text. The lithographed edition of *Ferishta* (I. 108) reads "Dhútali and Bazúl."

owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmáns, and had collected under their leaders Rái Karan and Dárábars, in great numbers "at the foot of Mount Abú, and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter." The Musulmáns did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sultán Muhammad Sám Ghorí had been wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander. The Hindús seeing this hesitation, and misconstruing it into cowardice and alarm, abandoning the pass, "turned their faces towards the field of battle and the plain of honour and renown;" for "they were persuaded that fear had established itself in the hearts of the protectors of the sacred enclosure of religion." "The two armies stood face to face for some time, engaged in preparations for fight, and on the night preceding Sunday, the 13th of Rabí'u-l awwal, in a fortunate moment the army of Islám advanced from its camp, and at morn reached the position of the infidels." A severe action ensued from dawn to mid-day, when "the army of idolatry and damnation turned its back in flight from the line of battle. Most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword, and from the heaps of the slain, the hills and the plains became of one level." Rái Karan effected his escape from the field. "More than twenty thousand slaves, and twenty elephants, and cattle and arms beyond all calculation, fell into the hands of the victors." "You would have thought that the treasures of the kings of all the inhabited world had come into their possession."

"The city of Nahrwála, which is the most celebrated in that country, full of rivers," and the kingdom of Gujarát, which is "a separate region of the world," came under the dominion of the Musulmáns, "and high and low were treated with royal benignity and justice." "The chief nobles and pillars of the State were favoured with handsome robes of honour, and received abundant proofs of royal kindness," then "the standards of the

Khusrú, victorious in battle, returned to Ajmír," whence they were moved towards Dehli, where they arrived at an auspicious moment. As an earnest of his regard and respect, Kutbu-d dín sent to Ghazna treasures and various rarities, which were received by his majesty with suitable acknowledgments of the value and splendour of his general's services.

*Capture of the Fort of Kálinjar.*

In the year 599 H. (1202 A.D.), Kutbu-d dín proceeded to the investment of Kálinjar, on which expedition he was accompanied by the Sáhib-Kirán, Shamsu-d dín Altamsh. Encomiums on both warriors follow through several pages. "The accursed Parmár," the Rái of Kálinjar, fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and "placed the collar of subjection" round his neck, and, on his promise of allegiance, was admitted to the same favours as his ancestor had experienced from Mahmúd Subuktigín, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements. His Diwán, or Mahtea, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate, in consequence of severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the forts. "On Monday, the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction, came out of the fort, and by compulsion left their native place empty," "and the fort of Kálinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexander" was taken. "The temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated." "Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindús." Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors.

"The reins of victory were then directed towards Mahobá, and the government of Kálinjar was conferred on Hazabbaru-d dín Hasan Arnal. When Kutbu-d dín was satisfied with all the arrangements made in that quarter, he went towards Badáún,<sup>1</sup> "which is one of the mothers of cities, and one of the chiefest of the country of Hind."

*The Visit of Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí and the Return of  
of Kutbu-d dín to Dehli.*

Shortly afterwards, "Ikhtiyáru-d dín Muhammad Bakh-tiyár, one of the chief supports of the State, the splendour of Islám, and celebrated throughout Hind for his religious wars, joined the auspicious stirrups and came to pay his respects from the direction of Oudh and Behár." "He presented twenty elephants and various kinds of jewels and moneys." "He was received with royal kindness and beneficence, and he was exalted above the leaders of the time;" and when he took his audience of leave, the blessed commands, investing him with authority, were renewed and augmented, and a tent, a *naubat*, a drum, a standard, and magnificent robe of honour, a horse and trappings, a waistband, sword, and a vest from the private wardrobe were conferred upon him."

"In a fortunate moment, and under an auspicious bird, the blessed standards were waved, and directed towards Dehli, the capital of prosperity and the altar of excellence."—Rhapsody on Kutbu-d dín's justice.

*The Return of Muhammad Ghori from Khwárizm and his War  
against the Gakkhurs.*

When the sublime standards were returning in the year 600 H. (1203 A.D.) from the capital of Khwárizm, the army of Khitá (God's curse on it!) made an attack upon them, while on their

<sup>1</sup> Hammer (*Gemäld.* iv. 186) following Briggs (*Ferishta* I. 198) places Badáún between the Ganges and the Jamna, for which there is no authority in the original. It is in Rohilkhand, to the east of the Ganges.



march within the borders of Andkhúd, in numbers exceeding the stars of heaven and the particles of the earth, and the great king, wounded and defeated, fled from the field of hatred towards Ghazna."

"Aibak Bák, one of the most confidential servants of the State, an officer of high rank in the army, who had been brought up in the royal court, fled from the field of battle, and carried away the impression that by heavenly visitation, the blessed person of the king had met with a misfortune and been slain. He fled with the speed of the wind to Multán, and, on his arrival, went immediately to Amír Dád Hasan, the lord of a standard, and deceit fully persuaded him that he had come for the purpose of imparting to him a royal command, which could only be communicated to him in private, and should not be publicly divulged." When the private conference was accorded to him, he took the opportunity of assassinating the governor, and so got possession of the fort of Multán. "For a long time the truth of the matter was not revealed, and a report was spread to the effect that the governor had been imprisoned by the royal commands. After some delay, the various servants and officers of the Province became aware of what had really happened, and the intelligence of the true circumstances was spread throughout the far and near countries of Hind and Sind. Upon this, the tribe of Kokars (Gakkhurs) (God annihilate them!) said that from any one who had the least knowledge and sense, it could not be concealed that if the sacred person of the Sultán had been alive, the like of these transactions could never have been done by Aibak Bák, and that therefore the great king had exchanged his throne of empire for one of dust, and had departed from the house of mortality to the world of holiness. In consequence of these impressions, seditious thoughts entered the brains of the Hindús, and the madness of independence and dominion affected the heads of Bakan and Sarkí, the chiefs of the Kokars, who thrust their heads out of the collar of obedience, and opened their hands for the destruction of villages and the plunder of cattle, and kindled the flames of tur-

bulence and sedition between the waters of the Sodra<sup>1</sup> and the Jelam, by the aid of a crowd of the dependants of Satan." "When their ravages had exceeded all bounds, Baháu-d dín Muhammad, governor of Sangwán, with his brothers, who held lands (*aktá*) within the borders of Multán, accompanied by many of the chief people of the city, marched out against them, determined to repress the violence of those accursed rebels and enemies of the State and religion; but many of them were captured or slain by the exertions of the army of the infidels, in number like the drops of rain or leaves of the forest. Their power consequently increased day by day, and a general named Sulaimán was obliged to fly before the superior numbers of the enemy." When these circumstances were reported to Muhammad Ghorí, he determined on proceeding to the scene of action, and sent on the Amír Hájb, Siráju-d dín Abú Bakr, one of his confidential servants, to inform Kutbu-d dín of his intentions. In consequence of which, Kutbu-d dín advanced to meet his Majesty, at the opening of the cold season. "At every stage intelligence reached him from the royal camp, urging his advance, and informing him that the blood-thirsty sword would be sheathed, and the camp would halt, and that no measures would be taken to exterminate the infidels, until he had passed the river (Chináb) which intervened between his and the royal camp."

"Near the river of Sodra, Kutbu-d dín killed four fierce tigers, at the roaring of which the heart was appalled," and on the day after crossing that river, he joined the camp of the king on the bank of the Jelam, and was received with royal kindness. "They mounted their horses and swam them like fish across the Jelam," "and on the bank of the river entered on their plans for the approaching action, and arranged all the preparations for fight, after joining together in consultation." Kutbu-d dín suggested

<sup>1</sup> Hammer (*Gemäld.* iv. 183) says, "the river of Sodra, which, flowing by Stálkot, Sodra, and Wazírábád, discharges itself into the Chináb." But there is no such stream. The Sodra is the Chináb itself, so called from the old town of that name on its eastern bank.

that it was not right for the king to expose his person against such enemies, and suggested that the command of the Musulmán army should be entrusted to himself alone ; but the persuasion of his general seem to have had no effect upon the resolution of the Sultán.—Description of the battle near the ford of the Jelam, the waves of which were filled with blood, and in which “the armies of infidelity and true faith commingled together like waves of the sea, and contended with each other like night and day, or light and darkness.” Shamsu-d dín was also engaged in this fight.—Extravaganzas upon spears and other weapons, and upon war-horses.

The Kokars were completely defeated, and, “in that country there remained not an inhabitant to light a fire.” “Much spoil in slaves and weapons, beyond all enumeration, fell into the possession of the victors.” One of the sons of the Kokar Rái, the chief instigator of these hostilities, rushed into the river with “a detachment of his Satanical followers, and fled with one horse from the field of battle to a fort on the hill of Júd, and having escaped the sword, threw into it the last breathings of a dying man.” The next day, Muhammad Sám advanced towards the hill of Júd, when the action was renewed, which ended in the capture of the fortress, “and the Hindús like a torrent descended from the top of the hill to the bottom.” “The Rái of the hill of Júd, putting on the robes of a Brahman, presented himself like a slave, and kissed the face of the earth before the Sultán,” by whom he was admitted to pardon. Immense booty was taken in the fort.

The Sultán then advanced to Lahore, accompanied by Kutbu-d dín and the chief officers of State, and on Kutbu-d dín's taking his audience of leave, before his return to Dehli, he received a dress of honour and an affectionate farewell.

*Death of the Sultán of Sultáns, Muhammad Sám.*

On the king's return from Lahore towards Ghazní, he had fixed his camp “within the borders of Dhamek, and his tent was

pitched on the bank of a pure stream in a garden filled with lilies, jasmins," and other flowers. Here while he was engaged in his evening prayer, "some impious men (God's curse and destruction on them!) came running like the wind towards his majesty, the king of the world, and on the spot killed three armed attendants and two chamber-sweepers. They then surrounded the king's own tent, and one or two men out of these three or four conspirators, ran up towards the king, and inflicted five or six desperate wounds upon the lord of the seven climes, and his spirit flew above the eight paradises and the battlements of the nine heavens, and joined those of the ten evangelists."

A long elegy follows upon his death. His body was carried to Ghazna. "When this dreadful intelligence was conveyed to the lion-hearted Khusrú," he was deeply distressed, and, "when he was alone, streams of blood coursed down the face of his cheeks."

*Allegiance of the Nobles to Kutbu-d din, and his Confirmation in the Kingdoms of Hind and Sind.*

"For the consolation and satisfaction of the distant provinces, the auspicious mandates were issued to the different quarters of both sea and land," and the nobles and dependants of the Court came forward to offer their allegiance, and "the carpet of his audience-chamber was kissed by the Ráis of Hind and the Khusrús of Chín." "The keys of direction and prohibition in the capital of Ghazna fell into the hands of his officers, after the flight of Táju-d dín Yalduz, and the whole country of Hind, from Pershaur to the shores of the ocean, and in the other direction, from Siwistán to the borders of the hills of Chín, came into the power of his servants and under the dominion of the executors of his orders." "The public prayers and coinage of dinárs and dirhams throughout the whole country, full of rivers, received honour and embellishment from his name and royal titles," and Lohúr, where the throne of Sultáns had been established, and which was the altar of the good and pious, became

the capital." "By his orders, the precepts of Islám received great promulgation, and the sun of righteousness cast its shadow on the countries of Hind from the heaven of God's assistance."

—Happy results of the king's mercy and justice.

Death of the Sultán of Sultáns "by a fall from his horse while playing the game of chaugán, and his burial at Lahore," like a treasure in the bowels of the earth.—An elegy upon his death.

#### *Accession of Shamsu-d dín.*

"In the year 607 H. (1210 A.D.), the throne of the kingdoms of Hindustán received honour and embellishment from Shamsu-d dín wau-d dunyá the Emperor of Turk and 'Ajam, Abú-l Muzaffar Altamsh."

#### *Revolt of the Turks in the City of Dehli.*

"Sirjándár Turkí, who was the leader of all sedition, and who opened his hand to shed the blood of Musulmán's, with an army of bloodthirsty Turks broke out into open rebellion. Although the Sultán was frequently requested to repress their violence, he "refrained for several days" from doing so. At last, he determined to oppose them with a large army, headed "by the chiefs of the time, such as 'Izzu-d dín Bakhtiyár, Nasíru-d dín Mardán Sháh, Hazabbaru-d dín Ahmad Súr, and Iftikháru-d dín Muhammad 'Umar, all valiant warriors."

