own presence chamber, until, in the reign of Sulṭān Raḥiy-yat, he became the deputy Sar-i-Jān-dār. After some time, in the reign of Sulṭān Mu‘izz-ud-Din, Bahram Shāh, he was made Sar-i-Jān-dār. Subsequently, during the reign of Sulṭān ‘Alā-ud-Din, Mas‘ūd Shāh, he became Amir-i-Ākhur. He continued, in this manner, to exercise that authority and office up to the time that the throne of sovereignty became adorned with the august dignity of the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, Nāṣīr-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Din, Maḥmūd Shāh—May God prolong his reign and sovereignty!—and, when the Sulṭān conferred upon the Khān-i-Mu‘azzam, Ulugh Khān-i-A‘zam—May God prolong his prosperity!—the name and title of Khān, the Malik, Kashfī Khān, was elevated from the office of Amir-i-Ākhur to the dignity of Amir-i-Ḥājib. When Nāg-awr was taken from Malik ‘Izz-ud-Din, Balban-i-Kashfī Khān, it was entrusted to the charge of Malik Saif-ud-Din, I-bak-i-Kashfī Khān, the Amir-i-Ḥājib?.

Whilst Malik Kashfī Khān filled the office of Amir-i-Ḥājib, he studied so much to please the great, the middle rank, and the least in degree, as the pen cannot write, and showed such regard and favour towards the Turk Maliks, the Tājzīk nobles, and the Khalji Amirs, as cannot be contained within the limits of writing. All hearts became filled with good-will towards him, and all persons felt obliged by his favours. When the Khān-i-Mu‘azzam, Ulugh Khān-i-A‘zam, departed for Nāg-awr, they gave the khitṭah [district or territory] of Karah to the Amir-i-Ḥājib, Kashfī Khān, his brother, and to that part he proceeded. When Ulugh Khān-i-A‘zam returned to the Court again, the Amir-i-Ḥājib returned likewise, and he became Amir-i-Ḥājib the second time.

After some time, when, in the month of Rabi‘-ul-Ākhir, 653 H., Malik Kuṭb-ud-Din, Ḥusain, son of ‘Ali [the Ghūrī, who was the Lieutenant of the kingdom]—May he rest in peace!—departed to the eternal mansion, the territory

---

4 The printed text generally turns جاندار into جاندار جان-دār.
7 See pages 689 and 781.
9 When he was ousted from office, deprived of the sīf of Hānsī, and forced to content himself with the sīf of Nāg-awr.
See page 702.
1 He was put to death, and the reason of it is not plainly stated. It is another of our author’s mysteries.
and city of Mirašt was placed in the Amir-i-Ḥājib’s charge, to the skirt of the mountains of Bandīrān. During some years he reduced under his sway those confines and districts, and he took possession of the country within the mountain territory of Bandīrān, as far as Rūrki, and Miā-pūr, and extorted tribute, and overthrew Rānās and independent [Hindū] tribes, and reduced them to subjection, until the year 656 H., when weakness gained the ascendancy over his dear body and delicate form, and his intestines became swollen. Through excessive modesty and bashfulness, he did not make known the whole of his disease to any one, and, for a period of some months, he endured affliction; and, as the appointed time was come, on Sunday, the 20th of the month of Rajab, 657 H., he transmitted his blessed soul, on the couch of pardon, attended by the escort of sincere piety, to the presence of majesty and nearness of glory.

May the Most High God keep in His protection the sovereign of the present time, the Sultan of Sulṭāns, Našir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, for the sake of His most illustrious prophet, Muḥammad!


The Khākān-i-Mu’azzam, Ulugh Khān-i-A’zam, is of

3 Six copies of the text, including the three oldest, have as above, two have one: the others are unintelligible. The Kumāṭīn mountains are undoubtedly referred to, and I should have expected the first part of the word to have been—Nandī—Nandī—Nandah. Nandah Dīwāl is the name of one of the peaks overlooking them.

The second word is written, in the majority of the copies, in some and [these are probably meant for, and are much alike if carelessly written], and Miā-pūr occurs in every copy collated with a single exception, which has Mahā-pūr.

I have spelt Rūrki, as it should be written with the equivalent of Sanskrit. The Miā-pūr, here mentioned, is probably Miā-pūrī, a very old place, a little to the S.W. of Hardwār [Hrad-wār].

3 Hernia probably.

4 That is, Balban, the Sulṭān’s slave. It is a wholly erroneous statement that Ulugh Khān was called ‘Bahā-ud-Dīn Balban, Ulugh Khān;’ the title Bahā-ul-Hakka wa ud-Dīn—a title bestowed by our author—is also given to his cousin, Sher Khān, and to his brother, Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak. Ulugh
the posterity of the renowned Khāns of the Ilbari [tribe]. The father of Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, and the father of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, were born of one father and one mother. The father of these two was of the seed of Abar Khān, the Ilbari, and he was the Khān of about 10,000 families; and their affinity to the Ilbari [tribe] of Turkistān is well-known among the tribes of Turks. At this period, the sons of his [Ulugh Khān's] paternal uncle still continue to hold the name of greatness among those tribes of Turks: this fact was heard [by the author] from the late Malik, Kuret Khān-i-Sanjar.

Forasmuch as the Almighty God had willed to grant a bulwark for the support of Islām and the stability of the Muḥammadi religion, and confer a shelter of protection in [this] the end of the world, and keep Hindūstān within the area of His own favour and the sphere of integrity, He had removed Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, in his youth, from Turkistān, and, on account of the domination of the Mughals in that country, had severed him from his family and kinsmen, and from among his tribes and people, so that they brought him to Baghdād. The Khwājah, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, of Baṣrah

Khān's name, before he received that title, was Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, Baṣrah. See Thomas: Pāthān Kings, page 124.

6 There is not a word about "Khākāns" of the Ilbari either in the MS. copies of the text or the Calcutta Printed Text, as in Elliot: India, vol. ii. page 360. The word is خاکان. The renown of the "renowned" Khāns above mentioned is not recorded in history I believe. It is somewhat remarkable that Shāms-ud-Dīn, and his three slaves—Ulugh Khān, his brother, and their cousin—should have been all of the same tribe, as I have before noticed. In one copy of the text only, the name of the tribe is written خرطوم — Ilbarī. It is also strange that the name of Ulugh Khān's father is not mentioned.

6 Several copies of the text have "Sultān" instead of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, but the former may be attributed to over-zealous copyists.

7 This name is written in several ways, but the majority of copies have خرطوم—Abar, with the vowel points, some have خرطوم—Āyah, one خرطوم—Abah, one خرطوم—Ayyah, and some leave it out altogether.

8 Some copies have "and thence into Gujrat," but this does not occur in the oldest copies. Abū-'Abd-ullāh, Muhammad, of Tānjīrs, otherwise, the son of Baṭṭūlah, in his Travels, gives the following account of Ulugh Khān. I quote the translation by Lee. "This man's name was originally Balaban [Balban]; his character had been just, discriminating, and mild: he filled the office of Nawāb [Nawwāb] of India, under Nāṣir Ooddin [Nāṣir-ud-Dīn], for twenty years: he also reigned twenty years. . . . When a child he lived at Bokhāra in the possession of one of its inhabitans, and was a little despicable ill-looking wretch. Upon a time, a certain Fakeer saw him there, and said, 'You little Turk!' which is considered by them as a very reproachful
—on whom be peace!—who was noted for his piety, honesty, resolution of purpose, and conscientiousness, purchased him, and used to foster him in the hall of his kindness like a son. As the signs of integrity and sagacity were clear and manifest upon his sacred brow, he [the Khwājah] was wont to look upon him with the eye of benevolence, and regard him with special esteem; and, in the year 630 H., he brought Ulugh Khān-i-A’zam to the capital city of Dihlī, at which time the throne of sovereignty was adorned with the sublime majesty of the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish—May he rest in peace!—and brought, along with him, several other Turks, to the presence of the Sultān.

When the sacred look of that august monarch fell upon Ulugh Khān-i-A’zam, under the auspices of his dignity and sagacity, the whole of those Turks were disposed of, and he was honoured with an office before the throne. As the lustre of felicity and the effulgence of prosperity term. The reply was: "I am here, good Sir!" This surprised the Fakeer, who said to him, 'Go and bring me one of those pomegranates,' pointing to some which had been exposed for sale in the street. The urchin replied, 'Yes, Sir;' and immediately, taking out all the money he had, went and bought the pomegranate. When the Fakeer received it, he said to Balaban, 'We give you the kingdom of India.' Upon which the boy kissed his own hand, and said, 'I have accepted of it, and am quite satisfied.'

"It happened, about this time, that the Sultan Shams Oddîn sent a merchant to purchase slaves from Bokhāra and Samarkand. He accordingly bought a hundred, and Balaban was among them. When these Mamlûks were bought before the Sultan, they all pleased him except Balaban, and him he rejected, on account of his despicable appearance. Upon this, Balaban said to the Emperor, 'Lord of the world! why have you bought all these slaves?' The Emperor smiled, and said, 'For my own sake, no doubt.' The slave replied, 'Buy me then, for God's sake.' 'I will,' said he. He then accepted him, and placed him among the rest; but, on account of the badness of his appearance, gave him a situation among the cup-bearers"!!

Ulugh Khān has the reputation of having been a very fine man.

The traveller appears to have mixed up an anecdote respecting the Atā-Bak, Ḥatt-giz, of 'Irāk and Arbâbîjân, and that related of Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, by our author [page 600], into one delightful jumble.

There is a great deal more of such like nonsense as this, but the translator mentions Firîshtâh, and quotes him—his text: not a translation—showing that, according to the crude idea of the writer, he considers the name Balbûy to be that of a Turkish tribe because several persons, so named, occur in Firîshtâh's history. After the same fashion I-bak would be the name of a Turkish tribe perhaps. See also note 8, page 678.

* ELLIOT: "When the monarch observed him he bought all the lot of Turks and appointed them to attend before his throne!"
shone upon his brow, the Sultan made him his Khâšah-dâr\(^1\) [personal attendant] as if he had placed the falcon of dominion and power upon his sacred wrist; and, in fact, this took place in order, that, in the reign of his children, Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam should restrain the enemies of the realm from violence and bar their ambition, and so it turned out to the end that the glory of the Shamsi sovereignty might shine forth from the horizon of good fortune. Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam continued to serve in that office; and, by the will of heaven, he found his brother [the future] Kashãli Khan, the Amir-i-Hajib, again, and greatly rejoiced at his re-appearance, and acquired strength therefrom.

When the throne of empire devolved upon Sultan Ruknud-Din, Firuz Shah, Ulugh Khan went out of the capital along with the Turks when they left it, and proceeded towards [upper?] Hindustân\(^2\), and, when they were brought back, he returned likewise, in their army, and was imprisoned for a short time, and disappointment overspread his sacred face. The purpose, in that incident, may have been—God knows! that he might realize the measure of misery of the grief-stricken, so that, when he attained the felicity of dominion, he might have compassion upon such persons, and give thanks for the blessing of power.

\(^1\) Khâšah-bardâr is the name formerly applied to a soldier whose arms were furnished by his master, and, in more recent times, applied to the bearer of the betel box; but we are not to suppose that Sultan I-yal-timish was so much of a Hindu as to chew pân supâri. The word above used seems to signify a page, henchman, or personal attendant, perhaps a falconer.

The Tabakât-i-Akbarî states that Ulugh Khan was the slave and dâmâd—son-in-law, and sometimes, but rarely, used for the husband of the sovereign's sister—of I-yal-timish, and Firishtah, of course, agrees. But where is there the least authority whatever for such a statement? Our author was not likely to conceal such a matter as this, tending to the glorification of his patron. To judge from the fact of his causing himself to be proclaimed Sultan [see page 661], the lenient manner in which he was treated after such continual and repeated misconduct, and an elephant having been assigned him, Balban-i-Kashãli Khan is more likely to have been related by marriage to I-yal-timish than Balban-i-Ulugh Khan. Fancy Ibn-Bãûtãh's "little despicable ill-looking wretch," his master's son-in-law! I-yal-timish died only about two years after the future Ulugh Khan's purchase, but Kashãli Khan was purchased in 624 H.

\(^2\) This refers to the affair which culminated at Tarã'in in 634. See page 638.
THE SHAMSIAH MALIKS IN HIND. 803

ANECDOTE.

They have related that there was a monarch at the acme of felicity and the zenith of dominion. He had a son of extreme beauty and sagacity, merit and innocence. That monarch commanded, so that wherever wise, intelligent, learned, and accomplished persons were [to be found], they got them together for the purpose of instructing that son; and one of those accomplished men, who was superior to the others, and excelled the rest in a variety of wisdom, knowledge, and learning, and various arts and sciences, was selected by the monarch, and placed in charge of the education of that light of his eyes, his son.

The king commanded, saying: "It is necessary that this son of mine should acquire instruction in, and information respecting, the theory of the truths of religion, and thorough knowledge of the difficulties of power, the subtile distinctions of knowledge, the treasuring up of information, the conditions of government, the institutions of prosperity, the ways of fostering subjects, and the laws respecting the dispensation of justice, and that he should be acquainted with the contingencies and complications of them all."

That learned man placed the face of acceptance to the ground of service, and occupied himself in his task. When the prescribed period of the youth's education terminated, and the seeds of instruction came up, and the honorary robe of erudition became fitted to the person, and that son, the one fruit of the king's tree, became embellished in all accomplishments, they made known to the monarch the matter of his son's perfect acquirements. He commanded, saying: "It is necessary that the preceptor should be present in the audience-hall of sovereignty to-morrow at morning dawn; and let the prince also be brought thither, in order that the divers pearls of learning, which he has acquired, he may string upon the thread of demonstration, so that gentle and simple—high and low—may become enlightened and cognizant of the perfect knowledge, the elegance of attainments, the realities of capacity, and performances of penetration of my son."

On this command being issued, the preceptor solicited three days' delay from the monarch; and, on his request
being granted, the preceptor, early in the morning of the [next] day, mounted, and brought forth the young prince from the city for the purpose of taking a ramble. After they had passed beyond the habitations, the preceptor made the prince dismount, and constrained him to walk on in front of his [the preceptor’s] horse, and obliged him to run along several leagues to keep up with his horse’s cantering, in such wise that the delicate person of the prince became excessively afflicted from the fatigue of walking and running. So he brought him back to the city again.

The second day, the preceptor entered the school-room, and commanded the prince, saying: “Get up, and remain standing;” and, in this way, he kept him standing during the whole day, in such wise that the prince’s tender body was sorely pained. When the third day came, the preceptor entered the school-room, and directed that the place should be cleared, tied the hands and feet of the king’s son together, and inflicted upon him more than a hundred blows with a cane; and, from the severity of the flogging, all the limbs of the young prince’s body, from the number of blows, became wounded. He left him thus bound, repeated the invocation before flight*, and disappeared.