"This army, assaulting like fire and moving like the wind, was drawn out in battle array like a hill of iron, near the Bágh-i Jún (the Jamna Garden)."—Hyperboles on battle, arms, and slaughter.

Aksankar Kitta and Táju-d dín Farrukh Sháh were slain in battle, but Sirjándár Turkí "threw himself into the waters of the Jún, took to flight like a fox in fear of a lion, and departed by the way of river and hill like a crocodile and a leopard, and, starting and trembling, concealed himself in the jungles and forests, like a sword in a scabbard, or a pen in a writing-box," and all their followers were either killed or dispersed.

*Capture of Jálór.*

After some time, they represented to his Majesty that the inhabitants of the fort of Jálewar (Jálór) had determined to revenge the blood which had been shed, "and once or twice mention of the evil deeds and improprieties of that people was made before the sublime throne. Shamsu-d dín accordingly assembled a large army, and headed by "a number of the pillars of the State, such as Ruknu-d dín Hamza, 'Izzu-d dín Bakhtiyár Nasíru-d dín Mardán Sháh, Nasíru-d dín 'Alí and Badru-d dín Saukartigín," valiant men and skilful archers, "who could in a dark night hit with their arrows the mirror<sup>1</sup> on the forehead of an elephant." "The king took his way towards Jálewar by the aid of God," "and by reason of the scantiness of water and food it was a matter of danger to traverse that desert, where one might have thought that nothing but the face of demons and sprites could be seen, and the means of escape from it were not even written on the tablet of providential design."

"Udí Sah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jálewar, an exceedingly strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror." When the place was invested by Shamsu-d dín, Udí Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness. While the terms of his surrender were under consideration, two or three of the bastions of his fort were demolished. He came, "with his head and feet naked, and placed his forehead on the earth" and was received with favour. The Sultán granted him his life, and restored his fortress, and in return the Rái presented respectfully an hundred camels and twenty horses, in the name of tribute and after the custom of service." The Sultán then returned to Dehli, "which is the capital of prosperity and the palace of glory," and after his arrival, "not a vestige or name remained of the idol temples which had reared their heads on high; and the light of faith

<sup>1</sup> This was probably made of burnished steel, and must have been placed as a protection over the most vulnerable part of the elephant. Shortly afterwards, the author styles this plate "a Chinese mirror."

shone out from the darkness of infidelity, like the sun from a curtain of sorrow, or after its emerging from an eclipse,<sup>1</sup> and threw its shade over the provinces of Hind and Sind, the far and near countries of idolatry; and the moon of religion and the State became resplendent from the heaven of prosperity and glory."—Praise of Islám, justice and courage.

*Defeat of the army of Ghazna, and seizure of Táju-d dín Yalduz.*

"When the beautiful Canopus arose, and the vanguard of winter put the centre of the army of summer to flight," it entered into the royal determination "to destroy some tribe of the accursed infidels, or to move the auspicious standards for the purpose of capturing some city in the land of Hind." "In the midst of these reflections, messengers arrived frequently from Táju-d dín, who had admitted into his brain the wind of pride and the arrogance of dominion," charged with the delivery of ridiculous propositions, which the Sultán was incensed to listen to. Shamsu-d dín resolved to oppose his pretensions by force, and advanced with a large army to Sámánd, which he reached on Monday, the 3rd of Shawwál, 612 H. (Jan., 1216), and on his arrival was attacked by the advanced guard of Malik Táju-d dín. During the action, the enemy suddenly came up towards the left wing of the auxiliaries of the faith, and desired to raise up a disturbance with their "watered blades, and to practice their deceits after the manner of foxes playing with lions, and with the absurd idea that they could thus take the countries of Hind and Sind."—Then follows a description of the battle, which is described in terms peculiar to chess, with the introduction of hyperboles upon swords, dirks, maces, war-nooses, horsemen, horse-archers, arrows, spears, elements, justice, and stars.—Táju-d dín was wounded by an arrow shot by Muwaiyidu-l Mulk, and was subsequently taken prisoner and brought before Shamsu-d dín.

<sup>1</sup> This implies a temporary revival of the Hindú power, which may have occurred under the unconverted rebel Turks who are represented as having shed the blood of Musulmáns.

*The Flight of Násiru-d dín and Conquest of Lahore.*

"After some time, the great lord Muwaiyidu-l Mulk Muhammad Junaidí was appointed Wazír."—Encomium on his merits.—It was represented to his Majesty, that Malik Násiru-d dín "had placed his former engagements under the water of forgetfulness," "and that in the receipts and disbursements of the account of his tribute he had incurred debt and balance," "and that all the excellent advice that was offered to him was valued as so much dirt." His Majesty accordingly, in a fortunate moment, marched in the beginning of Jumáda-l ákhir from Dehli, "may God protect it! (for its water and soil have always been mild and favourable to various temperaments, and its fire and wind have at all times been suitable and agreeable to the disposition of everybody.)" He marched with a large army towards the country of Lohúr, of which when the enemy became aware "they began to be greatly agitated like fish upon dry land, and like water-fowl sought protection from the waters of the Biyáh," "on the banks of which stream they encamped with an army innumerable as ants and locusts."

"On the fourteenth of the month of Shawwál, the victorious standards advanced with the whole army in battle array, from the borders of Lorúh to the ford at the village of Chamba." "Wind-footed they swam across the river, in comparison of which the Oxus and Jaxartes looked like a fountain."

When Násiru-d dín "saw the victorious army cross that foaming stream without the aid and means of boats," he fled in alarm, "turning his face from the battle and slaughter" towards Lohúr, whither he was pursued by the victorious army" which could not see a trace of the dust raised by their swift-flying horses."—His standards, drums, and camp equipage, besides immense booty, fell into the hands of the Royalists. The defeated general afterwards continued his flight "by the road of U'ch."

Shamsu-d dín arrived at Lohúr, "which is among the mothers of the countries of religion, and among the chiefs of the pro-



vinces of Islám, and the abode and repose of the excellent and pious, and which for some days, on account of a number of calamities, and changes of governors, and the sedition of rebels, had been distracted by the flames of turbulence and opposition, and was now again reduced to order by the breath of the zephyr of his justice." The captives who were taken in battle were pardoned, and after writing accounts of the victory and despatching them in various directions, Shamsu-d dín returned to Dehli.

*Prince Násiru-d dín appointed Governor of Lahore.*

In the beginning of 614 H. (1217 A.D.), the government of Lohúr was committed to the king's son, Násiru-d dín Mahmúd, and the advice which was given to him as to the mode of conducting his administration is given at length.—Description of festivities, with a repetition of rhetorical flourishes about beauties, cups, goblets, stars, locks, mouths, singers, companions, horses, hawks, dogs, tigers, horses, arrows, forts, and the game of chaugán, at which the king recreates himself.

*The Capture of Bhakkar.*

This portion of the work opens with praise of God and king, upon whom Almighty favours are showered, as is testified by his conquest of Kálewar (Gwalior), Rantanbhor, and Mandúr,<sup>1</sup> Kanauj, Behár, and Bárah, and his subjection of powerful Ráis, and by his spreading the knowledge of Islám as far as the ocean; and amongst other arrangements made by which good government was secured, "an account of the proceedings of the king was written according to dates so as to form a model for the kings and Sultáns." The forts of U'ch Multán "which were stronger than the wall of Alexander" were also taken "in a manner which astonished the world," and while he was engaged in these conquests, it was reported to the king that Malik Násiru-d dín Kubácha, who was proud and arrogant, and "who regarded in his cruelty and unkindness the people of God as less than rubbish,"

<sup>1</sup> [Or Mandawar, in the Siwálík hills. See *infra*, *Tabakdt-i Ndsiri*.

"and out of his own pleasure and drunkenness would roast even hearts and draw tears of blood from the eyes," had fortified himself within the strong fort of Bhakkar, "the eye of the forts and the face of the kingdom of Hind," "and which had not been taken by any Khusrú," and in which were deposited immense treasures.

Upon receiving this information, Shamsu-d dín despatched his minister Khwája-i Jahán Nizámu-l Mulk Muhammad Junaidí with a large army to Bhakkar, in the very height of the hot weather. Part of the army marched by land "a difficult road through the jungles," and part went by water. After the fort was invested, and the enemy was reduced to extremities, Násiru-d dín despatched his son 'Aláu-d dín Muhammad to Shamsu-d dín with an hundred lacs of Dehliwáls,<sup>1</sup> and thousands of suits of clothes. The Sultán received him kindly, but would not allow him to return, in consequence of which, Násiru-d dín became much alarmed and ill, "and his head was bowed down to his knees like a violet, with his eyes of expectation open like a narcissus," and he "wailed like Jacob for the absence of Joseph."

Násiru-d dín shortly after died of grief, "and the boat of his life was drowned in the whirlpool of death," "though he left behind him nearly a thousand boats" which could render no service to him.<sup>2</sup> The result of his death was that "more than five hundred lacs of Dehliwáls, various kinds of inlaid articles and jewels, and pearls exceeding white, and costly garments were deposited in the royal treasury of Shamsu-d dín," and possession was also taken of "twelve celebrated forts, which had never been before captured," "and Siwistán and Lúk (Lakkí) as far as the shores of the sea;" "and the coinage was struck, and the prayers read in his auspicious name throughout all the countries of Hindústán and the provinces of Kusdár and Makrán." He returned to Dehli on the 14th of Rabí'u-l awwal, 624 H.

<sup>1</sup> Coins of the period struck at Dehli, composed of a mixture of silver and copper. See E. Thomas, *Coins of Patán Sultáns of Hindústán*, pp. 10, 11; and Jour. R. A. S. N. S. II. p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> [See *supra*, page 201.]

*Arrival of a dress of investiture from the 'Abbási Khalifa.*

After some time a dress of honour was received from the Imám Mustansirbi-llah by the Sultán at Dehli, accompanied by a diploma confirming him in the kingdom of Hindústán, with the title of the great Sultán. He received the diploma with deep respect, and appointed the following day, namely the 23rd Rabí'u-l awwal, 626 H. (Feb. 1229 A.D.) for a general assembly, in which the farmán was read out in the presence of the King, the princes, and nobles. It declared that he was confirmed in the possession "of all the land and sea which he had conquered." Robes were bestowed upon the ambassadors, the chiefs, and nobles, in honour of the event, and great joy prevailed upon the occasion throughout the capital.

## VI.

## KÁMILU-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

## IBN ASÍR.

[Called also by the author *Kámil fi-t Táríkh*. It is also known to Persian writers as *Táríkh-i Kámil*. The author of this celebrated general history was Shaikh Abú-l Hasan 'Alí Ibn Abú-l Karam Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdu-l Karím ibn 'Abdu-l Wáhid as Shaibání. He was surnamed "'Izzu-d dín; majesty of religion," but he is commonly known as Ibn Asír (or Athír according to Arabic pronunciation). He was born in the year 555 H. (1160) in the Jazírat ibn 'Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul, and hence the epithet "al Jazarí, the islander," is frequently added to his name. Ibn Khallikán, who was personally acquainted with him, says that he studied first at Mosul and afterwards at Baghdad, in Syria, and at Jerusalem. Returning to Mosul he devoted himself most assiduously to literary pursuits, and his house became the resort of all the learned men who inhabited or visited that town. Ibn Khallikán met him at Aleppo in 626 H., 1229 A.D., and describes him as "a man of the highest accomplishments and most excellent qualities, but extremely modest." He speaks of him fondly in another place as "Our *Shaikh*, Ibn Asír," and of his accomplishments he says "His knowledge of the traditions and his acquaintance with that science in its various branches placed him in the first rank, and his learning as an historian of the ancients and moderns was not less extensive; he was perfectly familiar with the genealogy of the Arabs, their adventures, combats, and history; whilst his

great work, the *Kámil* or complete, embracing the history of the world from the earliest period to the year 628 of the Hijra (1230 A.D.), merits its reputation as one of the best productions of the kind."

The *Kámilu-t Tawaríkh* enjoys a very high reputation, and has been much used and quoted both in Asia and Europe. Ibn Khaldún borrowed largely from it, and it has been drawn upon by Ockley for his *History of the Saracens*, by Malcolm for the *History of Persia*, and by Weil for his *Geschichte der Chalifen*. The narrative is very clear and succinct, but the work, from its great range, is very voluminous. It contains a few brief notices of the Jats in the second and third centuries of the Hijra, and it also gives some interesting details of the Arab occupation of Sind, but so far as India is concerned it is chiefly valuable for its notices of the Ghaznivides and the Ghorians. The work closes soon after the decline of the latter dynasty.

The author of the *Habibu-s Siyar* relates that "the *Tárikh-i Kámil*, one of the two histories written by Ibn Asír" was translated into Persian under the orders of Mírán Sháh, son of Tímúr, by Najmu-d dín, surnamed Nizárí, one of that prince's secretaries.

Besides the work before us, Ibn Asír wrote an abridgement, containing many corrections and improvements of Abú Sa'du-s Samání's *Ansáb*, upon *Patronymics*, etc. Another of his works was the "*Akhbáru-s Sahába*; history of the companions of the Prophet." He had two brothers, who also engaged in literary pursuits, and one of them, Majdu-d dín, wrote a work on the traditions, entitled "*Jámi'u-l Usúl min Hadisu-r Rasúl*," which has been erroneously attributed to our author.

There are MSS. of several portions of the *Kámilu-t Tawaríkh* in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library; and in Sir H. Elliott's Library there is a borrowed MS. of part of the work, in bad condition and much worm-eaten. A complete edition of the whole work will soon be available, as it is passing through the press at Leyden, under the careful and able editorship of Professor Tornberg, who bases his text upon the MSS. of Berlin,

Paris, and the British Museum. Seven volumes have already been published, and the whole work will be comprised in twelve.<sup>1</sup>

## EXTRACTS.

*Hijra* 151. A.D. 768.

In this year the Kurks made an attack upon Jidda.

*Hijra* 153. A.D. 770.

In this year Al Mansúr returned from Mecca to Basra, and embarked forces in ships against the Kurks who, as before related, had made an incursion upon Jidda.

*Hijra* 160. A.D. 776.—*Conquest of the town of Barada.*<sup>2</sup>

In the year 159, Al Mahdí sent an army by sea under 'Abdu-l Malik bin Shahábu-l Musamma'í to India. The force consisted of a large number of troops and volunteers, among whom was Al Rabí' bin Subaih. They proceeded on their way and at length disembarked at Barada. When they reached the place they laid siege to it. The people of the neighbourhood fought with them frequently. The town was reduced to extremities, and God prevailed over it in the same year. The people were forbidden to worship the Budd, which the Muhammadans burned. Some of the people were burned, the rest were slain, and twenty Musulmán's perished in testimony of their faith. God came to them, and raised the sea against them, so they waited until the weather should be favourable. Disease then fell upon them, and about a thousand of them died, among whom was Rabi' bin Subaih. They then returned homewards and reached the coast of Persia, in what is called the Bahru-l Hamrán. There the wind rose in the night time and wrecked their vessels. Some were drowned, and some escaped.

<sup>1</sup> De Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, Introd. xii. II. 288.. See D'Herbelot, "Gezeri;" De Rossi, "Atir;" Bodleian Cat. 693, 696, 784; Hamaker, 164; Fraehn, 44; Wüstenfeld, 84; Rampoldi, viii. 517, ix. 281, xi. 57; Gemäldeaal Pref. xi. and vi. 2; Jenisch Reg. Pers. 123; Wilken, *Samanidarum*, 191-2; D'Ohason, *Mongols*. Pref. x.; Weil, II. ix; Reinaud's *Aboul Feda*, 9; Sprenger, on Mahomedanism, 73; Bush, *Life of Mahomet*, 255; *Nouv. Mel. As.* I. 433, 434; *Col. Or.* I. 208; *Not. et Ext.* I. 542; *Jour. As.* 4 Ser. iv. 188; *Not. des MSS.* II.; Hammer, *Gold. Horde*, xv. xxv.; *Univ. Hist.* III. 239, 283.

<sup>2</sup> بريد in the MS. of the B. Mus.

*Hijra 219. A.D. 834.—War against the Jats.*

In the month of Jumáda-l ákhir, Al M'utasim sent 'Ajíf bin 'Isa to fight against the Jats, who had seized upon the roads of Hajar, and had plundered the corn which was in the stacks of Kaskar, and in the stores of the towns. They spread terror over the roads, and planted posts in all directions towards the desert. At the news of the approach of Ajíf they retired. Ajíf marched to below Wásit and there took post on the river Bardád and Anhárá. Then they retreated and entered another place, but the roads baffled them. Ajíf then forced 1,500 of them to fight, and killed on the field of battle 300 men. Their leaders he made prisoners, and sent the chief to the gate of M'utasim. Ajíf was engaged against the Jats twenty-five days, and vanquished a great many of them. The chief of the Jats was Muhammad bin 'Usmán, and the commander was Samlú. Ajíf then took up a position, and remained opposed to them seven months. Mansúr bin Bassám was at Músál.

*Hijra 220. A.D. 835.—Defeat of the Jats by Ajíf.*

In this year Ajíf came to Baghdad from his expedition against the Jats, after having defeated and killed many of them. The remnant was compelled to ask quarter, which was conceded to them. They then marched away with him in Zi'l hijja, 219 (834 A.D.) and their number, including women and children, was twenty-seven thousand. The fighting men among them were twelve thousand. Ajíf placed his conquered foes in boats, and sent them dressed as they had appeared in battle, with their trumpets, to Baghdad. They reached that city on the tenth Muharram, 220. They proceeded in boats to the Shammásiya (suburb of Baghdad). The Jats were accoutred as for battle, and were blowing their horns, And Azif gave to each of his men two dínars (as a present). The Jats stayed on board their ships three days, and were then handed over to Bishr ibnu-s Samaida', who conveyed them to Khánikín. Thence they were removed to the (northern)

frontier to 'Ain-zarba, and the Byzantines made a raid upon them and not one of them escaped.<sup>1</sup>

### *Conquest of Bhátia.*

In the year 396 Hijra (1006 A.D.) Yamínu-d daula fought against Bhátia, one of the dependencies of Hind, which is situated beyond Multán. The chief of the place was named Bahírá. It is a fine city, enclosed with high walls, and a deep ditch. The chief marched out to meet his enemy, and fought for three days with the Musulmán. On the fourth he fled, and sought to get back into the city; but the Musulmán reached the gate before the fugitives, overpowered them, and disarmed them. A dreadful slaughter ensued, the women were dishonoured, and the property seized. When Bahírá saw this destruction, he fled with some trusty followers to the tops of the mountains. Mahmúd sent a force in pursuit, which overtook and surrounded the party, and put all the chiefs to the sword. Bahírá saw that no hope was left, so he drew a dagger and killed himself. Mahmúd remained in Bhátia until he had settled its affairs, and drawn up rules for its governance. He then returned towards Ghazna, having appointed a representative at Bhátia to instruct the people who had become Muhammadans. On his journey home he encountered great difficulties from heavy rains and swollen rivers, and great quantities of things belonging to him and his army were carried away by the waters.

### *Conquest of Multán.*

In the year 396 Hijra (1006, A.D.) Sultán Yamínu-d daula fought against Multán. The cause of this was that the ruler of the place, Abú-l Futúh was disaffected, false to his faith, and inclined to heresy (*ilhád*). He had also required the people of his country to follow his opinions, and they had consented. Yamínu-d daula resolved to attack him and marched against him, but the rivers on the road were very large and broad,

<sup>1</sup> [There are some doubtful words in this extract, but the sense appears to be as translated.]



especially the Sîhún (Indus), and the enemy was ready to oppose the passage. So Mahmúd sent to Andbál<sup>1</sup> and asked permission to pass through his country to Multán, but the request was refused. Mahmúd resolved therefore to deal with him first, and afterwards to prosecute his original intention. So he entered into his country and overran it; and he killed many of the people, plundered their property, and fired their houses. Andbál fled and Mahmúd followed his traces, like fire in the tracks of Satan, from pass to pass until he reached Kashmír. When Abú-l Futúh heard of this victory, he saw the futility of his rebellion, and sending his property to Sarandíp, he evacuated Multán. Yamínu-d daula then went to Multán, and finding the people infatuated in their heresy, he besieged the place closely, and carried on the fight until he took it by storm. He fined the inhabitants 20,000 dirhams for their rebellion.

### *Conquest of Mansúra.*

After the capture of Somnát, Mahmúd received intelligence that Bhím the chief of Anhalwára had gone to the fort of Kandahat, which is situated about forty parasangs from Somnát between that place and the desert. He marched thither, and when he came in front of the place he questioned some men who were hunting, as to the tide. From them he learned that there was a practicable ford, but that if the wind blew a little, he might be submerged. Mahmúd prayed to the Almighty and then entered the water. He and his forces passed over safely, and drove the enemy out of the place. From thence he returned, intending to proceed against Mansúra, the ruler of which was an apostate Muhammadan. When the news of Mahmúd's approach reached this chief, he fled into the date-palm forests. Mahmúd proceeded against him, and surrounding him and his adherents, many of them were slain, many drowned, and but few escaped. Mahmúd then went to Bhátía, and after reducing the inhabitants to obedience, he returned to Ghazní, where he arrived on the 10th Safar 417 H.

<sup>1</sup> [Anand-pál.]

*Revolt and Death of Ahmad Níaltígn.*

In the year (4)25 (1034 A.D.), Mas'úd, son of Mahmúd, returned to Hind to destroy the Turks (*al ghuzz*); and Ahmad Níaltígn again exerting himself to excite rebellion in the provinces of Hind, proceeded with all his assembled forces to the territories (*bilád*) of Bálází. Mas'úd sent a numerous army against him, and the chiefs of Hind being averse to his entering into their territories, closed the roads against him. Before the army reached the passage he attacked it, and retreated fighting towards Multán. Several of the Indian chiefs proceeded to Bhátía. He had with him a considerable unbroken force, and the chief of the place not having strength to arrest his progress, Ahmad demanded boats to enable him to cross the river Indus, and these were supplied. In the midst of the stream there was an island, which Ahmad and his adherents perceived, and close by in another direction lay the desert. They did not know that the water was deep there. The Indian chief directed the owners of the boats to transport the fugitives to the island and to return. Ahmad and his adherents remained there, and they had no food but what they had brought with them. They stayed there nine days, and their provisions were consumed. Having even devoured their animals they were reduced to extremity, and resolved to pass through the water; but they had no sooner entered it than they discovered its depth, and, besides this, a great impediment in the mud. The Indian sent over his soldiers against them in boats, who attacked them while they were in that plight, and killed many of them. The sons of Ahmad were taken prisoners, and when Ahmad himself fell into their hands they killed him. His companions also were all either slain, taken prisoners, or drowned.

*War between Shahábu-d dín and the King of Benares.*

Shahábu-d dín Ghori, king of Ghazní, sent his slave, Kutbu-d dín, to make war against the provinces of Hind, and this general made an incursion in which he killed many, and returned home

with prisoners and booty. The king of Benares was the greatest king in India, and possessed the largest territory, extending lengthwise from the borders of China to the province of Maláwa (Málwá), and in breadth from the sea to within ten days' journey of Lahore. When he was informed of this inroad, he collected his forces, and in the year 590 (1194 A.D.), he entered the territories of the Muhammadans. Shahábu-d dín Ghorí marched forth to oppose him, and the two armies met on the river Jumna,<sup>1</sup> which is a river about as large as the Tigris at Músál. The Hindu prince had seven hundred elephants, and his men were said to amount to a million. There were many nobles in his army. There were Mussulmáns in that country since the days of Mahmúd bin Subuktigín, who continued faithful to the law of Islám, and constant in prayer and good works. When the two armies met there was great carnage; the infidels were sustained by their numbers, the Musulmáns by their courage, but in the end the infidels fled, and the faithful were victorious. The slaughter of the Hindus was immense; none were spared except women and children, and the carnage of the men went on until the earth was weary. Ninety elephants were captured, and of the rest some were killed, and some escaped. The Hindu king was slain, and no one would have recognized his corpse but for the fact of his teeth, which were weak at their roots, being fastened in with golden wire. After the flight of the Hindus Shabábu-d dín entered Benares, and carried off its treasures upon fourteen hundred camels. He then returned to Ghazní. Among the elephants which were captured there was a white one. A person who saw it told me that when the elephants were brought before Shahábu-d dín, and were ordered to salute, they all saluted except the white one. No one should be surprised at what I have said about the elephants, for they understand what is said to them. I myself saw one at Músál with his keeper, which did whatever his keeper told him.

<sup>1</sup> [Tornberg reads ماخون but ماء جون "the river Jumna" must be meant. The battle was fought near that river.]

## VII.

## NIZĀMU-T TAWĀRIKH

OF

## SA'ID 'ABDU-LLAH, BAIZĀWĪ.

THIS "Arrangement or String of Histories" is a small work devoted to general history, well known in Europe, but in too compendious a form to be of any great use, for in some of the dynasties treated of we have little beyond the names of the kings and the dates of their decease. Its value is chiefly attributable to the early period at which it was written.