A number of servants, on becoming aware of the circumstance, liberated the king’s son from his bonds, and sought for the preceptor, but could not find him. They made a representation to the king, and he directed them to bring his son before him; and, upon every science wherein they questioned him, they found him so proficient that “there is no exceeding perfection” fitly described his proficiency. The king remarked, saying: “The preceptor, in teaching and instructing, and making his pupil perfect, has, by the grace of Almighty God, not neglected the least thing. It would be well to know the cause of these cuts and hurts, and what was the reason of his flight.”

He commanded, so that they used their utmost endeavours in seeking the preceptor; and, after a considerable time, and at a distant period, they again found him, and brought him into the monarch’s presence. He showed the preceptor great reverence and honour, and inquired of

---

* A prayer or invocation according to Musalmān custom.
him the motive of the severe flogging, and compelling the young prince to run on foot on the first day, making him stand all the second day, the reason of leaving him bound, and the cause of his own disappearance, on the third. The preceptor, bowing the head of service to the ground of representation, replied: "May the king's felicity continue! It will be manifest to the sublime mind, that it behoveth the possessor of dominion to understand the condition of those persons who are objects of commendation and approval, and likewise the state of those individuals who are the objects of indignation and reprehension, so that whatever he may command in such circumstances may be fitting; and, in no manner whatsoever, either in pleasure or displeasure, may he deviate from the bounds of moderation. Your slave was desirous of making the prince acquainted with the condition of the oppressed, the captive, and of the numbers who have to run before [his] horse, of the people who may have to remain standing [before him], and of the state of those persons who may have become deserving of condign punishment, or of being made public examples of, so that, when exercising his royal wrath, he may conceive what measure of distress and pain their hearts and bodies suffer, and that, when he should have endured somewhat of such severities, whatsoever he may direct as regards punishment, running, or standing, he may do so in proportion to their powers of endurance and strength. The reason, moreover of my flight and disappearance was apprehension, since the noble person and delicate frame of the prince had sustained affliction, lest parental affection should have induced the king, in requital of such act on the part of his humble servant, to have censured him, whereby all his pains and labours would have been thrown away."

This anecdote was applicable to the case of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam in the amount of trouble that befell him in being brought back again to the capital among the Turks, in order that, when he attained unto power, and became Lieutenant of the kingdom, he might be cognizant of the

---

4 It would be interesting to know why he was treated in this manner, but the reason does not transpire.
5 The word used in one of the best and oldest copies of the text is ناپا لسته.
condition of the broken and oppressed. May Almighty God cause justice and beneficence to be the associate of all his acts and proceedings!

We have returned to the subject of the narration of this history.

When the sovereignty devolved upon Sultān Rażiyat, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam was, as before, Khāṣah-dār, until good fortune came to his aid, and he became Amir-i-Shikār [Chief Huntsman]. The ball of fate was saying: "a world will be the quarry of his power, and a universe the prey of his authority," hence the first of his offices was that of the Chief Huntsmanship. When he had filled that office some time, and had done approved service, suddenly, the sun of the Rażiyat dynasty came to its setting, and the luminary of the Mu'izzī sovereignty arose, and the Ulugh Khānī prosperity began to increase. As in the duties of Chief Huntsman he had filled that office well, and done approved service, he became Amir-i-Ākhrur, and the horses of state and of sovereignty came under the bridle of his possession. When Malik Badr-ud-Din, Sunţar, the Šūfī, was made Amir-i-Ḥājib, he, having a parental affection towards Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, showed a sincere regard for his welfare, and raised Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam to a still higher degree. The fīrū of Riwārī was entrusted to his charge; and, when he proceeded to that part, he thoroughly chastized the independent [Hindū] tribes of the Koh-pāyah by the power of his valour, and reduced those tracts under his jurisdiction.

When the Mu'izzī sovereignty began to totter, and the Maliks, in concert together, appeared before the gate of the city [of Dihli], and the whole of the Amīrs and Maliks

as above, and another has but, if I left out the word—deputy or lieutenant—the sense would be materially changed, and it would be "in order that when he attained unto power and sovereignty," &c.,—but this is not meant by our author—and it might then naturally be supposed, by a reader, that this history was written during Balbān's reign, if one solitary passage were sufficient to prove it, contrary to scores of others. See note 1, page 797.

6 Not "lands:" it was an extensive and important tract of country, as the context shows.

7 In Elliot, page 362, the words are rendered "hill chiefs," but in several other places the word is not translated at all, and "the Māwals" are introduced as if the word was a proper name. The Koh-pāyah is a tract repeatedly mentioned, the literal meaning of which is "hill skirt."
conspired among themselves, Ulugh Khan-i-A’zam—May his power be perpetuated*!—who was feudatory of Rīwārī, in concert with other Malikṣ & Amīrs, displayed so much sagacity in ascertaining the aims and intentions of the Malikṣ, that among the whole of them—Turk or Tājzīk, not one attained to the hundredth part thereof; and the whole [of them] admitted his firmness, heroism, intrepidity, and enterprise to be greater than that of all the Malikṣ and Amīrs of that period. On the city being taken, the fieff of Hānsī was made over to his charge,* and, on that territory coming under his control, he turned his attention to its cultivation and improvement; and the people, from the effects of his justice and conspicuous liberality, became contented and prosperous.

Ulugh Khan’s affairs became so flourishing,* that the whole of the Malikṣ and Amīrs began to be jealous at the freshness of his good fortune, and envy’s disquieting thorn began to prick their minds, but, as Almighty God had willed that he should be greater than the whole [of them], by how much the more the fire of their envy increased, by so much the more did the incense of his prosperity, within the censer of time, diffuse additional perfume: “They endeavour to extinguish the light of God with [the breath of] their mouths, but God rejects aught but the perfection of his light.”—May Almighty God prolong his office of power,

* The Printed Text, and two MS. copies—modern ones—but neither of them the I. O. L. MS., No. 1952, nor the R. A. S. MS., have “the Sultān—May his dominion and sovereignty continue!”—who was feudatory of Rīwārī,” &c., which convinces Mr. Dowson [ELLiot: vol. ii. page 362] “that this part of the work was written in the reign of Balban.” The majority of copies, however, including the oldest, have as rendered above. See note 4, next page.

* The word “Maliks,” here, does not signify princes any more than it does kings; it refers to those persons, with a single exception, slaves, mentioned in this Section. Compare ELLiot here.

* In a few copies “to the charge of his retainers.”

* Here is a good proof of how the Calcutta Printed Text—the “official Text”—has been “revised” before printing. It has, whilst referring to Ulugh Khan the whole time—وکار دولت سلطان پناهی رستم—thus turning him into a Sultān, a quarter of a century too soon. All the best copies have the name of Ulugh Khan, where Sultān has been inserted in the Printed Text, or Ulugh Khan, which latter mode of writing makes it “the prosperity of the Ulugh Khan’s affairs,” whilst the first would be “the prosperity of the Ulugh Khan affairs.” In two modern copies of the text, the word سلطان has been written in mistake for شما.
and make this servant of the state, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, who is the author of this Ṭabaḳāt, feel due gratitude towards him, for his abundant benefactions combined with respect, for, should a thousand sections of paper be filled with closely written encomiums on his admirable qualities and inestimable virtues, it would be but as a drop in the vast ocean, and not even a single particle from out of the fragrance from the paradise-like flower garden [thereof] would have affected the smelling sense of hearer or reader; and, should a hundred thousand such-like effusions be composed, out of gratitude for the princely countenance of this great lord, at the foot-step of the exalted throne of the king of the sovereigns of the face of the earth—May God perpetuate his dominion and sovereignty!—towards this servant, in the entrusting of offices, the bestowal of appointments, and abundant benefactions, together with honour and reverence, which he still continues to bestow, even yet, the debts of gratitude will be due to him, in return for those benefits, by this servant, by his children, and by his family. May the Almighty God long preserve his high majesty, the Sultān of the Sultāns of the universe, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muẓaffar-i-Maḥmūd Shāh, in the pomp of power, decked in the jewels of submission, and adorned with the garment of the services of that Khārān-i-Muʾazzam, the Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, to the utmost bounds of possibility in the revolution of time, for the sake of Muhammad and the whole of his posterity!

We have returned to the subject of this history.

This frail one, in the year 640 H., chanced to undertake a journey to ῾Lakhanawati. On this journey he continued two years with his family and dependents. Trustworthy

---

8 But two copies have the correct word here, which is فلكي—celestial—all the rest have ملكي the adjective derived from ملك—Malik, or Mulk.

4 Had those, who looked upon the imperfect passages in the Printed Text for "proofs" that this account of Ulugh Khān was written in his reign, read or translated this passage, where "The author continues in a high strain of benediction and eulogy," they would have found undoubted proof that Ulugh Khān was not king when this was written. He was, however, father-in-law to the Sultān and his Deputy or Lieutenant, in fact, his master, and possessed all the power, and Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, was a mere puppet. It is somewhat strange that there is not the most remote allusion to Ulugh Khān's having been manumitted throughout this work. It seems scarcely possible that he was still a slave.
persons have related on this wise, that, in the year 642 H., the Khākān-i-Mu'azzam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, became Amir-i-Hājib in the illustrious capital, Dihli, when the august standards—may victory and success expand them!—moved out of Dihli, into the Do-āb of the Jūn and Gang, and when he gave the rebels of Jarālī and Datoli, and other independent [Hindū] tribes, a thorough chastisement, and carried on holy war, as by the faith enjoined, and the roads in the adjacent parts of that territory were cleared of the violence of the contumacious. The author of this work [at this time], in conformity with the sublime commands, in company with Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Tughril-i-Tughān Khān, returned from Lakhanawaṭī again with his family and dependents, and arrived at the capital, Dihli, in the year 643 H.

In this same year, Mangūtah, the accursed, who was one of the Mughal leaders, and of the Maliks of Turkistān, led an army from the borders of Tāe-kān and Kunduz, into the territories of Sind, and invested the fortress of Uchchah, which is one of the famous strongholds of the country of Sind, and of the territory of Mansūrah. Within

5 The Calcutta Printed Text has 642 H.; and 641 H., as in Elliot, is incorrect. See page 664, and note 3.
6 He is thus styled, except at page 610, throughout the remainder of this work, but I shall, for simplicity's sake, merely style him as previously, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam.
7 Every copy of the text has as above with very trifling differences, and the oldest and best copies have also which seems intended for the same, but the copyists have put the points under and made the letter instead of and a few have no points at all. I fail to recognize these places. There is a Jurovli in Lat. 28° 17', Long. 78° 17', in the Survey Map, and a place named Atrowli, in Lat. 28° 2', Long. 78° 20'.
8 This is not mentioned under the reign. See page 663, and note 9.
9 See page 667, and 735.
1 In some few copies Mangūlī, which is not correct. In Elliot, vol. ii. page 363, Mr. Dowson makes Mangū Khān of him, although his name is given correctly in the text. The Great Khān, Mangū Ka'an, was never east of the Indus in his life.
2 Two of the three oldest copies have where, the third oldest and others, and some have no points to the third letter, hence it may be read Tāe-kān or Tāl-kān. The place intended is that east of "Kunduz," and is correctly Tāe-kān as distinct from Tāl-kān of Turkistān. I shall have to refer again to these places in the last Section, as they are very liable to be mistaken one for the other.
3 The word does not mean "equal to." The Printed Text is quite correct here, and "the words" are "as precise" as they are anywhere through-
that fortress a Khwājah Sarāc [Eunuch], one of the servants of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, son of [the late] Malik Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān, Ayāz-i-Hazār-Mardah, named Mukhlīsh-ud-Dīn, was the Kotwāl-Bak [Seneschal], and a slave of Kabīr Khān, Ak-Sunkar, by name, was the Amīr-i-Dād [Lord Justiciary].

When intimation of this irruption reached the capital, Malik Ulugh Khān* represented it* for the sublime consideration, and caused an army to be organized for the purpose of repelling the Mughals. While every one of the [other] Amirs and Malik's was showing indecision about this undertaking, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam showed determination in carrying it out; and, when the royal standards moved for- 

out that work. See Elliot: vol. ii. page 363. The very same word, at page 303 of that work, is rendered "lands."

Malik Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, and his son Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, are both mentioned at page 727, and there it is stated that, when the Mughals under the Nūnīn, Mangūtah, turned their faces towards Lohor, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, who was feudatory of Multān, assumed sovereignty, and soon after, in 639 H., died. The death of his son is also recorded, but nothing whatever respecting this attack upon Uchchah, which must have happened after the son's death, the date of which is not given.

There is an excellent specimen of the lamentable errors that may be caused through not knowing when and where the tašfat—so "un-Persian," and "never used to signify son of," according to Mr. Blochmann [See Appendix C., xvii., and his "Bengal Contributions," part iii. page 138], and which "is restricted to poetry, and does not occur in prose"—ought to be used, in the extract from our author's work given in Elliot. The following is the rendering of this passage in that work, vol. ii. page 363. "He laid siege to Uch, one of the most renowned fortresses of Sindh, and equal to Mansūra. There was a eunuch in (command of) the fort who belonged to the household of Tāj-ul-dīn. Abū Bakr-Kabir Khān Aksunkar was chief justice, and Mukhlīs-ul-dīn was kotwal." This last rendering is well worthy Mr. Blochmann's attention.

Here we have Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr's title and name separated into two parts, then his name is given to his father, Kabīr Khān, and the father's name and title, and his son's name also, are all given to Kabīr Khān's slave whose name was Ak-Sunkar. I need but add that, in this instance, the Calcutta "official" Text is perfectly correct with the exception of not having all the father's names and titles recorded as above: had they all been contained in it, what a number might not have been heaped upon the slave! Kabīr Khān's titles, and his son's will be found at pages 724—727.

4 He is thus styled in the text, but did not receive the title of Ulugh Khān until many years after—in 664 H. At this period he was Malik Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Balban, only.

6 Not "his views." He brought it to the Sultān's notice by virtue of the office he held. He was the cause of an army's being got ready. See page 667 and note 4.

6 See note 6, page 807.
ward towards that [threatened] quarter, Ulugh Khān-i-
A'zām—Be his power prolonged!—despatched guides in
advance on the line of route, so that [the troops] used to
get over the marches with rapidity. He was wont to repre-
sent to the troops that the [next] halting-ground would be
about eight kuroh7 off, and [consequently] about twelve
kuroh, and even more than that they used to march, until
the forces reached the banks of the Biāh, and passed over
that river, and he conducted them to the banks of the river
Rāwah [Rāwī] of Lohor8.

In this manner used he to show such-like determination
on this expedition, and such lion-heartedness, and was
wont to stimulate the Sulṭān a.d Malik to repel the infidel
Mughals, until Monday, the 25th of the month of Sha'bān,
643 H., when intimation reached the royal camp that the
army of infidel Mughals had raised the investment of the
fortress of Ĉchah. The cause of it was, that, on reach-
ing the vicinity of the river Biāh, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zām
appointed couriers, and directed so that they wrote letters
from the sublime presence to the garrison of the fort of
Ĉchah, and announced to them the approach of the
royal standards, the vast numbers of the array and ele-
phants, the host of cavalry with the army, and the courage
of the soldiery in attendance at the august stirrup, and
despatched them towards the fortress of Ĉchah. A
division from the army was moved on in front, to act as a
reconnoitring force and advance guard.