The author was Abú Sa'id 'Abdu-llah bin Abú-l Hasan 'Alí Baizáwī.<sup>1</sup> His father was, as well as himself, a "Kázíu-l kuzzát," or chief kází, and his grandfather exercised the functions of Imám. He was born at Baizá, a town at a short distance from Shíráz, and was kází, first at Shíráz and afterwards at Tabríz, where he died in the year 685 H., 1286, A.D. Háji Khalfa says he died either in that year or 692 H.<sup>2</sup> This author has obtained great celebrity from his commentary upon the Kurán, entitled *Anwáru-t Tanzíl wa asrára-t Táwíl*—"the lights of revelation and mysteries of allegorical interpretation," which has itself been commented on by many succeeding authors, of which a bit is given by Háji Khalfa, in his *Lexicon*, Vol. I.

<sup>1</sup> This is what he calls himself in the Preface to the *Nizmu-t Tawdrikh*, but Háji Khalfa styles him Násiru-d din Abú Sa'id 'Abdu-llah bin 'Umar Baizáwī. S. de Sacy also calls him Abú-l Kasīm, 'Umar his father, and Abú-l Hasan 'Alí his grandfather. In one biography in my possession, he is named Kází Násiru-d din Abú-l Khair 'Abdu-llah bin 'Umar bin Muhammad bin 'Alí Shírázī Baizáwī. The *Haft Iklim* calls him Kází Násiru-d din bin Kází Imám Badru-d din 'Umar bin Fakhru-d din bin 'Alí.

<sup>2</sup> The two first dates are given by most of the European authorities who follow Háji Khalfa. Rampoldi gives his death in 1286 A.D. or 685 A.H. The *Fakhru-l Wásilín* has a chronogram which gives 691. Abú-l Muhásin and the MS. quoted by Casiri gives 685, and Yáfi'i mentions his death under the annals of 692.

pp. 469-81. This is considered generally the best commentary, and has been largely used by Sale and others. There are several copies of it in Europe, enumerated by De Rossi. It has lately been printed at Leipsig by Professor Fleischer. Baizáwí was the author of other works on law, theology, logic, and grammar, all written in Arabic, but the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh* is in Persian, in order, as he says, "that it might be of more general use."

A full account of the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh* has been given by Silvestre de Sacy, in the *Notices des Manuscrits*, Tom. lv. pp. 672-696, from the Appendix of which article it appears that there is another work of the same name, composed by Kází Jalálu-d dín, wazír of Mahmúd the Ghaznivide, in which I am disposed to apprehend some error of name or designation. Amongst other extracts given by him he has translated the brief histories of the Assassins and Atábaks.

There is some doubt about the exact date of the composition of this work. It is generally supposed that it was written about 674 H., but there are dates mentioned in it subsequent to that period. For instance, in the history of the Atábaks, there is one of 686, and towards the close of the Moghal history, there are 684 and 690; and 694 is repeated four times. There appears nothing like interpolation in these passages, and there would therefore appear some reason to suppose that 694 was the real date of composition, or at least of final revision, and that the latest date mentioned by Hájí Khalfa, namely, 699 (A.D. 1299-1300), is the most probable one of the author's death. Still this is opposed to all other authorities. M. Silvestre de Sacy examined two copies of the work in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in one of which he found dates later than 674. He mentions particularly the date of 689 (in my copy 686) in the history of the Atábaks, and he observes, what is very true, that at the beginning of that history their power is said to have commenced in 543, and to have lasted up to the time of composition, 130 years (131 in mine), which fixes the date in 674. It is easy, however, to read 650 for 630. M. de

Sacy does not notice the additions to the Moghal history in either of the copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale. My own copy, which is taken from a very excellent one written in 1108 H., has distinctly in the preface, as well as the conclusion, the year of 694 H. It is to be observed, that in Arabic 90 and 70 are written almost in the same form, when without diacritical marks. I have seen one copy in which the Perso-Moghal history is carried down to 739 H., but that evidently contained additions by the copyist. Altogether, if so many authorities were not arrayed against me, I should prefer fixing the date at 694, instead of 674. The question, however, is not of the least consequence. The work is divided into four books.

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Book I.—Prophets and Patriarchs from Adam to Núh, pp. 6-12.

Book II.—Kings of Persia to the time of the Musulmáns.

1. Peshdádí; 2. Kaíání; 3. Ashgání; 4. Sassání. Pp. 13-77.

Book III.—Muhammad and his successors, including the Umayyides and 'Abbásides. Pp. 78-119.

Book IV.—Dynasties established in Írán during the time of the 'Abbásides. 1. Saffáí; 2. Sámání; 3. Ghaznivides; Dailima; 5. Saljúkí; 6. Maláhida; 7. Salgharí; 8. Khwárizmí; 9. Moghal. Pp. 119-200.

SIZE.—Small 8vo. containing 200 pages, each of 11 lines.

The *Nizámu-t tawárikh* is better known in Europe than in India. Besides the copies noticed by S. de Sacy, there is one in the British Museum, No. 16708. Sir W. Ouseley quotes another. Yet it is mentioned by M. Fræhn amongst his *Desiderata*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Biographie Universelle*, Tom. iv. p. 67; De Rossi, *Dizionario degli Autori Arabi*, p. 49; Ahmad Rázi's *Hafí Iklim*, p. 120; D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Tom. v. p. 721; M. Fræhn's *Indications Bibliographiques*, No. 161; Rampoldi's *Annali Musulmani*, Tom. i. p. 339, Tom. ix. p. 445; T. W. Beale's *Mifidhu-t tawárikh*, p. 104; Ouseley's *Jahándrad*, p. xvi.; Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arab.*, Tom. i. p. 491; S. de Sacy's *Anthol.*, p. 37.

## EXTRACTS.

*The Kings of Ghazni.*

Their number amounts to twelve, and their rule endured for one hundred and sixty-one years. The origin of this family dates from the middle of the days of the Dailamites, but as its members were great men under the Sámánís, I am desirous that my accounts of these two dynasties should not be separated. The following are the names of these kings, viz.:—1. Sultán Yamínu-d daula Abú-l kásim Mahmúd, son of Násiru-d dín Subuktigín ; 2. Mas'úd, son of Mahmúd ; 3. Muhammad Makhúl (the blind), son of Mahmúd ; 4. Maudúd, son of Mas'úd ; 5. Mas'úd, son of Maudúd ; 6. 'Alí, son of Mas'úd ; 7. 'Abdu-r Rashíd, son of Mahmúd ; 8. Ibráhím, son of Mas'úd ; 9. Mas'úd, son of Ibráhím ; 10. Arslán Sháh, son of Mas'úd ; 11. Bahrám Sháh, son of Mas'úd ; 12. Kusrú Sháh, son of Bahrám Sháh. Násiru-d dín died in the year 387 H. (997 A.D.) and the command of his troops descended to Mahmúd by inheritance, and by confirmation of Núh, son of Mansúr. His victory over 'Abdu-l Malik, when that chieftain was put to flight, added much to his power, and he was confirmed in the government of Khurásán and Sijistán, and he received a robe of honour with the title of Sultán from the Khalif, who also made a treaty with him. In consequence of the complaints of the oppression practised by the descendants of Fakhru-d dín Dailamí, he marched towards Júrján and 'Irák, and took the country from them. Afterwards he turned his arms towards Hind, and conquered many of its cities and forts. He demolished the Hindú temples<sup>1</sup> and gave prevalence to the Muhammadan faith. He ruled with great justice, and he stands unparalleled among all the Muhammadan kings. He summoned Isráíl son of Sulaimán, the Saljúk, from Máwaráu-n Nahr, and apprehending danger from the immense number of that tribe, he sent him to the fort of Kálinjar in Hind, where he remained till he died. The capture of this Saljúk chief

<sup>1</sup> [The two following lines are not in Sir H. Elliott's MS.]

was the cause of the weakness of his descendants. Mahmúd Subuktigín died in A.H. 420 (1029 A.D.).

*Sultán Mas'úd.*

According to the will of Mahmúd, his son Mas'úd was to have the government of Khurásán, 'Irák, and Persia, and his second son, Muhammad, the kingdom of Ghazní and the country of Hind. Mas'úd requested his brother to have his name read along with his own in the Khutba, but this was not complied with, therefore Mas'úd marched to invade Ghazní. Before he reached there, Muhammad was taken prisoner by Yúsuf, son of Subuktigín, and sent to the fort of Bulbad.<sup>1</sup> Mas'úd, after his arrival at Ghazní, sent Yúsuf to prison, and became master of all the dominions of his father. In his time the Saljúks crossed the Jíhún and invaded Khurásán. He fought with them and made peace with them several times, but being defeated in A.H. 432 (1040 A.D.) he returned to Ghazní where his brother Muhammad had regained power in his absence. On his arrival he was consigned to a fort, and Ahmad, son of Muhammad went direct from his father to the fort and there slew him, A.H. 433 (1041 A.D.)

*Sultán Muhammad, Makhúl.*

Sultán Muhammad Makhúl bin Mahmúd ruled for nearly four years over the dominions of Ghazní, after the death of his father. When his brother was slain, Maudúd, son of the deceased, armed against him, and proving victorious, put him and his sons to death.

*Sultán Maudúd.*

Maudúd, having taken revenge for his father's death, sat on the throne for nearly seven years, and brought the country of his uncle under his dominion. He died in A.H. 441 (1049 A.D.).

*Sultán Mas'úd II.*

Mas'úd, son of Maudúd, was quite a boy at the death of his

<sup>1</sup> Another copy reads "Mangsál."



father. The Government was carried on for a few days in his name, but the ministers and nobles then conspired to place the royal crown on the head of his uncle.

*Sultán 'Alí.*

When Sultán 'Alí, son of Mas'úd, obtained the throne, 'Abdu-r Rashíd, son of Mahmúd, who for many years had been in prison, contrived to escape, and having collected an army, 'Alí fled before him, and was discomfited.

*Sultán 'Abdu-r Rashíd.*

He reigned nearly seven years, and died A.H. 445 (1053 A.D.).

*Sultán Ibráhím.<sup>1</sup>*

Sultán Ibráhím, son of Mas'úd, ruled for a period extending from A.H. 450 to 492 (1058 to 1098). He raised no palaces for himself, but only mosques and colleges for the great and glorious God.

*Sultán Mas'úd III.*

Mas'úd, son of Ibráhím, occupied the throne for sixteen years, and expired in A.H. 508 (1114 A.D.)

*Sultán Arslán Sháh.*

Sultán Arslán Sháh, by his wisdom and prudence, obtained the succession to his father Mas'úd. His brother Bahrám then fled in alarm, and sought refuge with his maternal uncle, Sultán Sanjar, the Saljúk, whom he brought against Ghazní. A battle ensued, in which Arslán Sháh was defeated, and Sanjar having placed Bahrám on the throne, returned to Khurásán. Soon after his departure, Arslán Sháh attacked Bahrám, who was again obliged to fly, but being once more assisted by Sanjar, with a large army, he went up against Ghazní, gained a victory, and put Arslán Sháh to death, in A.H. 512 (1118 A.D.).

<sup>1</sup> [The author passes unnoticed the interval of five years which he has left between the reigns of 'Abdu-r Rashíd and Ibráhím, and makes no mention of the reign of Farrukh-zád.]

*Sultán Bahrám Sháh.*

Bahrám Sháh, son of Mas'úd, had reigned some days, when he was attacked in Ghazní by 'Aláu-d dín Husain, son of Hasan, the first of the kings of Ghor. Bahrám Sháh fled before him from Ghazní, in which place 'Aláu-d dín established his own brother, Saifu-d dín, and then returned. Afterwards Bahrám Sháh came back to Ghazní, and ordered Saifu-d dín to be seated on a cow, and paraded round the city. When 'Aláu-d dín heard of this he became greatly infuriated, and marched with a large army towards Ghazní, but Bahrám died before his arrival. He was succeeded by his son, Khusrú Sháh.

*Sultán Khusrú Sháh.*

A few days after his accession 'Aláu-d dín arrived, and Khusrú fled to the country of Hind. 'Aláu-d dín then plundered Ghazní, and massacred a great number of its inhabitants. He left there his nephews, Ghiyásu-d dín Abu'l Fath Muhammad, and Shahábu-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar, sons of Sám, son of Hasan. They having succeeded in the capture of Khusrú Sháh, by various expedients through which he was lulled into security, kept him prisoner in a fort. They subjugated all the countries which had been under the rule of the kings of Ghazní, and chose Dehli for their residence. Khusrú Sháh died in A.H. 555 (1160 A.D.), and with him ended the Ghaznvide dynasty.