When the couriers reached the vicinity of Ĉchah, a
few of these letters fell into the hands of the host of the
accursed, and some reached the people of the fortress. On
the drum of joy being beaten in the fort, and the subject of
the letters, the advance of the victorious army, and
approach of the royal standards, becoming manifest to the

7 His object, in making the troops believe that the marches were much
shorter than they were in reality, can be easily seen through, but compare

8 There is nothing in the text about “reaching Lahore;” it is the Rāwah
[in some, Rāwī] of Lohor. See also page 726, and page 792.

As the Biāh and Rāwī then flowed, before the Sutlaj ran in its present bed,
the Dihl forces would have been in a position to threaten the Mughal line of
retreat, as stated farther on, and would have marched down the Do-ābāh and
reached Ĉchah without having any other river to cross. See the note on
the Lost River or Hakrā, and the changes in the beds of the Panjāb rivers.
accursed Mangūtah, and the cavalry of the advance guard approaching the banks of the river Biāh of Lohor, near to the frontiers of the territory of Sind, fear and terror became manifest in the heart and spirit of the Mughal [leader], and the favour of the Creator became a helper [of the Dīlhī army].

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that, when Mangūtah became aware of the advance of the army of Islām, and approach of the royal standards, and that the army moved towards the river Biāh, near the skirts of the mountains, and from thence, in the same manner, was marching along the banks of that river, he made inquiry of some persons what might be the reason of the deviation of the army of Islām towards the skirts of the hills, because that was a longer route, while that by way of Sursutī and Marūṭ was near. They replied that, on account of the number of islands on the banks of the river, there might

1 See under the reign of Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, page 667.
2 Not “prisoners” necessarily.
3 Compare Elliot, vol. ii. page 364, where Marūṭ is supposed to be intended for Mirat. It is the same place as mentioned at page 350 of the same volume, where the same error is made. See also page 688.
4 Marūṭ is a well known place. It is a small town with a bastioned wall, in the direct route from Dīlhī to Bahāwal-pūr and Uchchah, and to Bahāwal-pūr and Multān. It is only about five degrees west of “Mirat,” if that east of Dīlhī is referred to. Bahāwal-pūr is, comparatively, quite a modern town. The Mughals seem to have been pretty well acquainted with the geography of these parts.
5 Sic in MSS. Long narrow banks of sand, probably extending in some places for several miles, and, sometimes, of some height, are doubtless meant here, such as are formed after the annual inundations, with water, sometimes of considerable depth, between. These would have caused great obstructions, and have taken much time to cross, and, therefore, the forces of Dīlhī kept farther north, and made their march a flank movement at the same time, which may have been the original intention. In what direction they went may be seen farther on.

The above passage, as rendered in Elliot, is quoted by the writer of an interesting article in one of the numbers of the Calcutta Review for 1874, entitled “The Lost River of the Indian Desert,” to prove his theory respecting it; but the passage in question is not correct in the Calcutta Printed Text, neither is it quite correctly rendered in the translation referred to. The word in the printed text which is supposed to mean “fissures” [plural], namely, is but part of the word Ḍilār—signifying islands, &c.; and, moreover, the writer in the Calcutta Review does not quote Elliot correctly. He says, “It is stated in the Tabakat-i-Nāsiri that when Uchch was besieged by the Mughals in 643 H. (A.D. 1245) the army sent to its relief was unable to march by Sursuti and Marot, in consequence of the drought on the banks
not be a road for the army of Islam. Mangūtah remarked: “This is a vast army: we have not the power to resist it: it is necessary to retire;” and fear overcame him and his army lest, if they remained longer, their line of retreat should be cut off.

Their army was formed into three divisions, and routed, they fled, and numerous captives, both Musalmān and Hindū, obtained their liberty [in consequence]. The instrument of that success was the vigour, the military talent, intrepidity, and zeal of Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, for, had he not shown such lion-heartedness and heroism, such a success would not have resulted. Almighty God of His favour and beneficence have him in His keeping!

After such a success came to pass, Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam represented that it was advisable that the royal forces should move towards the river Sūdharah, in order that their strength, their number, valour, and energy might be established in the hearts and minds of the enemy, and, according to that counsel, the army marched to the banks of the river.” Neither is drought nor inability to march mentioned in our author’s text, and, even in the passage in Elliot, there is not a word about drought.

The lower part of the course of the present Ghārah, which formed, or close to which lay, at the period in question, the bed of the Bīāh, before they flowed in the same channel, had low banks of soft alluvial earth which were overflowed to the extent of several miles on occasion of the slightest swell.

I shall probably have to refer to this article on the “Lost River” again when I come to the account of the investment of Īghchah in the next Section. The mention of this lost river is by no means new: a great deal respecting it is contained in a geographical work in Persian, written in the last century from a personal survey, and to which excellent work I have often referred in these notes.

4 Compare this passage in Elliot.

5 Our author had forgotten, probably, that he had just before attributed this favourable upshot of the affair to Divine aid, and forgets to mention, here, the wide spread disaffection, at this very time, in ‘Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas‘ūd Shāh’s army. See page 668.

I think it is rather doubtful, from our author’s own words, in his previous accounts of this reign, whether Ulugh Khān possessed such power at this time. As Amīr-i-Hājib, no doubt it was very considerable, but there were a great number of powerful Malik living at this period, who brought about the dethronement of ‘Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas‘ūd Shāh, and set up his uncle, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Māhmūd Shāh. Our author does not mention Ulugh Khān’s having had anything in particular to do with that matter, and would scarcely have omitted to mention it, had he been the instrument of the latter’s accession to the throne.
river Südharah, until, on the 27th of the month of Shaw-wäl, 643 H., the army set out from the banks of the Südharah on its return to the capital, Dihli, which was reached on Monday, the 12th of the month of Zi-Ḥijjah, of the same year.

During this short time, the disposition of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, received a change towards the Malikṣ; and, for the greater part of that [time] that he was wont to be invisible to the army, malignity had become established in his mind. The whole of the Malikṣ, in league together, wrote secretly and surreptitiously, and tendered their allegiance to Sulṭān 'Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, and besought him to put his august standards in motion [towards the capital], for the purpose of assuming the sovereignty. On Sunday, the 23rd of the month of Muharram, 644 H., he reached the capital accordingly, and ascended the throne of sovereignty—May he be preserved for many years!

Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam represented [to the new Sulṭān] “Since the Khutbah and coin of the kingdom are adorned with the august Nāṣirī name, and, in the past year, the army of the accursed [Mughals], having fled before the forces of Islam, are gone towards the upper country, it may be advisable that the royal forces should march towards the upper [parts].” In accordance with this expedient counsel, the expedition to the upper parts was determined upon; and, on Monday, the 1st of the month of Rajab, 644 H., the sublime standards moved out of the capital; and Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, in using celerity and getting over the stages, continued to strive, until the banks of the river Südharah were reached. Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam,

---

6 This movement is not mentioned at all under the reign. See page 668, and page 678, and note 1. Our author seems to have confused his statements here.
7 That is, who became Sulṭān subsequently. He was simply Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, at this time.
8 The same day on which 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, was seized and imprisoned.
9 What office Ulugh Khān held, after the accession of the new Sulṭān, is not mentioned, but we may assume that he was confirmed in his former office of Amir-i-Hājib.
1 Compare Elliot here.
2 The R. A. S. MS. is defective from this word, to the words “sacred knot,” page 820.
3 The Calcutta Printed Text is defective here.
with the Malikis and Amīrs of Islām [with their contingents], separated from the army on an expedition to the Jūd Hills in order to wreak vengeance on the Rānāh of those Hills, who, in the previous year, had acted as guide to the Mughal army.

With that object they pushed onwards, and the Jūd Hills and parts adjacent to the river Jilām [Jhilam] they assailed; and the army of Islām carried its incursions, and ravaged [the country], as far as the banks of the river Sind, and despoiled Jas-Pāl, Sīhrā [or Schrā], and the whole of his tribes. The Musalmān force was taken over the river Jilām [Jhilam], and carried its ravages as far as the banks of the river Sind, in such wise, that all women, families, and dependents of the infidels who were in those parts, took to flight, and a body [of men] from the army of the infidel Mughals came to the ferries of the Jilām [Jhilam], and beheld the lines of the Musalmān troops serving under Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿẓam, and fear fell upon their hearts, at the number of troops composing his army, the number of cavalry in defensive armour, and the abundance of arms, and war material; and they wondered greatly, and great terror took possession of that gathering. That vigour, military organization, and overthrowing of enemies, in the assault of mountain heights, the gorges of mountain passes, and of ravines, the capturing of strong places and forts, and penetrating of forests, which Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿẓam displayed, cannot be contained within the area of recital, and the fame of that holy warfare extended as far as the land of Turkistān.

In this tract, as there were neither fields nor tillage, supplies were not to be obtained, and, of necessity, Ulugh

---

4 Malikis and Amīrs are not necessarily "generals."
5 This plainly indicates that the Mughals came through the Sind-Sāgar Doālah, and accounts for the flank march of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Māvūd Shīh’s army.
6 Around Nandānah, and the territory of the Khokhar tribe. See under the reign, page 678.
7 Many copies of the text are defective here.
8 Compare Elliot also. The Mughals would have scarcely "crossed over the Jilām" [Jhilam?] the same side as the Dihlī army was, when they were so terrified at Ulugh Khān’s host, unless they wished to become captives.
9 What a pity that our author did not deem it necessary to name some of them!
1 Beyond the Jhilam.
Khān-i-Aʿzam was compelled to return again. When he presented himself in the presence of the Court, victorious, triumphant, and safe, with the whole of the troops, and the Amīrs and Maliks who were along with him, the sublime standards moved to return again towards the illustrious capital, Dihlī, on Thursday, the 25th of the month of Żī-Kaʿdah, 644 H. On Thursday, the 2nd of the month of Muḥarram, 645 H., the capital was reached.

Since, through the firmness of counsel, and the justness of determination of Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, the army of Turkistān and Mughal had beheld those exploits and that military organization, during this year, 645 H., not a single man, from the parts above, came towards the territory of Sind. Therefore, in the month of Shabān of this same year, Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam represented for the sublime consideration, “it is advisable, that, during this year, the sublime standards should be put in motion for the purpose of ravaging and carrying on holy war in the extreme parts of the territory of Hindūstān, in order that the independent [Hindū] tribes, and Rāes and Rānahs, who, during the last few years, have not been punished, may receive a thorough chastisement, that booty may fall into the hands of the troops of Islām, and means to repel the infidel Mughals, in the shape of wealth, may be amassed.”

In accordance with that prudent counsel, the august standards were put in motion towards Hindūstān, and moved down the middle of the Do-ābah of the Gang and Jūn; and, after much fighting with the infidels, the army gained possession of the fort of Talsandah. Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam,

2 The Sultān remained with his camp, and a great portion of his forces, on the banks of the Sūdharah or Chīnāb during this raid to the Sind or Indus.
3 That is from the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah, and west of the Indus. It seems that the Mughals, previous to this, made almost yearly raids upon the border tracts of Sind and Multān.
4 In the Antarbed Do-āb, E. of Dihlī, and in Awadh.
5 The word Nandanah, contained in the Calcutta Printed Text only, is totally incorrect. Nandanak is in the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah. The correct word is given in a foot-note in the Printed Text, but, in Elliott, the former is copied. See foot-note of page 347 to that work also.
At page 679, under the events of the year 645 H., it is stated to have been situated within the limits of Khinnaj. See note 1 to that page.

The word is plainly written, in the three best copies of the text, and in two others, and the only variation, in other good copies is.
with others of the Maliks of Islām, and troops, were despatched to coerce Dalaki of Malaki, and he was a Rānah in the vicinity of the river Jūn, which is between Kālinjar and Kaḏah, whom the Rāes of the parts around Kālinjar and Mālwaḥ used not to be able to gain superiority over, on account of the number of his dependents and followers, the immensity of his wealth, the difficulty of the routes, the stability of position, the strength of the narrow, winding, defiles, the denseness of numerous forests, and strong mountains, places, which had never, at any time, been reached by Musalmān troops.

When Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam reached the locality where that Rānah had taken up his position, and the place of his abode, he displayed so much perseverance in his own defence, and the defence of his family and children, that, from the time of early morning until the period of evening prayer, he remained; and, when night came, he repeated the invocation of flight, and removed from that place to [other] strong positions. When the day broke, the troops of Islām entered that place and dwelling of his, and [afterwards] pursued him. That accursed one had ascended the high mountains, and had withdrawn to a place, to enter the narrow defiles of which was impossible without the greatest contrivance, and the aid of ropes and ladders. Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam stimulated the Musalmān troops to holy warfare, and, animated by his entreaties, commands, and gestures, they took the place. They captured the whole of the Rānah’s family, kinsmen, and children, together with cattle, and horses, and captives, in great number; and such an amount of booty fell into the hands of the troops of Islām that the conception of the arithmetician would be helpless in recounting it.

---

6 The Rāes of Kālinjar and Mālwaḥ are not referred to. The text has, as rendered above—

7 This shows the fallacy of reading “Chīn” instead of Ujjain, referred to in note 5, page 517, when the Sultāns of Dīlī, half a century subsequent to the period there mentioned, had not subdued the Hindū rulers of these parts so near their very capital.


9 Here the hill tracts extending to the left bank of the Sŏn are evidently referred to.

1 Our author appears not to have known the name of the place in question.
On the last day of the month of Shawwāl, 645 H., Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, with vast booty, rejoined the Sultān’s camp [at Karah1]; and, after the festival of the ʿAzhā, the sublime standards moved forward to return to the capital4. An account of the whole of that expedition and holy warfare is composed [by the author] in verse, in a separate book, and that book has been named the Nāšīrī Nāma. On the 24th of the month of Muḥarram, 646 H., the capital was reached.

Subsequently, in the month of Shaʿbān, 646 H., the royal standards moved towards the upper provinces as far as the extreme confines, and the bank of the river Biāh, and from thence returned again to the capital.

Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, along with other Maliks under his orders, with numerous forces, was appointed to proceed towards Rantabhūr4, and to ravage the Koh-pāyah of Mevāt, and the territory of Nāhar Diw4, who was greatest of all the Rāes of Hindūstān. The whole country, and the

2 The word used is ʿaʾrāb which does not signify “beginning,” but the contrary.

3 There is considerable discrepancy here. Under the events of this year at page 683, it is said that Karah was reached, by the Sultān, on the 12th of Ziʿ-kaʿdah—the ʿId-i-ʿAzhā is on the 10th—and that, thirty days previous to that date, Ulugh Khān, and other great Maliks associated with him, had been despatched on this expedition.

4 On the march back from Karah, Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Masʿūd Shāh, the Sultān’s brother, who held the fief of Kīnauj, presented himself to the Sultān, and the fiefs of Sanbhāl and Būdāʾūn were assigned him. The prince, soon after, for some reason or other, became frightened or disaffected, and fled to Lāhor, abandoning his fiefs. I shall have more to say, respecting this mysterious matter, in the next Section. The march to the Biāh, mentioned a few lines under, was evidently connected with his flight in some way; but, strange to say, under the reign it is not mentioned, and an expedition “against the infidels of the hills and plains” is stated to have been undertaken in that month and year, and the despatch of forces towards Rantabhūr is afterwards mentioned. See page 684, and page 793, and note 4. See also where Sher Khān-i-Sunkar is mentioned as having joined Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Masʿūd Shāh, at page 793, and note 7.

6 This stronghold had been taken by I-yal-timish in 623 H., but, after his death, the Hindūs had closely invested it; and, in Raziyyat’s reign, the garrison was withdrawn, and the fort destroyed. See page 642.

6 The Calcutta Printed Text refers its readers to page 715—as if this chief were one and the same with Chāhār, the Ajār, mentioned at page 691, which see. Thomas [PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHRĀDŪN, page 125] also falls into the same error. Ulugh Khān did not make war upon Chāhīr, the Ajār, twice, but once. This Nāhar Diw is a different person altogether. See pages 824 and 828, farther on.
confines of that territory were ravaged, and a large amount of booty was acquired, and, at the foot of the fort of Rantabühr, on Sunday, the 11th\(^7\) of the month of Zī-Ḥijjah, 646 H., Malik Bahā-ud-Din, I-bak, the Khwājah, attained martyrdom. Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam was engaged [at this time] in holy warfare on another side of the fortress, and his dependents were [also] occupied in battle and holy warfare, and despatched numbers of the infidels to hell. Immense booty, and invaluable property was acquired, and the Musalmān troops were made rich with plunder, and returned to the sublime presence.

In this year, the royal mind evinced a desire to enter into a matrimonial alliance with the family of Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam\(^8\), who, every year, in leading the forces, and efforts in the service of the sublime Court, continued to display praiseworthy proofs, to such degree that no monarch has ever had a servant who, having attained the dignity of Khān and Malik, possessed a greater soul or more august temperament than Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, of honour greater, of counsel more prudent, in leading armies more intrepid, in overthrowing foes more victorious, more worthy of being dignified with the honour of a matrimonial alliance with His Majesty, the Sultan-ul-Aʿzam, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Din, Abu-l-Muzaffar-i-Maḥmūd Shāh—whose dominion and sovereignty may God long continue!—and, by virtue of that alliance, labours for the glory of the kingdom, and the destruction of enemies in adjacent parts were likely to be increased.

Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, with due reverence and submission to command, complied, and repeated the saying: "The slave and what he possesses is the property of his master," and that union became completed by the sacred

\(^7\) In a few copies, the 15th, but, under the reign, the 11th of the month is also mentioned.

\(^8\) Mr. Dowson, who translates the account of Ulugh Khān in Elliot, renders this passage thus: "In the course of this year his majesty was pleased to recognize the great ability of his general. He therefore promoted him from the rank of Malik, &c.," and adds in a foot-note, "Many lines of eulogy are here compressed into this short but adequate statement." This adequate and compressed statement, as may be seen, leaves out all about the marriage of the Sultan to Ulugh Khān's daughter, in fact, both the following paragraphs given above. See also page 685 and note 4.
knot, on Monday, the 20th of the month of Rabî'-ul-Âkhir, 647 H., and the verse, "He hath let loose the two seas which meet together . . . Out of them come forth pearls and coral," was made manifest. May the Most High God, during the lifetime of the Sultan-i-A'zam, and high position of Ulugh Khân-i-Mu'azzam, continue those Princes, in the Shamsî dominion and sovereignty, life-heirs of the whole of the monarchs, for the sake of Muḥammad and the whole of his house!

After such a propitious event happened, which must have been the result of the felicitous conjunction of the stars, the status of Ulugh Khân was raised, from the rank of Malik and Amir-i-Ḥājib, to the dignity and eminent position of Khân, and on Tuesday, the 3rd of the month of Rajab, 647 H., [a mandate] issued from the sublime Court, conferring the Deputy-ship of the kingdom and leader-ship of the forces, with the title and name of Ulugh Khân [the Great Lord], upon that incomparable individual of august disposition, and, in truth, one might say, "titles come down from Heaven;" for, from that day forward, the Naṣiri rule acquired additional freshness from the zealous services, and heroism, of Ulugh Khân.

On the title of Ulugh Khân being conferred upon him, his brother, who was Amir-i-Âkhur—that beneficent and humane Malik, of pure morals and excellent disposition—Saïf-ul-Ḥakk wa ud-Dîn, Kashli Khân-i-, I-bak-us-Sultānî—on whom be peace!—became Amir-i-Ḥājib, and Malik Tâj-ud-Dîn, Sanjar-i-Tez-Khân, at that time, became Deputy Amir-i-Ḥājib, and the Malik-ul-Ḥujjâb [Head of the Chamberlains], 'Alâ-ud-Dîn, Ayâz, the Zinjâni, became the Deputy Wakil-i-Dar [Representative in Dar-bâr], who

9 Kur'ân: Chap. lv. verses 19—22. Sale's translation is somewhat different:—"He hath let loose the two seas that they meet each another . . . From them are taken forth unions and lesser pearls."

1 He makes a distinction here, and Ulugh Khân, who, upon other occasions, gets the title of A'gam, receives the lesser title.

2 Such is the original, but it would seem more natural that during the lifetime and eminence of Ulugh Khân an heir might be born to the Sultan, and the Shamsî line be perpetuated.

3 Up to this date his correct title was Malik Ghīyâs-ud-Dīn, Balban, only. This our author means, although he styles him by the title he held when this work was written.

4 Hujjâb is the plural of Ḥājib, and, therefore, there must have been
is my son and the light of my eyes, and adorned with all laudable qualifications, of whom no stronger encomium is needed than that of his loyalty to Ulugh Khan's service, and may such augment! The assignment of these appointments took place on Friday, the 6th of the month of Rajab, 647 H., and the Deputy Amir-i-Akhor, Ikhtiyar-ud-Din, Aet-kin, the Long-haired, became Amir-i-Akhor.

Subsequently, on Monday, the 9th of the month of Sha'bân, 647 H., he [Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam] moved from the capital [with the troops] for the purpose of [undertaking] an expedition against the infidels, and, at the ford of the river Jûn, the camp was pitched, and they engaged in holy warfare and hostilities against the infidels, the independent [Hindû] tribes around, when intelligence reached this author, from Khurâsân, from his sister, and her lonesomeness affected his heart much. He proceeded to the camp and waited upon Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam, and laid the matter before him, who gave him such support and showed so much kindness as cannot be recounted, and conferred a dress of honour upon this his devoted servant, Minhâj-i-Sarâj, presented him with a bay horse saddled and bridled, a great roll of gold brocade cloth, and the grant of a village producing about thirty thousand jîtals; and, up to this present date, that grant comes to this sincere votary every year. May Almighty God make this the cause of the augmentation of Ulugh Khan's dignity and power, and make him victorious and triumphant over the enemies

some difference between the Amir-i-Hâjib—Lord Chamberlain—and the Malik-ul-Hujjâb—Head or Chief of the Chamberlains, or Janitors. Such an officer has never before been mentioned in this work.

He may have been our author's son-in-law, adopted son, or a favourite disciple so styled. He would not be styled the Zinjâni—native of Zinjân—had he been his son in reality. Jurjâni would have been given him here if he were. In one of the best copies of the text he is styled I-bak.

Under the reign, our author says "Hindûs" merely. The troops moved from Dihlî on the 22nd of Shawwâl, the Jûn was crossed, and the camp pitched on the left bank, on Sunday, the 4th of Sha'bân. The infidels must have been very close at hand for the troops to be able to undertake operations against them immediately they crossed the Jûn.

All from this place, to the end of this and the two following paragraphs, is left out entirely in Elliot [vol. ii. page 368] as "matters personal of the author," and page 350 is referred to, where the forty captives are turned into "a hundred beasts of burden," &c., noticed at page 686, note 7.
of the faith! Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam represented the situation of this servant of the state, and his anxieties, to His Majesty; and, on Sunday, the 2nd of the month of Zi-Ka'dah, 647 H., a command was issued from the sublime Court for forty chains of captives⁸, and a hundred ass-loads of presents to be transmitted to the sister of the author into Khurāsān—May the Most High God continue the Nāṣiri dynasty and dominion until the conclusion of time’s revolution, for bestowing so many benefits!

On Monday, the 29th of the month of Zi-Ka'dah, of this same year, the author proceeded on a journey from the capital to Multān ⁹ for the purpose of despatching the gifts to Khurāsān. On the road, on reaching every town, city, or fort, held by the dependents and servants of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, the servants of that household showed the author so much reverence and honour that the eye of sense would be fatigued in recording it—may God accept them all for it! On Wednesday, the 6th ¹ of the month of Rabi'-ul-Awwal, 648 H., Multān was reached, and the author proceeded as far as the bank of the river Jilam [Jhilam].² After having despatched those captives and loads to Khurāsān, for a period of two months the author

---

⁸ The Printed Text here, as well as in the former instance, has “forty chains of captives,” but the editors seem astonished at it, from the note of interrogation added; and, in a foot-note, they put a piece upon it, by making them “forty chain of elephants loaded with captives [as contained in one copy of the text] and several ass-loads”!

⁹ There are certain technical and idiomatic words applied to men and animals, and other things, in use in the East, which the mere tyro in Oriental languages is expected to be acquainted with, and such a term our author has applied to these captives, at page 686, where the term nafar—person—which is applied only to human beings, is used; zanjīr—chain—is applied to elephants generally, but, here, is not quite incorrect, as the captives were, no doubt, secured by chains, and rās—head—to oxen and horses, &c., just as we apply covey to partridges, shoal to fish, swarm to bees, litter to puppies and pigs, and so on; but I never heard of رهاب ابلیمی—zanjīr fil-i-burdah—before, nor do I think any one ever did.

¹ Our author’s object in going to Multān for this purpose arose evidently from the fact that Lāhor and the upper parts of the Panjāb were in the hands of the Mughals and Khokharas, and he had to send the captives by one of the other, and more southern routes into Khurāsān.

¹ At page 688 also, our author says he reached Multān on the 6th, the same day on which Malik 'Izz-ul-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashtū Khān, reached it; but, at page 782, he says that Malik reached Multān on the 2nd of Rabi'-ul-Awwal, and that he arrived himself two days subsequently.

² According to the theory advanced in the article on the “Lost River”
happened to stay in the army of Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Balban-i-Kashlu Khân, at the foot of the walls of the fortress of Multân, for the air was still exceeding hot. When the rainy season set in, and the rains of compassion fell, on the 26th of the month of Jamādi-ul-Awwal, the author set out on his return from Multân, and, on the 22nd of the month of Jamādi-ul-‘Ākhir, reached the capital again.

At this period the Ċāzi-ul-Kuẓāt [Ḵāzī of  Kházīs], Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Kháṣānī—on whom be peace and pardon!—was Kházī of the realm of Hindūstān; and, when the term of the days of that unique one of his age came to conclusion, great countenance and favour was shown by Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿẓam towards this devoted suppliant, and his invaluable support was the means of this servant of his power being entrusted anew with the office of the Kházī-ship of the kingdom, and he [Ulugh Khān] submitted it for the sublime consideration. On Sunday, the 10th of the month of Jamādi-ul-Awwal, 649 11.4, for the second time, the Kházī-ship of the realm was consigned to the author—May Almighty God, continual and enduring preserve the Sultān of Sulṭāns, Nāṣīr-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muẓaffār-i-Maḥmūd Shāh, upon the throne of sovereignty, and Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿẓam, in the royal audience hall of power.

previously referred to respecting the Sutlaj, as no river is here mentioned by our author between Dihil and the Jhilm, all the others must have left their beds or become dried up.

3 It would appear, from the above remark, that a great change has taken place since this period, for the effects of the monsoon do not now extend to Multân; and, while farther east they are enjoying the coolness of the rainy season, at Multân and parts adjacent, and in Sind, the heat is at its height. I have known rain fall for a few hours at a time now and then in August, and some good showers, towards the close of the monsoon, in September, but the heat is not much lessened, except for a short time after rain, until about the close of the latter month.

The date on which our author left Multân to return to Dihil was about the end of June, the hottest part of the hot season in these days, a fearful time to have to cross the Indian desert. The fact of our author setting out from Multân, and proceeding to Dihil by way of Abūhar [page 687], is a pretty conclusive proof that, at the period in question, the now Lost River must have fertilized those parts.

4 See under Nāṣīr-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh’s reign, sixth year, for other events of this period.

5 Here end the “matters personal of the author” referred to in the previous note 7, page 821.
On Tuesday, the 25th of the month of Sha'bān, 649 H., the sublime standards moved towards the territory of Mālwah and Kālinjar. When Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with the troops of Islām, arrived in those parts, he overthrew Chāhar, Ajārī, who was a great Rānah, with a numerous following, and a multitude of dependents and people, and who possessed ample resources of horses and arms, and rooted him out from his country. This Rānah of [?] Ajārī, who was named Chāhar, was a great man, impetuous, and experienced; and has been previously mentioned. In the reign of the August Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Din—on whom be peace!—[namely] in the year 632 H., the troops of Islām from Bhiānāh, Sulṭān-koṭ, Kinnauj, Mahir, Mahāwan, and Gwāliyūr, were despatched for the purpose of ravaging the territory of Kālinjar and Jamū, the leader of which forces was Malik Nusrat-ud-Din, Tā-yaṣī, the Mu'īzzi, who for manhood, competency, judgment, vigour, military talents, and expertise, has been distinguished above all his compeers, the Maliks of that time. For a period of fifty days, they proceeded on that expedition, from Gwāliyūr, and vast booty was acquired, to such degree that, for this short

6 It appears that, from the time Ulugh Khān was raised to the dignity of Deputy or Lieutenant of the realm, Nāšir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, very seldom accompanied his armies as before, but left all to Ulugh Khān's energy.

7 Under the reign, page 690, it is stated that the troops moved towards Gwāliyūr, Chandīrī, Nurwul, and Mālwah.

8 Here also, in all the copies of the text collated, the words are جام اجاری and جهار اجاری—which, from the mode in which they are written, mean, that Chāhar was his name, and Ajārī [Achārya?] the name of his caste or title, but, three lines under, he is styled جان اجاری—which, if the hamsah [.] is correct, can only be read, from the original, as above, thus tending to show that our author considered the word اجاری—Ajārī—to be the name of his territory, for, immediately after, he says his name was Chāhar. In the account of Malik Nusrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yaṣī, page 733, the Rāe of Kālinjar is mentioned as well as Rānah Chāhar, and there the latter is called Rānah of Ajār. See also page 691. The Mirāt-i-Jahān-Numā has what may be read either Māhar, Bāhar, or Nāhar Dīw, but it must refer to the Rāe of Rantahbūr mentioned at page 818, which see.