After some time Ghiyásu-d dín died, and the country remained in the sole and absolute possession of Shahábu-d dín to the time of Sultán Muhammad Takash, when he was assassinated by the *Malúhida* (Isma'íleans) in Hirát. He was succeeded in the kingdom of Hind by Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh, one of his slaves (*mawáli*), with whose descendants it remains to this day. The only names which the compiler knows of the Ghorian dynasty who ruled in Hind are these three:— 'Aláu-d dín Husain Jahán-soz, Ghiyásu-d dín Muhammad, Shahábu-d dín Muhammad,

## VIII.

## TABAKAT-I NÁSIRÍ

OF

## MINHÁJU-S SIRÁJ.

[This is a general history from the earliest times up to 658 Hijra (A.D. 1259). The author was Abú 'Umar Minháju-d dín, 'Usmán ibn Siráju-d dín al Júzjání. In the course of his work he mentions many interesting facts concerning himself and his family. He tells us that his ancestor in the third degree, Imám 'Abdu-l Khálik, came from Júzján<sup>1</sup> to Ghazní to seek a wife, in compliance with a command which he several times received in dreams. Here he gained the good graces of the reigning monarch, Ibráhím, and received in marriage one of his forty daughters, all of whom were "married to illustrious nobles or learned men of repute." They had a son named Ibráhím, who was father of Mauláná Minháju-d dín 'Usmán, who was father of Mauláná Siráju-d dín, who was father of our author, Minháju-s Siráj. Siráju-d dín was a man of some distinction. He was appointed Kázi of the army of Hindustán by Muhammad Ghorí in A.H. 582 (1186 A.D.), and his son refers to him by his titles of "*'Ajúbatu-z Zamán afsahu-l 'Ajam*—the wonder of the time and the most eloquent man of Persia."

The author of this work, Minháju-s Siráj, came from Ghor to Sind, Uch and Multán in 624 A.H. (A.D. 1227), and his character for learning must then have been already established, as he tells us that the Fírozí College at Uch was placed under his charge. In the year following, Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh led his armies from Dehli to suppress Násiru-d dín Kubácha, who

<sup>1</sup> [The country between Merv and Balkh.]

had succeeded in gaining sovereign authority in those quarters, and after the defeat and death of Kubácha, Minháju-s Siráj was admitted to an interview with Altamsh, and returned in his train to Dehli, where he arrived in Rámazán, 625 (August, 1228). In 629 A.H. he followed Altamsh to the siege of Gwalior, where he was appointed one of the court preachers, and soon afterwards was made "law-officer, and director of the preaching, and of all religious, moral, and judicial affairs." He abandoned this position in 635, when the forces of Sultán Raziya marched there. After the death of this able but unfortunate queen, we find him at Dehli, writing congratulatory verses upon the accession of her successor, Bahrám Sháh, and when a panic fell upon the city at the threatened incursion of the Moghals, he was called upon to preach and conciliate the minds of the people. Soon after this, in A.H. 639 (1241 A.D.) Bahrám Sháh made him Kází of the capital and of all his territories. But he did not hold this office long. Bahrám Sháh was deposed, and slain at the end of 639 H., and Minháju-s Siráj immediately afterwards tendered his resignation.

In Hijra 640, he started for Lakhnautí, and stayed there until the end of 642. This residence in the capital of Bengal afforded him opportunities for acquiring accurate information respecting that outlying Musulmán territory, and makes all that he says upon that subject of especial value.

At the end of 642, he returned to Dehli and arrived there early in the following year. He was immediately appointed Principal of the Násiriya College, and superintendent of its endowments. He was also made Kází of Gwalior, and preacher in the metropolitan mosque. At the beginning of 644 H. (1246 A.D.) Násiru-d dín Mahmūd ascended the throne, and our author received a prize for his congratulatory ode on the occasion, specimens of which he inserts in his history. The full tide of prosperity had now set in upon him; he received many honours from the Sultán Násiru-d dín, and from the distinguished noble whom he calls Ulúgh Khán-i Mu'azzam, who succeeded Násiru-d dín

on the throne, and is better known as Ghiyásu-d dín Balban. The author records the grant of a village which he received in *in'ám*, and mentions with great complacency the many favours of which he was the recipient. Finally he was honoured with the title of *Sadr-i Jahán*, and was again made Kází of the state and magistrate of the capital.

In honour of his patron, Násiru-d dín, he named his work *Tabakát-i Násirí*, and he breaks off his history rather abruptly in the fifteenth year of that monarch's reign, intending, as he said, to resume his pen if life and opportunity were afforded him. The date of his death is not known, but he probably survived Násiru-d dín, as the period of that monarch's reign is stated in this work as extending to twenty-two years, which, however, is an error, as it lasted only twenty years. The eulogistic way in which he always speaks of the successor of Násiru-d dín would induce the belief that the work appeared in the reign of that Sultán, and the fact is proved by his more than once offering up an ejaculatory prayer for the continuance of his reign.

The following careful analysis of the contents of the history has been borrowed from Mr. Morley's catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society:—

“The *Tabakát-i Násirí* is divided into twenty-three books, and contains as follows:—

“Author's Preface, in which he dedicates his work to Abú-l Muzaffar Násiru-d dín Mahmúd Ibnu-s Sultán Altamsh, king of Dehli.

“Book I.—Account of the Prophets and Patriarchs; of Jesus Christ; of Ishmael and the ancestors of Muhammad; and a history of Muhammad himself to the day of his death.

“Book II.—History of the first four Khalífas; of the descendants of 'Alí, and of the ten Mubashshir.

“Book III.—The Khalífas of the Baní Ummayya.

“Book IV.—The Khalífas of the Baní 'Abbás, to the extinction of the Khálifat in A.H. 656 (A.D. 1258).

“Book V.—The history of the early kings of Persia, com-

prising the Peshdádians, the Kaiánians, the Ashkánians, the Sásánians, and the Akásira from Naushirwán to Yazdajird.

“Book VI.—History of the kings of Yaman, from Hárису-r Ráísh to Bádán, who was converted to the Islám.

“Book VII.—History of the Táhirides from the Táhir Zúu-l Yumnain to that of Muhammad bin Táhir, the last king of the dynasty, who was conquered by Ya’kúb Lais, in A.H. 259 (A.D. 872).

“Book VIII.—History of the Saffárides from Ya’kúb Lais to the death of ‘Amrú Lais in A.H. 289 (A.D. 901).

“Book IX.—History of the Sámánides from their origin to A.H. 389 (A.D. 998) when ‘Abdu-l Malik bin Núh was sent as a captive to Uzjand.

“Book X.—History of the Buwaihides from their origin to the time of Abú-l Fawáris Sharafu-d Daula.

“Book XI.—History of the Ghaznivides from Subuktigín to the death of Khusrú Malik in A.H. 598 (A.D. 1201).

“Book XII.—History of the Saljúks of Persia from their origin to the death of Sultán Sanjar in A.H. 552 (A.D. 1157); of the Saljúks of Rúm and ‘Irák, from their origin to the time of Ruknu-d dín Kilij Arslán; and an account of Tughril bin Tughril, to his death, and the conquest of ‘Irák by Takash, King of Khwárizm.

“Book XIII.—History of the Sanjáriya kings, viz., 1. The Atábaks of ‘Irák and Azarbáiján from the time of the Atábak Alptigín to that of the Atábak Abú Bakr bin Muhammad. 2. The Atábaks of Fárs, from Sankar to the time of the Atábak Abú Bakr bin Sa’d bin Zangí A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259) when the author wrote. 3. The Kings of Naishápúr from Maliku-l Muaiyidu-s Sanjarí to the defeat and capture of Sanjar Sháh bin Tughán Sháh, by Takash, king of Khwárizm.

“Book XIV.—History of the kings of Nímrúz and Sijistán from Táhir bin Muhammad to Táju-d dín Níáltigín Khwárizmí who was slain by the Mongols in A.H. 625 (A.D. 1227).

“Book XV.—History of the Kurdíya kings, viz: The Atábaks

of Syria, Núru-d dīn Zangí and Maliku-s Sálíh; and the Ayyúbites of Egypt, from the time of Ayyúb to the death of Maliku-s Sálíh bin Maliku-l Kámil.

“Book XVI.—History of the Khwárizmians, from their origin to the death of Jalálu-d dīn Mankburní, in A.H. 629 (A.D. 1231).

“Book XVII.—History of the Shansabániya Sultáns of Ghor, from the origin of the family to the time of 'Aláu-d dīn Muhammad bin Abú 'Alí, the twenty-second and last king, who surrendered the city of Fíroz-Koh to Muhammad Khwárizm Sháh in A.H. 612 (A.D. 1215).

“Book XVIII.—The Shansabániya Kings of Bámián and Tukháristán, from Fakhru-d dīn Mas'úd, the first king, to the time of the fifth monarch, 'Aláu-d dīn Mas'úd, who was slain by his nephew Jalálu-d dīn 'Alí.

“Book XIX.—History of the Shansabániya Sultáns of Ghaznín, from the time of Saifu-d dīn Súrí, who conquered Bahrám Sháh Ghaznawi, to that of Kutbu-d dīn Aibak, who expelled Táju-d dīn Yaldúz, in A.H. 603 (A.D. 1206).

“Book XX.—The Múizziya Sultans of Hindustán, comprising the history of Kutbu-d dīn Aibak, and of his son Áram Sháh, whose capital was Dehlí; of Násiru-d dīn Kubácha al Mu'izzí and Baháu-d dīn Tughril al Mu'izzí; and of the first four Khiljí princes who reigned at Lakhnautí or Gaur, ending with Husámu-d dīn Ghiyásu-d dīn, who was defeated and slain by Násiru-d dīn Mahmúd bin Shamsu-d dīn Altamsh, governor of Behár, in A.H. 634 (A.D. 1226).

“Book XXI.—History of the Shamsiya Sultáns of Hindustan, whose capital was Dehlí, from the time of Shamsu-d dīn Altamsh, who expelled Áram Shah from the throne in A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210) to A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259), when Násiru-d dīn Mahmúd, the seventh king of the dynasty, reigned in Dehlí, and the author completed the present history.

“Book XXII.—Account of the most eminent nobles, viceroys, governors, etc., who flourished under the Shamsiya dynasty, from A.H. 625 (A.D. 1227) to the author's own time, ending with

a life of Baháu-d dín Alú Khán Balban who was the wazír of Násiru-d dín Mahmúd, and who afterwards, on the death of that monarch, ascended the throne of Dehlí without opposition.

“Book XXIII.—On the incursions of the infidels; comprising an account of the war between Sultán Sanjar Saljúkí and the tribes of Kará Khitá; of the conquest of Turkistán by Muhammad Khwárizm Sháh, and the defeat and death of Gúr Khán, the Kará Khitáian, in A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210); and of Changíz Khán and his descendants, viz.:—Jújí Khán, Uktái Khán, Chaghataí Khán, Kuyúk Khán, Bátu Khán, Mangú Khán, Hulákú Khán, and Barakah Khán, to A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259).”

The Tabakát-i Násirí is held in very high esteem both in India and Europe. Firishta and others refer to it as an excellent work of high authority; Anquetil du Perron calls it a “precious work,” and Elphinstone mentions it as a work of the highest celebrity. Stewart in his History of Bengal, follows it very closely, and considers it “a very valuable book.” These encomiums are not altogether undeserved; it is written in a plain, unaffected style, and the language is considered very correct. The author but rarely indulges in high-flown eulogy, but narrates his facts in a plain, straightforward manner, which induces a confidence in the sincerity of his statements, and the accuracy of his knowledge. He appears to have been industrious in collecting information from trustworthy persons, and he often mentions his authority for the facts he records. Still he is very meagre in his details, and Mr. Morley justly observes, “many portions of the history are too concise to be of much use.” He is also particularly disappointing occasionally in the brevity with which he records important matters about which he might have obtained full information, such, for instance, as the irruption of the “infidels of Changíz Khán” into Bengal, as far as the walls of Lakhnautí, in 642 H. (1245 A.D.)

Another defect of the work arises from its plan, which necessitates repetition, and requires events to be related in more than



one place. Thus, the record of the reign of Násiru-d dín and the memoir of Ulugh Khán (Ghiyásu-d dín) go over the same ground, and record many of the same facts but with considerable variety of detail.]