9 This name does not occur in two copies of the text, and there is great probability that the word جام—Jamū—is an error for دام—Damow or Damū, a place giving name to a parganah, about 46 miles E. of Saugor [Sāgar], in Lat. 22° 50', Long. 79° 30'. The first word might easily be written by mistake, for the latter, and there would be no error in the direction.

1 There is not a word in the text about marching "on fifty days from Gwalior," as in Elliot.
period, the Sultān’s share of a fifth amounted to nearly twenty-two laks. In short, at the time of returning from Kālinjar, the passage of the army of Islām lay [through the territory of] this Rānah of Ajārī, and that Rānah had seized the route of the Musalmān forces in the narrow ravines leading from the [banks of the] river Gārānah [or Kārānah].

The author of this book heard from the mouth of Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa’ī, himself, [who said]:—“Never, in Hindūstān, did a foe see my back, [but] that Hindūak [Hindū fellow] of Ajārī made an attack upon me in such wise that you might say it was a wolf falling upon a flock of sheep. It was necessary to turn aside before him, until I emerged from another direction, attacked, and routed him.” This anecdote has been related in order that readers [of these pages] may understand to what degree was the genius and success of Ulugh Khān-i-A’zam, that, with one onslaught, he overthrew and routed such an enemy, and wrested out of his possession the fort of Nurwul, which is a famous stronghold, and, on that expedition and inroad, he displayed such sagacity and promptitude, and performed such exploits [against the infidels], as will remain a record on the face of time.

On Monday, the 23rd of the month of Rabī’-ul-Awwal, 650 H., the sublime standards returned to Dīlī again, and, for a period of six months, the troops continued at the capital of the empire, the city of Dīlī, until Monday, the 12th of the month of Shawwāl, when the sublime standards moved towards the upper provinces and the river Bīāh; and, at this period, Malik Ḥuzz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kasḥū Khān, was feudatory of Budāūn, and Malik Ḫutlugh Khān feudatory of Bhiānah, and both Maliks were requested by

---

2 At page 733, the sum is 25 laks.
3 He was coming up from the river, not going down towards it from the statement above. This does not agree with the details given in the account of Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa’ī, at page 773, in fact, rather tends to contradict them. Compare Elliot, vol. ii. page 369.
4 See page 690. Nurwul and Nurwur are one and the same thing.
5 At page 692, seven months, until the 22nd of Shawwāl. One of the oldest copies has Sha’bān.
6 Towards Lohor, with the intention of marching to Ūchchah and Multān, but the Bīāh was the farthest point reached. See pages 692, and 767, and page 783, and note 7.
His Majesty [to attend him]. Both these Maliks, with the whole of the other Maliks, were present in attendance during this expedition, at the audience tent of majesty.

When the sublime standards reached the districts on the river Biāh, 'Imād-ud-Din-i-Rayḥān secretly plotted with the Maliks, and began to excite them all greatly to envy of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam's power, and malicious eyes were beginning to regard his brilliant position with repugnance, and they conspired whether, in some hunting-ground, or the defiles of some passes, or in crossing some river, they might not injure or afflic the sacred person and august body of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam: "They endeavour to extinguish the light of God with [the breath of] their mouths, but God rejects aught but the perfection of His light?," continued to shield the Ulugh Khānī good fortune with His own protection, and gave no opportunity to his enemies to injure his gentle nature and noble person. Since that which was conceived in the hearts of that faction was not easily carried out, they concerted together, and, assembling before the entrance of the royal tent, represented for the regal consideration, that it was advisable that a mandate should be conveyed to Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam that he should proceed towards his own sīf⁸, and to this effect they caused a mandate to be conveyed to him; and, from the halting-place of Hasīrah¹, on Tuesday, the last day² of the month of Muḥarram, 651 H., Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, with his retinue and family and dependents, departed towards Hānsī³

⁷ Kurān, chap. ix. verse 32.
⁸ Not "estates," but a province.
⁹ Compare Elliot here. There is nothing in the text about "indirectly" or about being "brought about in a left-handed way." The Printed Text has —— the left wing of an army instead of the name of a halting place.
¹ The name of this place is extremely doubtful, and there is no knowing exactly where to look for it, as we do not know from what part they were returning. The following are the different ways in which it is written, as near as types will permit: — and ——. One copy—a very modern one, and the Calcutta Printed Text have — which means the left wing of an army, left side, &c., which in Elliot, as said above, has been turned into "brought about in a left-handed way;" but the words "halting place" along with it show that it is intended for the name of a place of some sort. See also under the reign, page 693, and note 7.
² Under the reign — first of the month; here — last day.
³ The name of this place is derived from the tribe named Hans.
When the sublime standards returned again to the capital, and the prickings of the thorn of envy towards Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam were afflicting the darkness-filled heart of 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān, he, consequently, represented for the royal consideration: "It may be advisable that a command should be issued to Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam to proceed to Nāg-awr, and that the Hānsī territory should be given in charge to one of the Princes of the Universe." — May God long preserve their lives! In conformity with that counsel the sublime standards moved in the direction of Hānsī in order that Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam should depart to Nāg-awr; and this undertaking was entered upon in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 651 H.

On reaching Hānsī, 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān became Wakīl-i-Dar [Representative in Dar-bār], and he took into his own hands the direction of affairs within the hall of the pavilion of majesty, and, according to the promptings of that envy and malevolence, the office of Ḍāzi of the kingdom was taken from this servant of the state, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in the month of Rajab of the before-mentioned year, and was committed to Ḍāzi Shams-ud-Dīn, the Bharā'īji; and, on the 17th [27th?] of the month of Shawwāl, [the Sultan and his forces] returned to the capital. Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak-i-Kashli Khān,—on whom be peace!—who was the brother of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, the Amir-i-Ḥājib, they sent to the sief of Karah, and the office of Deputy Amir-i-Ḥājib was consigned to Malik 'Īzz-ud-Dīn-i-Balbān, the son-in-law of Ḵutlugh Khān. Every one holding an office or employment which

---

4 In the month of Rabī’-ul-Awwal.
5 This, in other words, was to oust him from the sief of Hānsī and confine him to that of Nāg-awr. See note 6, below.
6 Differently stated under the reign, page 694, which see. There it is stated that he became Wakīl-i-Dar, after returning to the capital.
7 The words ʿallā u ḍāti- are rendered, in Elliot, page 370, "the royal orders," but, at page 369, the same words are rendered "the royal abode."
8 At page 695 our author says Prince Rukn-ud-Dīn [Firūz Shāh] was nominated to the office of Amir-i-Ḥājib and the sief of Hānsī. See also note 6 to that page, and page 708.
9 This does not refer to Malik 'Īzz-ud-Dīn, Balbān-i-Kashli Khān, but to the person who, subsequently, in 657 H., became ruler of Lakhanawaṭ!—'Īzz-ud-Dīn, Balbān-i-Yūz-Bakī. See page 770, and note 9 at page 775, para. 4.
appertained to Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam's patronage was removed and transferred; and the established affairs of a quiet kingdom were deranged by the pernicious counsel of 'Imâd-ud-Dîn-i-Rayhân.

During the period that Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam had gone to Nâg-awr, he led the troops of Islâm towards the territory of Rantabhûr, Bhundî, and Chitrûr. The Râe of Rantabhûr, Nâhâr Diw, who is the greatest of the Râes, and the most noble and illustrious of the Malik of Hind, assembled an army in order that perchance he might be able to inflict a disaster upon Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam. Since the Most High and Holy God had willed that the renown of His Highness, Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam, for victory, triumph, and success, should endure upon the records of time, the whole of that army of Râe Nâhâr Diw, notwithstanding it was very numerous, well provided with arms, and elephants, with choice horses, and famous Râwats, he put to the rout, and the heroic men sent great numbers of the enemy to hell. Vast booty was captured, and horses and captives beyond computation were taken. Safe and rich, under the protection of the Creator, Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam returned again to the province of Nâg-awr, and that place, through his felicitous presence, became a large city.

When the new year of 652 H. came round, a change took

---

1 His own contingent of troops—the forces of his fief.

2 Also spelt Bhundî. The "official" Printed Text, by a great blunder, makes Hindi of this well-known place, and, in Elliot, of course, it is the same.

3 This was the second time Ulugh Khan had encountered him. In some copies here, as well as in a previous place, we have Bâhir or Bâhar, but in others Nâhâr—Nâhâr Diw. Nâhâr is a Râjput name.

According to Tod, the state and city of Boondor, as he calls it, was only founded in the year [S.?] 1342—A.D. 1286, and yet this, our author's work, was finished in A.D. 1259!

4 Champions, heroes, in the vernacular.

5 Compare Elliot, vol. ii. page 371. The same word for captive—bârdah—is used here, as at page 350 of that work, and yet it is there declared that "It can hardly bear this meaning," and so it is turned into "beast of burden," from the verb burdan, to carry! See also at the end of this account of Ulugh Khan.

6 See under the reign, ninth year, pages 696–7, for an account of the expedition into the Do-âbah and Kâthehr. The events recorded in the reign and this account of Ulugh Khan together form a chronicle of the reign, but one
place in the condition of the number of oppressed, who, by
the hand of tyranny, and through removal from office,
occaisioned by the absence of Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, had
remained in a place of seclusion like unto fish without
water and the sick without sleep, from night to day, and,
day to night, continued to beseech the Holy Creator, that
the morn of the Ulugh Khānī prosperity might raise its
face from the east of power, and the darkness of the
Rayḥānī tyranny might be changed to the sun-light of the
Ulugh Khānī administration. The Most High God was
graciously pleased to grant the prayers of the afflicted,
and the appeals of the distressed, and was pleased to cause
the victorious standards of Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam to be
given to the wind from the preserved city of Nāg-awr,
towards, and with the design of proceeding to, the capital.

The reason was this, that the Malikis and servants of the
Sultān’s Court were all Turks of pure lineage, and Tājziks
of noble birth, and 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān, [who] was
castrated and mutilated, and of the tribes of Hind, was
ruling over, the heads of lords of high descent, and the
whole of them were loathing that state, and were unable
any longer to suffer that degradation. The case of this
frail individual was on this wise, that, for a period of six
months, or even longer, it was out of his power to leave
his dwelling and go to the Friday’s prayers, for fear of the
is incomplete without the other, as often the events mentioned in one are left
out in the other, or barely touched upon.

7 According to the version in Elliot, vol. ii. page 371, which see, it was
only “at the opening of the year,” that they “retired to their closets,” and
offered up their prayers “like fish out of water (sic), and sick men without
slumber”!—the Calcutta Printed Text, which is quite correct here has—

8 Our author, being one of those deprived of office, writes feelingly on this
subject. The I. O. L. MS., No. 1952, and R. A. S. MS. are both defective
here, in the same place, to the extent of two or three pages.

9 In fact, a Hindūstānī Musalmān, one of a Hindū family previously
converted to the Muḥammadan faith, or, possibly, a new convert.

Rayḥān is a common proper name of men among the Muḥammadans of
Egypt, and now commonly given to slaves, according to Lane, but the term
Rayḥānī means a Seller of Flowers, and, possibly, this upstart’s father followed
such an occupation.

1 This alone indicates what a Sultān it was—a mere puppet in the hands of
the strongest party.

2 In Elliot, instead of our author being obliged to stay at home for six
months, as the printed text has, like other copies, all those, who “retired to
violence of a gang of villains who were patronized by 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān: so the condition of others, every one of whom consisted of Turks and conquering, ruling, and foe-breaking, Maliks, may well be conceived. How could they continue under this disgrace?

In short, the Maliks of Hindūstān⁵, namely, from the territory of Karah and Mānik-pūr, and Awadh and the district of Tirhut, as far as Budā‘ūn, and from the side of Tabarhindah as far as Sunām, Kuhrām, and Sāmānah, and the whole of the Siwālikh [country], prayed Ulugh Khān-i-A‘zam to return to the capital⁴. Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, brought forth a body of troops from Tabarhindah, and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Bat Khān-i-I-bak, the Khītā-i, issued from Sunām and Maṃsūr-pūr, and Ulugh Khān-i-A‘zam assembled forces from Nāg-awr and the Siwālikh, and Malik Jālāl-ud-Dīn, Mas‘ūd Shāh⁶, son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn [I-yal-timish], from the side of Lohor joined them, and they turned their faces towards the environs of the capital.

‘Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān represented to the Sulṭān that the sublime standards should move out for the purpose of repelling his own servants, and they [the Sulṭān and his adviser] marched the forces from Dihlī towards Sunām, for that purpose⁸. Ulugh Khān-i-A‘zam, with the other Maliks, was in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah; and the author set out from the capital for the purpose of joining the royal camp, because it was impossible for him to remain in the city [of Dihlī] without the presence of the sublime Court⁷. On Monday, the 26th of the month of

their closets to pray like fish out of water,” &c., are all made to suffer “from the hands of the bullies” of ‘Imād-ud-Dīn, “so that for six months they could not leave their houses”!

⁵ This explains what he means by Hindūstān, and which I have previously alluded to.

⁴ See under the reign, page 699. There it is said that these Maliks gathered about Malik Jālāl-ud-Dīn, Mas‘ūd Shāh, the Sulṭān’s brother, not about Ulugh Khān, but that the latter, with others, joined the prince, who is there made the ringleader in this outburst.

⁶ See pages 683 and 699, and note ⁴, page 818. More on this subject will be found in the last Section. Lāhor, at this time, was not under the sway of the ruler of Dihlī, apparently, and Jālāl-ud-Dīn, Mas‘ūd Shāh, is said to have gone to the Mughals.

⁷ Compare Elliot here also.

⁸ In Elliot, page 372, this is rendered: “The author of this book started
Ramażān, 652 H., the author reached the royal camp, and, on Lailat-ul-Ḵadr⁶ [the night of Power], in the public apartment of the august Sulṭān’s [pavilion], he offered up prayer.

On the second day [after the author’s arrival], on Wednesday, the 28th of the before-named month, whilst on the march, both armies drew near towards each other, and the advance guards came in contact, and immense disorder arose among the Sulṭān’s forces. The prayers appropriate to the ‘Īd-i-Ḵiṭr [the festival of Fast-breaking—1st of the month Shawwāl] were performed at Sunām. On Saturday, the 8th of the month of Shawwāl, the sublime standards made a retrograde movement towards Hānsī, and Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas’ūd Shāh [the Sulṭān’s brother], and Ulugh Khān-i-A’zam, with the other illustrious Maliks, marched towards Kaithal⁹.

A number of Maliks and Amīrs on both sides [now] spoke about a mutual accommodation of affairs, and the Sipah-Sālār [leader of troops] Karah-Jamāk¹, one of the personal slaves of Ulugh Khān-i-A’zam, who was noted for manliness, arrived from his chief’s camp, and the Amīr of the black standard, Ḫusām-ud-Dīn, Ḫutluqgh Shāh⁴, that Amīr of angelic attributes, of great sincerity, and excellent disposition, who was qualified above the other Amīrs of the capital for the royal camp, which was stationed [sic] in the city near the royal residence”¹ The Sulṭān and his party were, at this time, near Sunām.

⁶ The 27th of the month of Ramażān—the fast month. This night is greatly revered, because on it the Kur‘ān, according to the Musalmān belief, began to descend from heaven. On this night all orthodox Muḥammadans continue in fervent prayer, imagining that every petition then offered up to the Almighty will be favourably received. The occasion must have been pressing to cause active operations to be undertaken during the fast month.

⁹ See under the reign, page 699. There these events are differently related.

¹ He was Ulugh Khān’s right-hand man, his Chief of the Staff so to say. Whether he was so styled as well as “General” in Ulugh Khān’s Army List I cannot pretend to say.

In one of the oldest copies the name is written كارا خمیج. Chamāq signifies a six-horned or six-spiked mace. The Calcutta Printed Text, in a foot-note, has جمیال but it does not occur in any copy of the text collated.

² He is not mentioned either in the List of the Shamsī Maliks, nor in that of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh.
Islām by his age⁴, was nominated, on this side [the Court's], to treat, and [on the other side] the Sipah-Sālār, Ḵarāb-Jamāḵ, while Malik Ḵūṯb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain⁴, son of 'Alī, the Ghūrī—on whom be peace!—made use of every effort and endeavour that was possible to bring the matter to an accommodation. The representation of the whole of the Maliks to His Majesty was this: "We all bow our heads in submission to the mandates of the Court, the Asylum of the Universe, save that we are not safe from the malice, deceit, and iniquitous conduct of 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān. If he should be removed from before the sublime throne of sovereignty, and sent away to some part, we all will present ourselves and return to allegiance, and lay the head of servitude on the line of obedience to the sublime mandates".

When the sublime standards moved from within sight of Ḥānsi towards Jīnd [Jhind], on Monday, the 22nd of the month of Šawwāl, 652 H., 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān was removed from the office of Wakil-i-Dar [Representative in Dar-bār]; and praise be unto God for this and all other blessings! The government of the province of Budā'ūn⁵ was committed to him⁷; and 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban [-i-Yūz-Bakī], the Deputy Amir-i-Ḫājīb, proceeded to the camp of Ulugh Khrān-i-A'zam, and, on Tuesday, the 3rd of the month of Zī-Ka'dah, Malik Bat Khrān-i-I-bak, the Khīṭā-i—on whom be the Almighty's mercy!—reached the [royal] camp for the purpose of concluding the reconciliation. Here is a strange occurrence which happened, of the matter

---

⁴ In some copies here, as in other places, Ḥasan. He seems to have acted peacemaker between the two factions.
⁵ The domineering proceedings over these great chiefs of this eunuch, who was a Hindū by birth or descent, have been styled, by a modern writer, an effort to shake off the Turk tyranny and give power to Hindūstāns!
⁶ This was the greatest fief of the kingdom in Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yaltimish's reign, and was so, probably, still. There is not a word about "privileges attaching to the government" in any copy of the text, printed or otherwise.
⁷ A solitary copy of the text, one of the St. Petersburg MSS., after this word, has "and it was three years and six days, and may Almighty God preserve our sovereign," &c., as though it was meant thereby that the eunuch had held power for that time, but the period was much less—from Muḥarram 651 H. to Zī-Ka'dah 652, just one year and eleven months.
of which the author was cognizant, and it is this. 'Imād-ud-Din-i-Rayḥān conspired with a number of Turks⁸, in whose hearts somewhat of the leaven of opposition towards Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam was implanted, that, when Malik Bat Khān-i-I-bak, the Khīṭā-i, should reach the entrance of the royal tent, they should cut him down in the vestibule of the tent, so that, when intimation of it should reach the camp of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, they [the confederate Maliks] should bring 'Izz-ud-Din, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī⁹, the Deputy Amīr-i-Ḥājib, under the sword also, and this accommodation should not come about, so that 'Imād-ud-Din-i-Rayḥān might continue in safety, and Ulugh Khān's return to the Court be impossible.

Malik Kūtb-ud-Din, Ḥusain¹, son of 'Aṭī, Ghūrī, on becoming aware of this intention, despatched the Ulugh-i-Khāṣ Ḥājib² [the Chief Royal Chamberlain], the Sharf-ul-Mulk, Rashīd-ud-Din, 'Ali, Ḥanafī, to Malik Bat Khān-i-I-bak, the Khīṭā-i [saying]:—"It is advisable that you remain quiet in your own quarters to-morrow morning, and do not go to the entrance of the royal tent. As Malik Bat Khān-i-I-bak, in accordance with this advice, delayed proceeding to the entrance of the royal tent³, the scheme of 'Imād-ud-Din-i-Rayḥān with those hostile Turks⁴ did not succeed, and the grandees gained a knowledge of it. 'Imād-ud-Din-i-Rayḥān, in obedience to the sublime mandate, was sent away from the royal camp towards Budā'ūn; and, on Tuesday, the 17th of the month of Zi-Ka'dah, the Sultān of Sultāns, and the Maliks of the sublime Court,

⁸ There is not a word about "Turks of low degree" in the text.
⁹ The same person who is referred to in para. 4 of note to page 775 and at page 827, who afterwards became feudatory of Lakhānawat. He was Kutlugh Khān's—the Sultān's step-father's—son-in-law. Kutlugh Khān was himself of the Rayḥānī party.
¹ In some, Ḥasan, as before.
² Under the reign our author mentions the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and the Malik-ul-Ḥujjāb, and, here, the Ulugh-i-Khāṣ Ḥājib. This last is an official never before mentioned, and seems to refer to the chief chamberlain of the Sultān's own household, as distinct from the other Ḥājibās. The literal translation of the words would be—Great Personal or Private Chamberlain.
³ The entrance or vestibule of the tent where those waiting an audience would assemble. The word for tent is in the singular, but a suite of tents is meant.
⁴ Among the hostile Turks the Sultān's step-father, Kutlugh Khān, was, no doubt, included, and this is apparent from what afterwards happens.
commanded this servant of the state, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between both parties, so that he proceeded [to the other camp] and gave them pledges and guarantees. The next day, Wednesday, the 18th, Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, with the other Malikṣ, returned and presented themselves at the sublime Court, and obtained permission to kiss the sovereign's hand. Praise be to God for this and other blessings!

The sublime standards were now brought back, and Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, in attendance at the king's august stirrup, on Wednesday, the 9th of the month of Zi-Ḥijjah, 652 H., again returned to the capital city of Dihlī. During the period of Ulugh Khān's absence from the capital, the rain of mercy had not rained upon the land, but by the wisdom of the Divine favour, at the blessed footsteps of Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, the gate of the Divine mercy opened, and rain, which is the source of life to herbs and vegetation, mankind and animals, fell upon the ground; and all people accounted his auspicious arrival an omen of good unto mortals. On the arrival of his august cavalcade, all became glad and rejoiced, and gave thanks unto Almighty God for that immense boon.

When the new year 653 H. came round, on account of some occurrence which manifested itself in the womens' apartments of the royal household, with the secret of which not a soul had any acquaintance, on Wednesday, the 7th of the month of Muḥarram of the same year, Kutlugh Khān was directed to assume the government of Awadh, and he set out in that direction. At that time the government of Bharāʾīj was entrusted to Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān.

5 Compare Elliot.
6 See Elliot also here.
7 The cause is stated under the reign. The Sultan's mother seems to have contracted a second marriage with Kutlugh Khān—respecting whose antecedents not a word of particulars is given, nor is his name contained in the List of Malikṣ—without the knowledge or permission of her son. She had been with the latter in that part when, as a boy of thirteen, he held the sief of Bharāʾīj, and this may have been the reason why it was assigned to her and her new husband. See page 676.
8 At page 701, Tuesday, the 6th of Muḥarram.
9 Just before he is said to have been sent to take charge of Budāʿīn. He may have been subsequently removed to Bharāʾīj, but this is not mentioned.
When the Ulugh Khānī good fortune emitted a blaze of brightness, the garden of hope assumed freshness, and the key of divine favour opened the closed gates of the dwellers in retirement. One of that number was this servant of the sovereign dynasty, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī, who, by the power of enemies’ accusations, and the oppressive tyranny of eunuchs, had kept within the cell of dismissal and misfortune, and in a retired corner from adversity and malevolence. Through the patronage and favour of Ulugh Khān-i-A’zam, who submitted it for the sublime confirmation, on Sunday, the 7th of the month of Rabī‘-ul-Awwal, 653 H., for the third time, the Ḵāzīl-ship of the kingdom and the bench of jurisdiction [as chief Ḵāzī] was conferred upon this loyal supplicant, the enunciator of prayer and thanksgiving; and “Verily, He who hath prescribed to thee the Kurān will bring thee back to a place of return” was manifested towards this frail one. May the most High God, of His favour, unto the uttermost revolutions of the heavens, in felicity and supremacy, preserve and perpetuate the Nāṣirī sovereignty and Ulugh Khānī authority, for the sake of Muḥammad and his whole race!

After Kutlugh Khān proceeded towards Awadh, a considerable period elapsed, [when] the eventualities of destiny became the cause of disaffection displaying itself, and, on several occasions, mandates, which were issued on that subject, were treated with indifference. ’Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān still continued to use great efforts to enkindle the.

A little farther on it is said that Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar, had been appointed to the charge of Bharā’īj. See also under the reign.

1 “In a corner retired from clamour and the cruel joy of others.” See page 829, and note 5.

9 A month after this, on the 23rd of Rabī‘-ul-Ḵānir, 653 H., that illustrious Malik, Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of ’Ali, the Ghūrī, was put to death in a mysterious manner, and his sief made over to Ulugh Khān’s brother. See page 702, and note 5.

3 Kurān, chap. xxviii. verse 85. Sale’s translation of this verse is “Verily He, who hath given thee the Koran for a rule of faith and practice, will certainly bring thee back home to Mecca,” but others translate the last part of the verse as “a place of return,” or “some retreat,” that is, a future state. The verse some commentators says was revealed to Muḥammad to comfort him in his flight from Makkah.

4 This seems to refer to Kutlugh Khān’s plotting with ’Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān, and not giving up Bharā’īj to Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar, referred to farther on.
fires of sedition in order that, perhaps, he might, by fraud and deception, with the mud-mortar of his own vicious artifice, overspread the sun of Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam's good fortune, and veil the moon of that great chief's glory with the cloak of his own knavery, but the favour of the Eternal without beginning, and the all-sufficiency of the Eternal without end, used to be the averter of that depravity.

Malik Taj-ud-Din, Sanjar-i-Mah-Peshani [of the moon-like brow]—God preserve him!—who had been detained and imprisoned by Malik Kutlugh Khan, and to whom the government of Bharaij had been entrusted by the Court, and on which account he had fallen into captivity, by his own manly stratagem, freed himself from Awadh, and the hands of wicked wretches, crossed the river Sar'ū in a boat, and, with a small force, advanced towards Bharaij. The decree of the Creator was on such wise that the prosperity of the Turks rose victorious, and the influence of the Hindūs sank into the dust of defeat. 'Imād-ud-Din-i-Rayhān fled discomfited before him, and was taken prisoner, and the sun of his existence set in death.

By the death of 'Imād-ud-Din-i-Rayhān, the affairs of Malik Kutlugh Khan declined, and he ['Imād-ud-Din-i-Rayhān] met his doom at Bharaij, in the month of Rajab, 653 H. Since those seditions still continued in Hindustān, and some of the Amirs withdrew their heads from the yoke of obedience to the sublime Court, with the necessity of quelling that sedition and tranquillizing the servants of the victorious Nāširi dynasty, the sublime standards were put here.

6 Compare Elliot here also.—The Calcutta Printed Text has لغز for لغز here.
6 There are several Taj-ud-Din, Sanjars, among the Malikis, two of whom, Nos. XVII. and XIX., lived at this period, but this must be a different person from either of them. Under the reign he is called a Sihwastānī. See page 703, and note 7.
7 The old city of Awadh is probably referred to.
8 The Sar'ū—کاظمی Gazetteerized into Sarjoo, Sarjou, &c.: Bharaij is on its E. bank.
9 'Imād-ud-Din-i-Rayhān, on the strength of Malik Kutlugh Khan's support, who, seemingly, belonged to the same party, refused to give up Bharaij to Taj-ud-Din, Sanjar. The Sulṭān's mother, Kutlugh Khan's wife, was, evidently, of the Rayhānī party also, and this may probably account for their being sent away to Awadh so suddenly.
1 See under the reign, page 703, where the accounts of these events are very differently related.
in motion from the capital, Dihlī, on Thursday, the last day of the month of Shawwāl, 653 H., with the intention of marching into Hindūstān. When the royal tent was pitched at Talh-pat⁵, as the [contingent] forces of the Siwālikh⁶ [districts], which were the fiefs of Ulugh Ḵān-i-Aʿẓam, had been delayed in the completion of their equipment for the expedition, Ulugh Ḵān-i-Aʿẓam set out for Hānsī from the camp at Talh-pat, on Sunday, the 17th of the month of Zi-Ḵaʿdah, 653 H. On reaching the Hānsī territory, he, with the utmost celerity, issued his mandate, so that, in the space of fourteen days, the troops of the Siwālikh, Hānsī, Sursūṭī, Jīnd [Jhind], and Barwālah⁷, and confines of that territory, assembled so fully organized and equipped, numerous, and well provided with warlike apparatus, that you would say they were a mountain of iron when still, and a tempestuous sea when in motion⁸. He reached the capital, Dihlī [with this force], on the 3rd of the month of Zi-Ḥijjah, and halted at the capital seventeen days for the purpose of further completing his preparations, and for the purpose of directing the assembling of the [contingent] troops of the Koh-pāyah of Mewāt. On the 19th of Zi-Ḥijjah, with an army resplendent with arms, and ranks arrayed with warriors, he proceeded towards the Sultān’s camp; and in the month of Muḥarram, 654 H., they [the Sultān and his army] reached the frontiers of Awadh.