It is strange (says Sir Henry Elliot) that the Tabakát-i Nasirí should be so scarce in India. I know of only one copy besides my own, although there is no work for which I have searched so much.<sup>1</sup> It is in one of the royal libraries of Lucknow, and though several of my correspondents had declared that it was not to be found there, I discovered it at last by making a man ascend a ladder, and read out the title of every work in the library. After the lapse of almost three hours the name was read out. The work is by no means uncommon in Europe. Scarcely any one is so much quoted by Orientalists. It is possible that the reason of its being so scarce in India is that it vituperates the Mughals, and shows the consternation which they occasioned at the time of their first conquests, inasmuch as the author represents them as manifest signs of the approach of the day of judgment.<sup>2</sup>

[The portions of the Tabakát-i Násirí which relate to India have been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica, under the superintendence of Major Lees, in a volume of 450 pages. This contains the 11th and the 17th to the 22d Tabakats or books. Major Lees' preface to this volume states the reasons for thus limiting the publication, and contains some critical observations upon the

<sup>1</sup> [Stewart describes a copy belonging to Tippu's Library said to have been copied by the author himself.]

<sup>2</sup> It was the terror arising from the same cause which induced European writers to give these hordes the name of Tartars. The correct word is Tatars, which signifies a tributary people, and though improperly applied to the Mongols themselves, yet represented the great majority of the races which swelled their ranks. Superstitious monks supposed them to have come from the infernal regions, and hence called them Tartars. St. Louis writes to his queen Blanche, "This divine consolation will always exalt our souls, that in the present danger of the Tartars, either we shall push them back into the Tartarus whence they are come, or they will bring us all into Heaven." Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 202. See also Schmidt, *Forschungen im Gebiete der Völker mittel Asiens*, p. 52; and Pallas, *Sammlung Historischer Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften*, vol. ii. p. 429; De la Croix *Histoire d'Genghiscan*, p. 63.

value of this work, and of others which furnish the materials for the history of the early Muhammadan rulers of India.<sup>1</sup>

Size of Sir H. Elliot's MS.—Small folio, 12 by 8 inches. Seventeen lines in each page.]

### EXTRACTS.

### TABAKAT XI.

### HISTORY OF THE GHAZNIVIDE SOVEREIGNS.

[Page 6 to 27 of the Printed Text.]

Imám Abú-l Fazl al Hasan Baihakí relates in the *Tárikh-i Násirí*, that Sultán Sa'íd Mahmúd heard from his father, Amír Subuktigín,<sup>2</sup> that his (Subuktigín's) father was called *Kará-bahkam*. His name was *Jauk* (troop), and in Turkí they call a troop *bahkam*; so that the meaning of the name *Kará-bahkam* is "black troop." Whenever the Turks in Turkistán heard his name they fled before him on account of his activity and courage.

Imám Muhammad 'Alí Abu-l Kásim Hamádí says in his *Tárikh-i Majdúl*, that Amír Subuktigín was a descendant of King Yazdajird. When this monarch was slain in a mill in the country of Merv, in the reign of the commander of the faithful 'Usmán, his followers and dependants (*atbá' wa ashyá'*), came to Turkistán, and entering into intermarriages with the people of that country after two or three generations (their descendants) became Turks. Their palaces in this country are still standing. The following is a genealogical table of this race:—Amír Subuk-

<sup>1</sup> See Elphinstone's History; Stewart's History of Bengal, and his Catalogue of Tippoo's Library; Jour. R. As. Soc. xvii. 138; Jour. des Savants, 1840, p. 221; Jour. Asiatique, IV. serie, vol. iii.; Collection Orient. I. 198; Hammer, Goldene Horde, I. xv. xxiii.; Haji Khalfa, iv. 153; Ouseley, *Jehánára*, x. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Hammer Purgstall (*Gemaldesaal*, iv. 102) says, on the authority of the *Farhang-i Shu'ri*, that the only correct spelling of this name is "*Sebuktigin*," or, according to the system adopted in this work, *Sibuktigin*, but Ibn Khallikán distinctly says the word should be spelt *Subuktigin*. [A carefully written MS. of 'Utbi in the British Museum writes it "*Subuktikin*." The orthography of all these Turkí names is very variable and unsettled. Historians differ from each other and are often at variance with themselves.—*Jour. R. A. S.* ix. 268.]

tigín, son of Jauk Kará-bahkam, who was the son of Kará Arslán, the son of Kará-malat, son of Kará Nu'mán, son of Fíroz, son of Yazdajird, who was the sovereign of Persia,<sup>1</sup>—but God knows the truth.

I.—*Amíru-l Gházi Násiru-d dín Subuktigin.*

Imám Abú-l Fazl Baihakí writes that Nasr Háji was a trader in the reign of 'Abdu-l Malik Núh Sámání. He bought Subuktigín, and took him to Bukhárá as a slave. The marks of wisdom and activity were stamped upon his forehead, and he was purchased by the Lord Chamberlain (*Amír hájib*), Alptigín. In the service of this nobleman he went to Tukháristán, and when Alptigín was appointed governor of that place he continued to serve him. In the course of events Alptigín came afterwards to Ghaznín, when he conquered the country of Závulistán, and wrested Ghaznín from the hands of Amír Anúk.<sup>2</sup>

Eight years afterwards Alptigín died,<sup>3</sup> and was succeeded by his son Is'hák. This chief fought with Anúk, and being defeated he went to Bukhárá, where he succeeded in obtaining assistance from Amír Mansúr Núh. Thus strengthened, he returned and retook Ghaznín. One year later he expired, and Bilkátigín,<sup>4</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> A long account of the parentage of Subuktigin is given in the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, in which his descent is traced from Tughril, king of Merv. Firishtha follows the genealogy here given. The *Rauzatu-s Safá* does not notice either. Briggs, *Ferishta* I. 13; *Gemäldesaal*, IV. p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> [Mr. Thomas published a translation of this passage in the *Jour. R. As. Society*, vol. xvii. p. 141. In his translation, and in the Munshi's original translation from the MS., the word "amír" does not appear, but the editors of the printed text must have had authority for it. The word is important, because Mr. Thomas takes "Anúk" to be a local, not a personal or tribal appellation, and proposes to change the orthography so as to make the word to be "Lambak," i.e. "Lamghán." If the name is a local one we must here read "Amír of Anúk." I have my doubts upon this, and I cannot acquiesce in the change of "Anúk" to "Lambak." The printed text gives "Anúk," and the MSS. of the India Library, of the R. A. Society, and of Paris, agree in this orthography. Sir H. Elliot's MS. has "Abúk." In a previous page (181) we have had it as "Kúbak," and Mr. Thomas says it is also written "Lúyak." The change of any of these forms to "Lambak" is a bold one, and I prefer adhering to the best authorized form, although we are unable to identify it with any known name.]

<sup>3</sup> [There are coins, one of them at least undisputed, dated H. 347, bearing the name of "Albtigín."—See Note in the Appendix on the Coins.]

<sup>4</sup> [The printed text here gives the name "Milkátigín," but Sir H. Elliot's MS.

chief of the Turks, was raised to his place. This chief was a very just and religious man, and was one of the greatest warriors in the world. He died after a reign of two years. Amír Subuktigín was in his service. Bilkátigín was succeeded by Amír Parí,<sup>1</sup> who was a very depraved man. A party of the inhabitants of Ghazní opened communications with Abú 'Alí Anúk, and invited him back. Abú 'Alí obtained the aid of the son of the king of Kábul,<sup>2</sup> but when they came into the vicinity (*hadd*) of Charkh,<sup>3</sup> Subuktigín with five hundred Turks fell upon them, and defeated them. He put a great number to the sword, and took many prisoners. He also captured two elephants, and carried them to Ghazní. After the achievement of this victory the people, who were disgusted with Parí on account of his wickedness (*fasád*), raised Subuktigín with unanimous consent to the chieftainship of Ghazní. On the twenty-seventh of Sha'bán, A.H. 366 (April, 977), on Friday, he came out of the fort with the umbrella, jewels, and banners, and proceeded to the Jámí' Masjid, where he was confirmed in the government and sovereignty of the country. He carried his arms from Ghazní to different countries, and brought Zamín-dáwar,<sup>4</sup> Kusdár, Bámián, the whole of Tukháristán and Ghor into his possession. On the side of India he defeated Jaipál at the head of a large army and numerous elephants. He also drove back Bughrá Khán, of Káshghar, (from his attacks upon) the Sámánian dynasty. He then went to Balkh, and restored the chief of Bukhárá to his throne. In his time great exploits were performed, and all the sources of internal dissensions in Khurásán were eradicated.

has "Bilkátigín," which is correct. The elevation of Bilkátigín is a fact unnoticed by every other known historian, but it supported by the evidence of the Jámí'u-l Hikáyát, and it is incontestably proved by a unique coin bearing his name, and dated A.H. 359 (A.D. 969). See *Jour. R. A. S.* xvii. 142.]

<sup>1</sup> ["Marí" in Sir H. E.'s MS., and "Pírí" in Mr. Thomas' translation of this passage.] <sup>2</sup> [The Munshí's translation had "Mír Sháh of Kabúl."]

<sup>3</sup> [Var. "Kharj."—Charkh has been identified with a village of that name in Lohgar. —See *Jour. R. A. S.* xvii. 141. *Ayin-i Akbari* II. p. 181. Erskine's *Baber*, p. 48.]

<sup>4</sup> [Dáwar or Zamín-dáwar is the country on the Helmand, between Sijistán and Ghor.]

In the month of Shawwál, A.H. 384 (November, 994), the command of Khurásán was conferred on Amír Mahmúd, under the title of Saifu-d daula, and Amír Subuktigín received the title of Násiru-d dín. He expelled Abú-l hasan Saimjúr, and Khurásán was cleared of its enemies. Amír Subuktigín was a wise, just, brave, and religious man, faithful to his agreements, truthful in his words, and not avaricious for wealth. He was kind and just to his subjects, and the Almighty God had bestowed upon him all the great qualities which are admirable in nobles and princes. The length of his reign was twenty years, and of his life fifty-six years. He died in the vicinity of Balkh, at the village of Barmal Madrúí, A.H. 386 (996 A.D.).<sup>1</sup>

II.—*Reign of the great King Yamínu-d daula Mahmúd Nizámu-d dín Abú-l Kásim Mahmúd, son of Subuktigín.*

Sultán Mahmúd was a great monarch. He was the first Muhammadan king who received the title of Sultán from the Khalif. He was born on the night of Thursday, the tenth of Muharram, A.H. 361<sup>1</sup> (2nd October, 971), in the seventh year after the time of Bilkátigín. A moment (*sá'at*) before his birth, Amír Subuktigín saw in a dream that a tree sprang up from the fire-place in the midst of his house, and grew so high that it covered the whole world with its shadow. Waking in alarm from his dream, he began to reflect upon the import of it. At that very moment a messenger came, bringing the tidings that the Almighty had given him a son. Subuktigín greatly rejoiced, and said, I name the child Mahmúd. On the same night that he was born, an idol temple in India, in the vicinity of Parsháwar, on the banks of the Sind, fell down.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mahmúd was a man of great abilities, and is renowned as one of the greatest champions of Islám. He ascended the throne in

<sup>1</sup> [The coins of Subuktigín in some variety are extant.—See Note in the Appendix.]

<sup>2</sup> [Firishta gives the date as 9th Muharram, 357 H., and he has been followed by Elphinstone.—Briggs' *Ferishta*, I. 33; Elphinstone, 323.]

Balkh, in the year 387 H. (997 A.D.), and received investiture by the Khalifá Al Kádír bi-llah. His influence upon Islám soon became widely known, for he converted as many as a thousand idol-temples into mosques, subdued the cities of Hindustán, and vanquished the Ráis of that country. He captured Jaipál, who was the greatest of them, kept him at Yazd (?), in Khurásán, and gave orders so that he was bought for eighty dirams.<sup>1</sup> He led his armies to Nahrwála and Gujarát, carried off the idol (*manát*) from Somnát, and broke it into four parts. One part he deposited in the Jámí' Masjid of Ghazní, one he placed at the entrance of the royal palace, the third he sent to Mecca, and the fourth to Medina. 'Unsurí composed a long *Kasída* on this victory. [*The story of his return from Somnát through the desert of Sind follows (see supra, p. 191), and an account is given of the state and pomp of his Court.*] He died in the year 421 H. (1030 A.D.), in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, and at sixty-one years of age.

### III.—*Muhammad bin Mahmúd Jalálu-d daula.*<sup>2</sup>

Jalálu-d daula Muhammad was a good amiable man. Many curious poems are attributed to him. When his father Mahmúd died, his brother Mas'úd was in 'Irák, and the nobles of the court of Mahmúd resolved upon placing Muhammad on the throne, which they did in the year 421 H. (1030 A.D.). He was a man of gentle temper, and had not the energy necessary for governing a kingdom. A party of the friends of Mas'úd wrote to him in 'Irák, and that prince gathered a force, with which he marched upon Ghazní. When intelligence of his design reached Ghazní, Muhammad prepared an army and went out to meet his brother. 'Alí Kuríb was Hájib and commander-in-chief. When

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this passage is obscure. The text runs thus:—

جیال را . . . . بگرفت و در من یزید بخراسان بداشت و فرمود تا  
بهشتاد درم اورا بخیریدند

<sup>2</sup> [Note in the Text.—“Names of the sons of Muhammad, Muyidu-d daula Ahmad, 'Abdu-r Rahmán, 'Abdu-r Rahím.”]

they reached Takínábád<sup>1</sup> they heard of Mas'úd's approach, so they seized upon Muhammad, blinded him, and put him in prison. 'Alí Kuríb then led his army on to Hirát to meet Mas'úd. When he came within a stage of that place, he went to wait upon the Sultán, but Mas'úd ordered him to be made prisoner, and his whole force to be destroyed. On this occasion Muhammad reigned for seven months. When Mas'úd was killed at Máríkala, Sultán Muhammad was brought out of prison, and although he was blind he was once more placed upon the throne. He then marched at the head of his army towards Ghazní, but Maudúd, son of Mas'úd, came forth to avenge his father, met his uncle in battle, defeated him, and slew him and his children. The second time he reigned four months. His age was forty-five years when his death occurred, in the year 432 H.

#### IV.—*Násiru-d dín Allah Mas'údu-sh Shahíd (the Martyr).*<sup>2</sup>

Násiru-d dín Allah was the appellation of this prince, but his family name was Abú Mas'úd. He and his brother Sultán Muhammad were born on the same day. Sultán Mas'úd, the martyr, ascended the throne in A.H. 422 (1031 A.D.). He was so exceedingly generous that people used to call him "the second 'Alí," and for his bravery they named him "the second Rustam." No man could lift his battle-axe from the ground with one hand, and even an elephant could not stand before him. His father envied his strength, and used to keep him under control. He (Mahmúd) kept Muhammad at Ghazní, and at length he obtained authority from the Khalif to place the name and titles of Muhammad in the Khutba before those of Mas'úd. Khwája Abú Nasr Mishkán says: "When the letters (of the Khalif) were read in Mahmúd's court, it was felt by us, and by all the princes and great men, to be a heavy blow, for marks of intelligence and courage were apparent on the brow of Mas'úd. When

<sup>1</sup> [The largest town in Garmsír.—See *infra*.]

<sup>2</sup> [Note in one MS.—"Names of the children of Sultán Mas'úd:—Muhammad, Majúd, Maudúd, Ibráhím, Izid-yár, Farrukh-zád, Shujá', Murád Sháh, 'Alí.'"]

the prince came forth from the presence of his father, I, Abú Nasr Mishkán went after him and said to him, "O prince, this postponement of your name in the letter of the Khalif is very offensive to your servants." The prince said, "Don't grieve about it, the sword is a truer prophet than the pen." He then told me to return. I had no sooner got back than the informers told the Sultán Mahmúd of my devotion to Mas'úd. He sent for me, and I waited upon him. He asked me why I went after Mas'úd, and what I had said to him. I related exactly all that had passed, without reserve, for by concealment my life would have been imperilled. The Sultán then said, "I know that Mas'úd excels Muhammad in every respect, and after my death the kingdom will devolve upon him, but I take this trouble now on behalf of Muhammad, that the poor fellow may enjoy some honour and gratification during my lifetime, for after my death it will not be so safe for him. May God have mercy on him."

Abú Nasr Mishkán goes on to say:—"In this incident two things surprised me very much. The first was the answer which Mas'úd so kindly and discreetly gave me. The second was the quickness and strict control of Mahmúd, from whom this little attention of mine could not be concealed." When Sultán Mahmúd took 'Irák he placed Mas'úd on the throne of that country, and before that period Hirát and Khurásán had been ruled in his name. After he ascended the throne of Spáhán (Ispahán) he took the countries of Re, Kazwín, Hamadán, and Táram,<sup>1</sup> and he overcame the Dailamites. Several times he received robes of honour from the Khalifate. After the death of Mahmúd he came to Ghazní, and took possession of his father's kingdom. Several times he led his armies to India, and waged religious war. Twice he went to Tabaristán and Mázandarán. Towards the end of his reign the Saljúks made inroads, and three times he scattered their forces in the neighbourhood of Marv and Sarakhs. But as it was the will of God that the

<sup>1</sup> [Here written with *toe*. The Marásidu-l Ittilá' writes it with *te*, and says the place is situated in the hills between Kazwín and Jílán.]



kingdom of Khurásán should come into the hands of the Saljúks, he eventually fought a bloody battle with them for three days at Tálíkán.<sup>1</sup> On the third day, which was a Friday, the Sultán was defeated, and retreated by way of Gharjistán to Ghazní. In panic he collected his treasures and went towards India, but in Málíkálá<sup>2</sup> his Turkí and Hindí slaves revolted, took him prisoner, and raised Muhammad to the throne. They sent Mas'úd to the fort of Kírí,<sup>3</sup> and there he was slain in the year 432 H. (1040 A.D.). His age was forty-five years, and he had reigned nine years.

V.—*Maudúd, son of Mas'úd, son of Mahmúd.*<sup>4</sup>

Shahábun-d daula Abú Sa'd Maudúd, son of Násiru-d dín Allah Mas'úd, upon receiving the news of his father's assassination, ascended the throne. When his father, Mas'úd, started for Hindustán, he was appointed to act as vicegerent over Ghazní and its dependencies, and it was in the year 432 H. (1040 A.D.), that he mounted the throne. To avenge his father he collected an army, and set out towards Hindustán, against his uncle Muhammad. The opposite party had taken Muhammad out of prison, and had seated him on the throne. The nobles of

<sup>1</sup> [A city between Merv and Balkh. Istakhri and Ibn Haukal call it the largest city in Khurásán, and say it was three days' journey from Merv. Firishta states that the battle was fought at Dandánkán, a town ten parasangs from Merv, on the road to Sarakhs.]

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Elliot reads "Márgala," and says, "according to Firishta he was taken at the Sarái of Márgala, near the Sind, or, according to others, on the Jhailam. Briggs reads the name Mariála, and Wilken, Maricála. The noted pass of Márgala is meant, near which there is a place of note called Sarái. The Tabakát-i Akbari and the Táríkh-i Badádní concur in reading Márgala."

<sup>3</sup> Abú-l Fidá, according to Reiske (III. 669), gives the name as Kendí and Kaidí. Haidar Rúzî has Bakar. The extract of the Rauzata-s Safá, printed by Sir H. Elliot, gives "Kírí," but Wilken's printed edition, and the Bombay lithographed edition of that work, have Kabrí or Kabra, this being in all probability intended for Kírí, as one dot only makes the difference (كیری - كبري). Firishta also has Kfíri, though Briggs reads the name "Kurri."—See Abbot's Map, Jour. As. Soc. Ben. Dec. 1848.

<sup>4</sup> [Note in the Orig.—"Names of the children of Sultán Maudúd: Mansúr, Muhammad, Sulaimán, Mahmúd."]

Hindustán submitted to him, and the Mahmúdí and the Mas'udí Turks who had revolted against Mas'úd rallied round him and supported him. For four months they upheld him as ruler, but Maudúd defeated him at Takarhárúd,<sup>1</sup> and took him prisoner, with all his children and dependants. Maudúd avenged his father's blood upon him, and the Turks and Tájiks and every one else who had taken part in his father's assassination he put to death. He thus obtained honour and renown. Afterwards he returned to Ghazní, and brought his father's territories under his power. He reigned nine years, and died in the year 441 H. (1049 A.D.), at the age of thirty-nine years.

VI.—*'Alá, son of Mas'úd, and Muhammad, son of Maudúd.*

These two princes, uncle and nephew, were raised jointly to the throne by the Turks and nobles. Every man took matters into his own hands, and when it was seen that they had no wisdom or power, and that ruin was coming upon the army and the people, they were dethroned after two months' reign, and sent back to a fort. 'Abdu-r Rashíd was raised to the throne in their stead.

VII.—*'Abdu-r Rashíd, son of Mahmúd.*

Sultán Baháu-d daula 'Abdu-r Rashíd, son of Mahmúd, ascended the throne in the year 441 H. (1049 A.D.) He was a learned and clever man, and used to listen to chronicles and write history; but he had no firmness or courage, and so changes and reverses came upon the state. The Saljúks, on the side of Khurásán, coveted the throne of Ghazní. Dáúd obtained the throne of Khurásán. Alp Arslán, son of Dáúd, was a good general, and they resolved to attack Ghazní. Alp Arslán advanced from Tukháristán with a large force, and his father, Dáúd, marched by way of Sístán to Bust. 'Abdu-r Rashíd collected an army, and placed at the head of it Tughril, who

<sup>1</sup> Or "Bakarhá," perhaps Bakhrála. [Firishta's text says "Depúr," not "Duntoor," as in Briggs' translation.]

had been one of the slaves of Mahmúd, and was a very energetic man. He marched against Alp Arslán, and routed him in front of the valley of Khamár. From thence he returned speedily to Bust, and Dáúd retreated before him to Sístán. He defeated Beghú, the uncle of Dáúd, and when he had achieved two or three such victories he returned to Ghazní, where he killed 'Abdu-r Rashíd and placed himself on the throne. 'Abdu-r Rashíd reigned two years and-a half.<sup>1</sup> His age was thirty.

#### VIII.—*Tughril, the accursed.*

Tughril had been a slave of Mahmúd, and was a man of great energy and courage. In the reign of Sultán Maudúd he went from Ghazní to Khurásán, and entered the service of the Saljúks. For some time he remained there, and learnt their method of war. In the time of 'Abdu-r Rashíd he returned to Ghazní, where he took 'Abdu-r Rashíd and slew him, together with eleven other princes. He then ascended the throne of Ghazní, and reigned for forty days with great tyranny and injustice. Some one asked him how the desire of sovereignty had entered into his mind, and he replied, "When 'Abdu-r Rashíd sent me against Alp Arslán he made some promises to me, and confirmed them by giving me his hand. He was then so overpowered by fear that the sound of the tremor which had seized upon his bones came to my ears, and I knew that such a coward could never rule and govern. It was then that the desire of sovereignty fell upon me." Forty days after his usurpation, a Turk, by name Noshtigín, who was a soldier, turned against Tughril, and conspiring with some of his friends, they killed him on the throne. His head was then brought out, placed upon a pole, and carried round the city, so that the people might have assurance of security.

#### IX.—*Farrukh-zád, son of Mas'úd.*

When the Almighty God had recompensed Tughril for his atrocious deeds, and the people were delivered from him and his

<sup>1</sup> [Two MSS. say "two years" only.]

unbounded tyranny, there were left surviving in the fort of Barghand,<sup>1</sup> two princes who were sons of Mas'úd. One of these was named Ibráhím, and the other Farrukh-zád. Tughril, the accursed, had sent a party of men to the fort of Barghand to put them to death. The commandant of the fort pondered over the matter for a day, and kept these emissaries at the gate of the fort upon the understanding that they were to come in on the following day, and execute their orders. Suddenly some fleet messengers arrived with the intelligence that the accursed Tughril had been killed. When that wretched man fell in Ghazní by the hand of Noshtigín, the grandees, princes, and generals set about searching for a king. It was then discovered that two persons (of the royal family) were left surviving in the fort of Barghand. Accordingly they all repaired to that place. At first they wished to raise Ibráhím to the throne, but he was very feeble in body, and as no delay could be admitted, Farrukh-zád was brought out, and proclaimed king on Saturday, the ninth of Zílka'da, A.H. 443 (March, 1052 A.D.).

Farrukh-zád was very mild and just. When he ascended the throne the country of Záwulistán was in a state of desolation from disease and murrain,<sup>2</sup> so he remitted the revenue that it might again become prosperous. He secured the territories of the kingdom, and reigned seven years. He died of colic in the year 451 (1059 A.D.), at the age of thirty-four years.