Malik Ḵutlugh Ḵān⁹, and those Amirs who followed him—notwithstanding they were all vassals of the sublime Court, still, through contingencies and urgent obstacles of fate, the countenance of their good-fortune was strewn with dust—left Awadh and crossed the river Sarʿū, and receded before the royal army. By the sublime command, in the

---

⁵ Also written Tal-pat, about thirteen miles S.S.E. of the present city of Dihlī.
⁶ There is not a word in the text, printed or otherwise, about Siwālik hills or "these mountains." See Elliot here.
⁷ The Burwala of the Indian Atlas, in Lat. 75° 59', Long. 28° 22'.
⁸ Compare Elliot also here.
⁹ These events are related very differently under the reign, so much so indeed, that any one might suppose they were the events of a different period. Here there is not the least allusion to Malik Bak-Tamur’s defeat and death. See page 703.
month of Muḥarram, 654 H., Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿẓam, with numerous forces, started in pursuit of them, but, as separation had taken place among them, through the obstacles of the jungals of Hindūstān, the deep ravines, and denseness of numerous forests, Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿẓam did not find them. He pushed on until near to Bādī-ḵot, and the frontiers of Tīrhuṭ, and ravaged the whole of the independent [Hindū] tribes and Šāies, and faced about to return to the sublime threshold, with vast booty, in safety and in opulence. Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿẓam, with the troops, having crossed the river Sarʿū, from Awadh, the sublime standards were directed to return to the capital. When Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿẓam, from pursuing those [disaffected] Amīrs, turned his face to return to the Sultān’s encampment, he reached it in the limits of Kasmandah and, on Saturday, the 16th of the month of Rabiʿ-ul-Awwal, 654 H., [the entire force] crossed the river Gangā, and they

7 Under the tenth year of the reign our author states that the Sultān, with his army, advanced towards Awadh, on which Kūltugh Khān retired before him, and the Sultān moved towards Kā-λair, and then Ulugh Khān was despatched in pursuit of the rebels. He, however, did not come up with them, and he returned, and rejoined the Sultān’s camp. All this is said to have taken place in 653 H.; and, when the new year came round, in Muḥarram—the first month—654 H., the Sultān’s forces, after achieving this success—the success of putting Kūltugh Khān to flight and not catching him—and the Sultān, turned their faces towards Dihlī, and reached it on the 4th of Rabiʿ-ul-Ākhir, just three months after.

As soon as Kūltugh Khān became aware of the return of the Sultān’s troops towards Dihlī—where they reached on the 4th of Rabiʿ-ul-Ākhir 654 H., as stated above—he began to lay hands upon the districts of Karāh and Mānīk-pūr, to the south of Awadh, and only found it necessary to take to the northern hills after he had been defeated in an encounter with Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjār. There is great difference in these accounts. See also page 704, and note 4.

8 Not “They had, however, got a good start;” the words of the text are: جنون تفرده بديشان زار ببيثة—Tarār[i]—Zalāli—The marshy forest at the foot of the Sub-Himālayah.

1 This name is very doubtful, and is written in various ways. The best and oldest copies are as follows, according to the age and dependence to be placed in them: بیو کور-سمی کور-بیک کور-بیک کور-بیک کور-بیک کور-بیک کور-بیک کور. The “Calcutta” Text has . See also pages 704, 759, and 760.

2 Or Kasmandā; it is written both ways, but, as above, in the oldest copies. It is the name of a town, now much decayed, giving name to the parganah.

3 All the copies of the text collated, with the exception of two, are defective here.
reached the illustrious seat of government, Dihli, on the 4th of Rabī‘-ul-Ākhir.

As Malik Ḑutlugh Khān found it impossible to make any further resistance within the limits of Hindūstān, he came, through the midst of the independent [Hindū] tribes, towards Santūr⁴, and in that mountainous tract sought shelter, and took up his abode⁵. All [the people of that part] were wont to serve him, for he was a great Malik, and one among the grandees, and a servant of the Court⁶, and one of the Turk Maliks, and had just claims upon them all. Wherever he used to come, on account of what was owed him for the past, and having regard for the possible issue of his affairs, they were wont to hold him in veneration. When he sought safety and protection in the Santūr mountains, Rānah Raḥ-pāl⁷ [Raḥ-pāla], the Hindī, who held the chiefship among the Hindūs—and it was the usage among that people to protect those who sought shelter with them—assisted⁸ Malik Ḑutlugh Khān.

When the report of that came to the sublime hearing, the royal standards, in the beginning of the month of Rabī‘-ul-Awwal, 655 H., moved towards Santūr, and Ulugh Khān-i-A’gam, with his own personal forces, and the Maliks of the Court [with their troops], used great exertions in those mountains, and carried on holy war, as by the faith enjoined, in the defiles of the hills and passes, and on the crests of the mountains of Santūr, in describing which the eye of intellect would be bewildered, gained the advantage [over the infidels], and penetrated as far as the fort and territory of Sīlmūr [i. e. Sirmūr]⁹,

---

⁴ His object, in proceeding towards Santūr or Santūr-garh [Lat. 30° 24′, Long. 78° 5′], according to the statement under the reign, was to reach the Bīh and Lāhor, after he had been defeated by Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, which seems to be referred to at page 836, but our author's account is very confused.

⁵ There is not a word about chiefs.

⁶ They were also doubtless aware that he had married the Sulṭān's mother.

⁷ In one old copy, it is plainly written as above, a correct Hindū name, from Raḥ—battle, &c.

⁸ Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 375.

⁹ Nāhūn or Nāhun, a very old place, situated on the acclivity of a mountain, the defiles leading to which were fortified, in ancient times, was called the shahr—city or town—of Sīlmūr or Sirmūr, and the territory belonging to it was also called by the same name. From the description given of it by
which is in the possession of that great Rāe. All the Rāes round about pay homage to him and do his bidding. He fled before the army of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam; and the whole of the market-place and city [town?] of Sīlmūr was plundered by the Musalmān troops. The followers of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam acquired power over a place where the troops of Islām, in any reign, had never before penetrated; and, by the grace of the favour of the Creator, the Glorious, the Most High, and the aid of the Divine assistance, with great booty, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam [with his forces] reached the sublime presence, and the illustrious capital, Dihlī, under the shadow of the august standards of the kingdom, on the 25th of the month of Rābī'-ul-Ākhīr, 655 H.

On the return of the sublime standards to the capital, Malik Ḫutlugh Khān issued from the mountains of Santūr, and Malik 'Īzz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, had [previously] marched out of the territory of Sind and advanced to the vicinity of the river Bīāh. These two great Malik [with their followers] effected a junction together, and turned their faces towards Sāmānāh and Kūṯrām, and began to take possession of the country. When intimation of that assemblage and this audacity reached the royal hearing, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak-i-Kashlī Khān [his brother], with other Maliks of the Court, and troops, were appointed to proceed for the purpose of quelling this sedition.

Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam moved from Dihlī on Thursday, the 15th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 655 H., and pushed on with the utmost expedition to the limits of Kaithal; and Malik 'Īzz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān

modern travellers, and the remains of ancient buildings, it must have been a strong place.

1 If he fled, where was the fighting?—the “holy war as by the faith enjoined”

2 See the account of Malik 'Īzz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, page 784. At this time, he had thrown off his allegiance to Dihlī, he had been to Hūlākū’s camp, had received a Mughal Shaḥnāh [Intendant], and had sent a grandson to the Mughals as a pledge of his own fidelity. This advance from Utschah and Multān was, evidently, with the object of aiding Kutlugh Khān, and invading the Dihlī territory. The Bīāh, at this period, flowed in its former bed, as mentioned in a previous note.

3 See under the reign, page 707, and note 7.
and Malik Kutlugh Khan were in that vicinity. When they drew near towards each other—all brethren and all friends of each other, two hosts of one dynasty, two cavalcades of one Court, two armies of one habitation, two wings of one main body—never could there be a case more wonderful than this! All were cronies of one purse, and messmates over one dish, between whom, Satan, the accursed, disclosed such discord. A gang of demon-natured men, for their own carnal objects, and of their infernal malignity, were sowing dissension among those brethren and were raising the banner of sedition, and, for the aggrandisement of their own affairs, were setting things by the ears. Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam, in accordance with his own wise policy, was keeping his own personal followers together with those of Malik Sher Khan-i-Sunkar, who was his brother and the son of his paternal uncle, separate from the troops of [the contingents forming] the centre of the Sultan's forces, and Malik Saif-ud-Din, I-bak-i-Kashli Khan, the Amir-i-Hajib, who was his own full brother, with the Maliks of the Court, and the [contingent] troops of the centre, and the elephants, separate also, in such wise that those two columns of the army were appearing like two efficient and distinct hosts.

The both armies [the Sultan's and the rebels'] came into near proximity to each other in the vicinity of Sammadah and Kaithal, and all were in expectation of an engagement, when the intriguing among the turban-wearers [i.e. ecclesiastics] of the capital, Dihli, indited

4 This last simile is somewhat differently expressed in a few copies where حور—a cavity or hollow is used for اور—a troop or body, &c. Compare Elliot here, vol. ii. page 377.

5 Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Balban-i-Kashli Khan, can hardly, by our author's own account, for the reasons mentioned in the previous note, page 840, have been considered as a subject of Dihli at this time.

6 That is to say, like a brother to him. He was, by relationship, his cousin. The object of Ulugh Khan in keeping his own personal forces—not "the household troops"—on whom he could depend, separate, is evident, as also the object of stationing his brother with the other Maliks. The Sultan's mother, Kutlugh Khan's wife, who, evidently, was the cause of a good deal of this sedition, if not the whole of it, was also present with the disaffected party.

7 Compare Elliot. The original is plain enough in the printed text. See also page 708, and note.
letters to Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, and Malik Kutlugh Khān, and entreated them, saying: "The gates of the city are in our hands: it behoveth you to move towards the city, for it is denuded of troops. You are among the servants and supporters of the sublime Court, and are nothing alien intervening. When you shall come hither, and shall attach yourselves to the service of the exalted throne of sovereignty, Ulugh Khān, with that army [now with him], will remain outside, and affairs will come to pass according to desire; and this, which is stated [herein], will be rendered easy and brought to pass."

A number of persons among the loyal adherents of the Sulṭān's Court, and well-wishers of Ulugh Khān-i-A'żam's service ⁸, on becoming aware of this hostility and design of theirs [the turban-wearers'], with all despatch, wrote a statement and sent it to Ulugh Khān-i-A'żam, and, from Ulugh Khān-i-A'żam, a representation reached the sublime throne, to the effect that the disaffected parties should be expelled from the city, the whole of which circumstances are recorded in the account of the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Din Maḥmūd Shāh,—whose glory God preserve!—and, in the details thereof, the names of the persons concerned are mentioned ⁹. May Almighty God overlook their enmity, and cause them to repent of it!

During this state of affairs while the two armies were in close proximity to each other, a person of a certain name, whom they were wont to call the son of so-and-so, came [to Ulugh Khān's camp] as a spy on the part of Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, and made out that he was come to present himself to Ulugh Khān-i-A'żam, and [pretended], on the part of the Maliks and Amīrs who were supporting Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, to represent that they all desired to make their submission in Ulugh Khān's presence, and that, if a deed of immunity were granted, and the right hand pledged, assurance given, and means of subsistence and a fief assigned to himself who had presented himself before Ulugh Khān, he would

---

⁸ Among the first of whom was our author, no doubt.
⁹ The fact of the matter is that, generally, what is detailed there is slurred over here, and what is slurred over there is detailed here. See also page 785.
bring over all the Malik and Amirs of Malik Balban-i-
Kashlū Khān’s party, and cause them to be ranged on the
series of the other servants [of the state] 1.

As Ulugh Khān-i-A’zam, in secret, had become cognizant
of the bent of that individual, he commanded that the
whole of the troops should be paraded before him, in such
wise that he might behold the whole force with their arma-
ment, their numbers, their efficiency, and the elephants,
and horses in defensive armour 2. Then Ulugh Khān-
i-A’zam directed that a letter should be written secretly
and clandestinely to the Amirs and Malik of Malik
Balban-i-Kashlū Khān’s party saying: “Your communica-
tions have come under observation, and the purport thereof
has been understood. There is no doubt that, if, in an
obedient manner, you shall present yourselves, fiefs and
suitable subsistence will be assigned to you; indeed even
more; and, if the contrary should happen, on this day it
will be manifest and evident unto mortals what the upshot
of each one’s affairs will come to by the wound of the
flashing sword and flaming spear, and, when confounded
and humbled, bound in the bonds of destiny, they are
dragged to the foot of the sublime standards and banners.”
When that letter, after the manner of honey mixed with
gall, a sting with sweet drink, and graciousness with rigour,
was written, and that person went back again, and related
to Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān—The Almighty have him
in His keeping!—all that he had seen and heard, those
having an insight into the human mind will conceive to
what the state of antagonism between the Malik and
Amirs and the agent [deputed] would reach,

1 Compare Elliot.
2 What this defensive armour was like may be gathered from some of the
ancient illuminated historical MSS. in the Persian language.
3 But the letter was not given to him. The Calcutta Printed Text, following
a modern copy, has, “and had shown the letter,” but this is not so in the
oldest copies of the text. It stands to reason that, if Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban’s
spy, had brought that letter to his camp, much less shown it to that Malik
himself, the latter would have known that it was a mere ruse, and could have
suppressed the said letter, but the letter was written by command of Ulugh
Khān as if addressed to Izz-ud-Dīn Balban’s partisans, that it might fall into
Izz-ud-Dīn Balban’s hands and rouse suspicion in his mind, that his own par-
tisans were negotiating with the other party. The modern copies of the text,
generally, are minus about two lines here.
In the meantime the letters from the city of Dihli reached them, and Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, and Malik Kutlugh Khān turned their faces towards the capital, but returned again from thence without having effected their object [as previously narrated].

Two days subsequently, their design became known to Ulugh Khān-i-A'żam, and he became disturbed in mind as to how affairs might be [going on] at the Court, and before the throne of sovereignty, when, after the happening of this strange circumstance [the arrival of the spy in his camp] letters reached him from the city. He set out for the capital, and reached it safe and prosperous under the protection of the Creator, and under the Divine guardianship and keeping, on Monday, the 10th of the month of Jamādi-ul-Ākhir, 653 H.

The royal troops continued at the city of Dihli for a period of seven months, until, in the month of Zi-Hijjah of the before mentioned year, an army of infidel Mughals arrived in the territory of Sind, and the head of those accursed ones was the Nū-yin, Sāri. Since Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān had brought a Shahnāh [Intendant] of that people thither, as a matter of necessity, he had to go to them, and they [the Mughals] dismantled the defences of the citadel of Multān. On intimation of this reaching his

---

4 These are the letters referred to at page 842—not fresh letters. This passage, with respect to the letter referred to in the previous note, and the letters mentioned at page 842, is thus rendered in ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 378. “When the letter was delivered to the officers of Balban, the wise among them perceived its drift, and knew that the dissensions between the nobles and generals would be settled elsewhere (yakhd): Fresh letters now arrived from Dehi, and Malik Balban and Katlugh Khān set forth in that direction and showed no intention of returning!! There is nothing of this kind in the Printed Text, nor in any MSS. copy. See under the reign, page 707, and in the account of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, where these events are given in detail.

5 The patrols of Ulugh Khān’s army could not have kept a very sharp look-out in this case.

6 See under the reign, pages 708—710, where our author relates differently, and also note 1.

7 At page 710, the date given is the 14th of that month.

8 In other places he is styled Sālin and Sālīf, which last is the same as Sārī, being interchangeable with r

9 See the account of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, page 786.

10 In ELLIOT [vol. ii. page 378], this passage is rendered:—“‘When their general brought in this army, Malik Balban went to them of necessity, and the forces of the fort of Multan fell back,” but the Calcutta Printed Text,
august hearing, Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam represented for the consideration of the sublime Court, that it was advisable that the royal standards of the kingdom, conjoined with victory and triumph, should move from the capital. It was the year 656 H., and, on the 2nd of the month of Muḥarram of that year, the sublime standards, under an auspicious horoscope, moved out from the capital, and the Sultan's tent was set up outside, in sight of the city of Dihlī. In consultation with Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam, mandates were at once issued and despatched to all parts of the country, to the great Maliks and Lords of the kingdom, and on the confines, directing them all to turn their faces towards the capital, and, in the greatest possible state of efficiency, present themselves [with their contingents] at the sublime threshold. On the 10th of the month of Muḥarram, within the tent of sovereignty, which in victory and triumph be ever set up, and the ropes of its prosperity, be secured with the pegs of stability!—this suppliant, by command, delivered an exhortation, with the object of

although so often incorrect, is right in this instance. The compound verb here used is not necessarily faro-raštan, to subside, come down, &c., but the verb faro-raštan—the consonants are the same in both, but not the vowels—to sweep away, destroy, and the like.