#### X.—*Sultán Ibráhím.*<sup>3</sup>

Sultán Zahíru-d daula wa Nasíru-l Millat Razú-d dín Ibráhím, son of Mas'úd, was a great king,—wise, just, good, God-fearing, and kind, a patron of letters, a supporter of religion, and a pious man. When Farrukh-zád became king, Ibráhím was

<sup>1</sup> [The printed text has Bazghand, but Sir H. Elliot reads Barghand, and says Barghand lies between Táak and Ghazní.]

<sup>2</sup> [*'Awdris-o mútán.*—The former words mean literally diseases, but it is also used for those diseases of the body politic, extraordinary imposts.]

<sup>3</sup> [A note gives the names of his thirty-six sons, which are said to differ slightly in the three MSS. used.]

taken out of the fort of Barghand, and brought to that of Nai, and on the death of Farrukh-zád all men concurred in recognizing his succession. An officer named Hasan went to wait upon him, and with the approbation of the people of the kingdom he was brought out from the fort, and on Monday he auspiciously ascended the throne. The next day he spent in mourning for his late brother, and paid a visit to his tomb, and to the tombs of his ancestors. All the nobles and great men walked on foot in attendance upon him. He bestowed no favours upon any one, and hence apprehensions about his rule took possession of the hearts of the people. When the intelligence of his accession reached Dáúd, the Saljúkí, he sent some nobles into Khurásán, and made peace with him. After the death of Dáúd, his son, Alp Arslán, confirmed this treaty of peace. Ibráhím strengthened himself in the possession of his ancestors; the disorders which had arisen in the country from the late extraordinary events he rectified, and the Mahmúdí kingdom began once again to flourish. Ruined places were built afresh, and several fortified places and towns were founded, as Khaírábád, Ymanábád, and other places. Many wonders and marvels appeared in his reign, and Dáúd, the Saljúkí, died, who in havoc, war, slaughter, and conquest, passed like a flash of lightning. Ibráhím was born at Hirát, in the year of the conquest of Gurgán, 424 H. (1033 A.D.) He had thirty-six sons and forty daughters. All the daughters he married to illustrious nobles or learned men of repute. One of these princesses was ancestress in the third degree of Minháj Siráj. The cause of the emigration of the author's ancestors from Júzján, was that Imám 'Abdu-l Khálik, who is buried at Táhirábád, in Ghazní, saw in a dream while he lived in Júzján, an angel who told him to rise, go to Ghazní, and take a wife. Upon his awaking it struck him that this might be some work of the devil, but as he dreamed the same thing three times successively, he acted in compliance with his dream, and came to Ghazní. There he married one of the daughters of Ibráhím, and by that princess

he had a son named Ibráhím. This Ibráhím was father of Mauláná Minháju-d dín 'Usman, who was father of Maulána Siráju-d dín, the wonder of his time, and father of Minháju-s Siráj. Sultán Ibráhím reigned happily for forty-two years, and died in the year 492 H. (1098 A.D.), at the age of sixty.

XI.—*'Aláu-d dín Mas'úd, the Generous, son of Ibráhím.*<sup>1</sup>

Sultán Mas'úd, the generous, was a virtuous prince, who had a prosperous reign. He possessed many excellent qualities, and was adorned with justice and equity. He ascended the throne in the days of Al Mustazhar bi-llah Ahmad, commander of the faithful, son of Muktdar. He was very modest and liberal. He abolished all the tyrannical practices which had been introduced in former reigns, and cancelled the newly-established imposts throughout the dominions of Mahmúd, and the country of Záuulistán. Taxes and imposts were remitted in all his dominions. He restored to the princes, nobles, and grantees their possessions as they had held them in the reign of Sultán Ibráhím, and he adopted whatever seemed best for the welfare of the state. Amír 'Azdu-d daula was confirmed in the governorship of Hindustán. In the days of this prince the great Hájib died; but Hájib Taghátigín crossed the river Ganges, and made an incursion into Hindustán, carrying his arms farther than any army had reached since the days of Sultán Mahmúd. All the affairs of state were reduced to a system in his reign, and there was nothing to disturb the minds of any one in any quarter. He was born in Ghazní in A.H. 453 (1061 A.D.), and after reigning seventeen years, he died in the year 509 (1115 A.D.), at the age of fifty-seven. He married the sister of Sultán Sanjar, who was called Mahd-i 'Irák (Cradle of 'Irák).

XII.—*Malik Arslán, son of Sultán Mas'úd.*

Malik Arslán Abú-l malik ascended the throne A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115), and brought Garmsír and the kingdom of Ghazní under

<sup>1</sup> [A note gives the names of his seventeen sons.]

his rule. Bahrám Sháh, his uncle, fled to Sultán Sanjar, in Khurásán. Several wonderful phenomena occurred in the reign of this prince. One was that fire and lightning fell from the sky, and burnt the markets of Ghazní. Other distressing calamities and events occurred during his reign, making it hateful to the people. Arslán was famous for his magnanimity and energy, courage, and bravery. After he had ascended the throne he treated his mother, Mahd-i 'Irák, with contempt, and this incensed Sanjar, who gave his aid to Bahrám Sháh, and marched to Ghazní. Malik Arslán gave him battle, but being defeated, he fled to Hindustán, and fell into great distress. He expired in A.H. 511 (1117 A.D.), after a reign of two years, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

### XIII.—*Bahrám Sháh*.<sup>1</sup>

Mu'izzu-d daula Bahrám Sháh, was handsome and manly, liberal, just, and a friend of his people. In the early part of his career, when Malik Arslán succeeded his father, Sultán Mas'úd the generous, he went to Khurásán, the throne of which country was occupied in those days by the great Sultán Sa'id Sanjar. Bahrám Sháh remained for some time at his Court. But at length Sultán Sanjar marched against Ghazní, and defeated Malik Arslán in battle. Bahrám Sháh then mounted the throne, and was supported by Sultán Sanjar. Saiyid Hasan composed an ode, which he recited at Court in the presence of Sanjar. Sanjar went back to Khurásán, and Bahrám took possession of the country. He made some expeditions to Hindustán, and on the twenty-seventh of Ramazán, A.H. 512, he captured Muhammad Báhalím, and kept him a prisoner; but he afterwards liberated him, and assigned the whole country of Hindustán to him. This officer again revolted and built the fort of Nágór, in the Siwálik hills, in the vicinity of Bera.<sup>2</sup> He had many sons and dependants. Bahrám Sháh proceeded to Hindustán to subdue the fort, and Muhammad Báhalím marched

<sup>1</sup> [A note gives the names of his nine sons.]

<sup>2</sup> ["Sabra" in one MS.]

towards Multán to meet him, and gave battle, but God punished him for his ingratitude, and he, with his ten<sup>1</sup> sons, their horses and arms, fell on the day of battle into a quagmire,<sup>2</sup> so that no trace of him was left. Bahrám Sháh returned to Ghazní, and had to fight against the kings of Ghor. In the war his son Daulat Sháh was slain, and in one campaign he was defeated three times by Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. Ghazní fell into the hands of the Ghorians, who set it on fire and destroyed it. Bahrám Sháh went to Hindustán, but when the Ghorians had retired, he again came to Ghazní, and there expired. His reign lasted forty-one years.

#### XIV.—*Khusrú Sháh, Son of Bahrám Sháh.*<sup>3</sup>

Sultán Yamínu-d daula Khusrú Sháh ascended the throne in A.H. 552 (1157 A.D.) The kings and princes of Ghor had shaken the throne of the descendants of Mahmúd, and had wrested from them and desolated the countries of Ghazní, Bust, Zamín-dáwar, and Takínábád. Weakness had thus fallen on the kingdom and its splendour was departed. When Khusrú Sháh ascended the throne he was weak and unable to bring the country under his rule.

A body of Ghuzz (Turks) also arose and attacked Khurásán<sup>4</sup> where the reign of Sultán Sa'id Sanjar had come to an end. An army likewise came against Ghazní, and Khusrú Sháh being unable to resist them went to India. He thus lost Ghazní which fell into the hands of the Ghuzz, and so remained for twelve years. But at length Sultán Sa'id Ghíyásu-d dín Muhammad Sám led an army from Ghor, expelled the Ghuzz, took possession of Ghazní, and mounted the throne. Khusrú Sháh

<sup>1</sup> [The printed text says "two," but "ten" seems to be the correct number.—See Firishta I. 151.]

<sup>2</sup> [The text has some unintelligible words which vary in the different MSS. Briggs says "a quagmire," and something like that must be intended.]

<sup>3</sup> [Note in the Text.—"Sons of Khusrú Sháh—Khusrú Malik, Mahmúd Sháh, Kai Khusrú."]

<sup>4</sup> [The printed text omits the word "Khurásán," but it is necessary to the sense and true to the fact.]



had gone to Láhore in Hindustán, where he died. He reigned seven years.

XV.—*Khusrú Malik Son of Khusrú Sháh, the last King of the Ghaznvide Dynasty.*

Khusrú Malik Táju-d daula Sultán Jahán, the gentle king, mounted the throne at Lahore. This prince was exceedingly gentle, liberal, and modest, but fond of pleasure. He possessed many excellent qualities, but as he lived when the rule of his family came to an end, he was held in small esteem. With him closed the power of his house, and anarchy reigned in the country. All the nobles and officers of the State, both Turks and freemen, (*atrák o ahrár*), deserted him. The slaves and servants of the throne took the government into their own hands, while he indulged in luxury and pleasure.

Sultán Sa'id Mu'izzu-d daula Muhammad Sám came every year from Ghazní, continually increasing his hold upon Hind and Sind, till at length in A.H. 577 (1181 A.D.), he advanced to the gates of Lahore, where he took the elephant and the son of Khusrú Sháh and carried them off with him.

In A.H. 583 (1187 A.D.) he again advanced on Lahore and took it. He then dethroned Khusrú Malik, sent him to Ghazní from whence he was subsequently sent to Fíroz-Koh, which was the capital of the great king Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Muhammad Sám. By order of this monarch, Khusrú Malik was kept a prisoner in the fort of Balrawán, in Gharjistán. When the war (*hádísá*) of Sultán Sháh (of Khwárizm) broke out in Khurásán, the kings of Ghor<sup>1</sup> were obliged to throw themselves into it, and they then put Sultán Khusrú Malik to death in the year 598 H. (A.D. 1201). His son Bahrám Sháh who was a captive in the fort of Saifrúd in Ghor, was also slain. Thus ended the house of Násiru-d dín Subuktigín. The kingdom of Írán, the throne of Hindustán, and the country of Khurásán all fell into the possession of the Shansabániya Kings.

<sup>1</sup> [Ghiyásu-d dín and Muhammad Shahábu-d dín were brothers, and held a sort of joint rule.]

## TABAKAT XVII.

THE SHANSABÁNIYA SULTÁNS AND THE KINGS OF GHOR.<sup>1</sup>

[Page 34 to 40 of the printed Text.]

I.—*Amír Fúlád Ghori Shansabí.*<sup>2</sup>

Amír Fúlád Ghori was one of the sons of Malik Shansab, son of Harnak. The mountains of Ghor came into his possession, and he gave new life to the names of his forefathers. When the founder of the house of 'Abbás, Abú Muslim Marwazí, revolted, and resolved upon expelling the officers of the Ummayyides from Khurásán, Amír Fúlád led the forces of Ghor to his assistance, and took an active part in the victories of the race of 'Abbás, and of the people of the house of the prophet. The fortress of Mandesh<sup>3</sup> was in his possession, and he ruled for some time over the Jabbál and Ghor. Upon his death he was succeeded by the sons of his brother, but after these nothing is known of the rulers of Ghor until the time of Amír Banjí Naharán.

2.—*Amír Banjí, son of Naharán.*

Amír Banjí Naharán was a great chief, and his history is well known in Ghor. He is considered one of the greatest kings of that territory, and all its kings are descended from him. His pedigree is thus given.

\* \* \* \* \*

Amír Banjí was a handsome and excellent man, possessing good qualities, and of very estimable character. When the power of the family of 'Abbás was established, and the territories of the Muhammadans came under the rule of the Khalifs of that house, the first person of the Ghori family who went to the seat

<sup>1</sup> [The opening of this book is occupied with genealogies by which the pedigree of the kings of Ghor is carried through Zuhák up to Noah.]

<sup>2</sup> Briggs in Firishta writes this name "Shisty." See Mr. Thomas' Paper on the Coins of the Ghori Dynasty.—*Jour. R. As. Soc.* xvii. 190.]

<sup>3</sup> [A fortress in Khurásán.]