The correct reading, as in all copies of the text, is evidently مارسکریمی حارم لان فارو رفتد literally:—They swept away, destroyed, the parapet wall, battlements, pinnacles, &c., of the citadel of Multān. The object of the Mughals, taken into consideration with the fact of their hassaging the frontiers of the Dihlī kingdom as far as the west bank of the Bīāh, at this period, is plain enough. Their object also will be further seen from the events mentioned in the last Section. Malik Balban gave Multān up to them as a vassal of their sovereign, and they then dismantled it, that it might not be an obstacle to them in future.

The 6th of the month at page 711.

It is usual to pitch a tent in this manner previous to undertaking a journey or expedition, but, in this case, it does not follow that the Sultan dwelt in it the whole time. In this instance, it was like "a sovereign setting up his standard" around which his troops assembled, in fact it is so stated just above. In Elliot, this passage is incorrectly rendered "Ulugh Khan advised his Majesty to set the royal army in motion, and, accordingly, it marched forth on the 2nd Muharram." It was not assembled yet, as our author plainly states. Mandates were issued for the Maliks to present themselves with their contingents. There is not a word either about collecting "all the forces they could."

Here, too, is an absurd mistake in the same work [page 379]: "On the 10th Muharram, the author received orders in the royal tent to compose an ode to stir up the feelings," &c. The words, as in the Printed Text also, are, عرد نلسیری which have nothing to do with odes.
stimulating to holy warfare, and the merit of fighting against infidels, and efforts to defend the glories of Islam, and serve the sublime Court, by obeying the orders of the legitimate commanders—May God increase the execution of His commands!—and Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam, with a body of troops in array, and attended by a numerous equipage, in association with the august stirrup of sovereignty, issued forth. All the Maliks joined [with their contingents], and all the troops united.

When intimation of this concentration reached the accursed [Mughals] and their camp, they did not advance beyond the frontiers which they had assailed and ravaged, and evinced no further audacity; but it was considered advisable that the army, for a period of four months, or even longer, should remain concentrated within sight of the city. Bodies of horse [during this period] used to go out in various directions, and make holy war upon the independent [Hindu] tribes, until, when news of the withdrawal of those accursed [Mughals] arrived, and the heart was freed of the

---

8 The words are خرمن آمد—came out, i.e. from the city to the camp, not that they "marched in company with his majesty." The force never moved out of sight of Dihli. The troops, which did come out of Dihli with the Sultan and Ulugh Khān, were personal followers, a large force in themselves. Those of the Sultan might be styled the household troops. Detachments of horse only were sent out, and those not against the Mughals.

6 This concentration of the forces of Dihli, if not intended as a defensive act, turned out to be one, and the Mughals were left to ravage the frontier provinces—which then appear not to have extended beyond the Bāih, that is, when it flowed in its old bed already referred to—with impunity. The state of Mewāt, and the independent Hindu tribes, appear to have prevented operations against the Mughals, as referred to at page 850. See also page 862, where our author states that Hulakū Khān was so good, out of regard for Ulugh Khān, as to direct his forces not to molest the frontiers of the Dihli kingdom, a sufficiently humiliating statement for our author to make.

This passage is rendered in Elliot [page 379]: "When the infidel Mughal heard of this host on the frontier he had assailed, he advanced no further and showed no spirit," &c. All the copies of the text are as above, even the "official" Calcutta Printed Text.

7 At page 712, "five months," but seven months was the correct period. See note 7 to that page. The kalb or [the troops forming the] centre of the Sultan's army returned to the city, from the camp outside, on the 1st of Ramadān.

The forces continued thus encamped in sight of the capital all the hot season, until the commencement of the rains. The year 656 H. began 7th January, 1258 A.D.—the year in which Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the other Barons, his supporters, imposed terms upon King Henry III.
seditious of that gathering, [the Hindús 8] a number of intelligencers brought to the blessed hearing of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam that, probably, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjār 9, from Awadh, and Kutlugh [Kulīch?] Khān 1, Mas'ūd-i-Jānī, on account of their having delayed in joining the Sultān's camp 2, were, in consequence, in a state of apprehension, and in their minds thoughts of contumacy were presenting themselves. Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam submitted to the notice of the sublime Court that, before that party acquired feathers and wings, and, through the fear they were in, should take a flight into the air of contumaciousness, it was advisable that time should not be given them, and that this fire should be speedily smothered.

In conformity with the prudent advice of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, notwithstanding it was the time of the hot season, and that the army of Islām, on account of the advance of the accursed Mughals, and guarding the frontiers, had experienced trouble, still, as there was expediency in moving, on Tuesday, the 6th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 656 H., the sublime standards departed towards the country of Hindūstān 3, and advanced, march by march, as far as the boundaries of Karah and Mānik-pūr 4. Ulugh Khān-i-

---

8 As mentioned a few lines before. The Mughals were not gone yet.
9 See under Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjār, page 768.
1 In one of the oldest copies Kutlugh Khān, Mas'ūd-i-Jānī. This is not the Kutlugh Khān who married the Sultān's mother, but a son of Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, the Shāh-zādah of Turkištān, referred to in the List of Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timīsh's Maliks, at page 626. For more respecting Kulīj, Kulīch, or Kutlugh Khān, who, under the reign, at pages 673 and 712, is also styled, but wrongly, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh-i-Jānī, see note at page 775, para. 3, and page 848.
2 The camp before Dihlī just previously referred to.
3 The Antarbed Do-ābah.
4 In his account of this Malik [page 768] our author says that, after Malik Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjār had been successful against Kutlugh Khān [the stepfather of the Sultān], he became disaffected towards the Court, and Ulugh Khān had to move into Awadh and Karah to coerce him and Kutlugh [Kulīch?] Khān, Mas'ūd, son of the late Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī [see List of nobles, page 673]. Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjār was entrusted with the government of the fief of Karah in 657 H., and, subsequently, got possession of the city of Lakhānawātī by treachery, and without orders from the Court, and yet, in his account of the events of the thirteenth year of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh's reign, our author says that, on Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh,
A'zam made such exertions in chastising the seditious Hindūs and harassing the Rānahs as cannot be conceived. On his reaching that territory [Karaḥ and Mānik-pūr], Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, and Malik Kutlugh [Kulich?] Khān, Mas'ūd-i-Jānī, got away, and out of necessity sent away their families and dependents among the independent [Hindū] tribes, and despatched confidential persons to the presence of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam asking that he should make a representation before the exalted throne and explain the necessity they were under of withdrawing, and to supplicate that the sublime standards might be directed to return towards the capital on the stipulation that, when the royal standards should reach Dihlī, the illustrious capital, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar and Kutlugh [Kulich?] Khān, both of them, should present themselves in attendance at the sublime Court, the Asylum of the Universe. When Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam made this representation, the sublime standards returned towards Dihlī, and, on Monday, the 2nd of the month of Ramażān, 656 H., the illustrious seat of government was reached.

On Sunday, the 27th of the month of Shawwāl, of the same year, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, and Kutlugh [Kulich?] Khān, Mas'ūd-i-Jānī, presented themselves at the threshold of sovereignty, and made their obeisance. Notwithstanding so much opposition, their flight, and the tardiness and negligence they had displayed, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam gave them his support, and manifested towards them such kindness, gentleness, moderation, good faith, and sympathy, out of his great benevolence and infinite clemency, and lordly assistance and princely favour, as neither the fingers can record nor explanation relate. May the Most High God have him perpetually in His keeping for the sake of Muḥammad and the whole of his posterity!

After a period of two months, through Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam's patronage, the states of Lakhaṇawati were made son of the late Malik Jānī, the kingdom of Lakhaṇawatī was conferred. The account here given, and that in the notice of Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, are widely different. The discrepancies respecting Lakhaṇawatī I have noticed at page 770.
over to Kutlugh [Kulich?] Khān, Mas'ūd-i-Jāni's charge, and the district of Karah to Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar.

When the new year of 657 H. set in, on the 13th of the month of Muḥarram, the sublime standards were directed to be moved out of the capital, and the pavilion of majesty was pitched in sight of the city of Dihli. Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam—may God perpetuate his prosperity!—held it meet to exercise his patronage in behalf of Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, who was his paternal uncle's son, and he made a representation before the exalted throne, so that the whole of the territory of Bhānah, Kol, Jalī-sar, and the preserved city of Gwāliyūr was entrusted to his charge, and that assignment was committed to him on Sunday, the 21st of the month of Safar, 657 H. For the remainder of that year, by reason that—and thank God for it!—there was no cause of apprehension, the sublime standards made no farther movement.

On Wednesday, the 4th of the month of Jamādi-ul-Ākhir, 657 H., treasure, valuables, and elegancies to a large amount, with two elephants, reached the sublime threshold from the Lakhanawati territory, and Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, in return for such commendable assiduity, exerted [his] interest, in behalf of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī, who was the sender of these elephants and property; and the investiture of the sief of Lakhanawati was bestowed upon him by his majesty, and that territory was confirmed to him, and a robe of honour and other distinctions were transmitted to him.

6 In this place again there is a great difference in the title of this personage. In seven copies of the text, including the oldest, he is styled Kulīj, in one Kutlugh, and in three Kulīj or Kulīch.
6 In some copies the Koh-pāyah: perhaps both Karah and the Koh-pāyah districts may be meant.
7 In Elliot, they are made again to march from Dihlī, which is not so stated, even in the Calcutta Text. The reason why no marching was necessary is given below.
8 See the account of Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, page 794. There it is stated that Bālrām, Bāltārah, Mihir, and Mahāwān, were also entrusted to him. Under the reign, page 712, there is no mention of Jalī-sar.
9 In Rajab of this year a grandson was born to Ulugh Khān. His daughter, Naṣir-ud-Dīn, Māḥmūd Shāh's wife, presented her husband, the Sulṭān, with a son; and two months after, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak, the Ulugh Kutlugh-i-A'zam, the Bār-Bak, died.
1 This is the person referred to at pages 770 and 827.
When the new year 658 H. came round, and the month of Ṣafar arrived, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam resolved upon making a raid upon the Koh-pāyah [hill tracts of Mewāt] round about the capital, because, in this Koh-pāyah, there was a community of obdurate rebels, who, unceasingly, committed highway robbery and plundered the property of Musalmāns, and the ejection of the subject peasantry, and destruction of the villages in the districts of Harfānah, the Siwālikh, and Bhīānah, necessarily followed their outbreaks. Three years9 previous to this period, they had likewise carried off herds of camels, the property of the vassals and loyal followers of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam’s household—be victory ever theirs!—from the outskirts of the Hānsī territory. The leader of the rebels was a person, Malkā8 by name, an obdurate Hindū gābr [infidel], like a gigantic demon and a serpent-hued ‘İfrīt4. They had carried off herds of camels and camel-men, and had, in the meantime, dispersed them among the Hindūs throughout the Koh-pāyah [hill tracts], as far as the vicinity of Rantabhūr, and the time that these camel-men and camels were carried off was a time when an expedition was pending, and the camp-followers of the force, and the warriors of the retinue of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, were in urgent need of them for the purpose of carrying the equipage of the troops. When that contumacious rebel committed this act, an infinite load weighed upon the dear heart of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, and all the Malik and Amīrs and warriors of the troops of Islām—May God ever accord victory to them! Nevertheless, it was impossible to chastise that sedition by reason of anxiety [consequent] on the appearance of the Mughal army5 which continued to harass the frontier tracts of the dominions of Islām, namely, the territory of Sind, Lohor6, and the line of the river

---

9 Two copies have “one year,” but this can scarcely be correct. The period referred to seems to be the year 656 H., on the appearance of the Mughals under Sāfī, on the western frontier. See page 844.

8 This must not be supposed to refer to Dalakī, of Malakī, the great Rānah in the vicinity of the river Jūn, between Kālinjar and Karah, for he is a wholly different person.

4 Compare ELLIOT here.

8 The words are, correctly, as rendered above: بِواسطَ دِل نَجْرِئُ وَاقِعٌ لَا تَكُرُّ مَلْ—The Printed Text has بِواسطَ دِل نَجْرِئُ وَاقِعٌ لَا تَكُرُّ مَلْ and, hence, the passage in Elliot is incorrect.

6 Not much of Lohor remained for them to harass at that time belonging to Dihlī; but see page 846, where our author says the Mughals “evinced no
Biāh, until, at this period, emissaries of Khurāsān [coming] from the side of 'Irāk from Hulāū [Hulākū], the Mughal, who was the son of Tūlī, son of Chingiz Khān, had arrived in the neighbourhood of the capital. Command was given that the emissaries' party should be detained at the halting-places of Bārūtah, and that vicinity; and Ulugh Khān i-Aʿzam, and other Maliks, with the forces of the Court, and the [contingent] troops of the [different] Maliks, suddenly and unexpectedly, resolved upon an advance into the Koh-pāyah [hill-tracts of Mewāt].

On Monday, the 4th of the month of Śafar, 658 H. the sublime standards of victory pushed forward into the Koh-pāyah, and, in the first advance, made a march of nearly fifty kuroh[sic], and fell, unexpectedly and unawares upon the further audacity," &c. More on this subject will be found in the following Section.

7 These were not "ambassadors to the Sultān," who "came to [sic] Khurāsān from 'Irāk, on the part of Hulākū Mughal, son of Tūlī," as in Elliot [page 381], and had the "long digression of no interest"—from page 196 to 202, farther on, been translated, it would have been found who and what they were.

8 The name of this place is written with ә—әәәәә-a as above in eight copies of the text, including the three oldest, with the slight exception of there being no point to the ә, thus: әәәәә—a and the next to the last letter having but one point instead of two in one of the three copies; three copies have әәәәә, tending to confirm the above reading; and one has әәәәә The Calcutta Printed Text has әәәә—a—Mārūtah, but this I look upon as a mere guess on the part of the Editors, because it is a well-known place, and more particularly since, in a foot-note, that text has әәәәә—әәәәә—a әәәәә It is evident, from all this, that the first letter is ә and not ә, and there can be little doubt but that the next to the last letter is ә. There is a place in the Baṁwālah Pargah named әәәәә and there is Mārūt—әәәәә—in the direct route from Ughchah to Dihlī, but this cannot be meant here, for our author has written that name correctly in two different places; and there are other Mārūts, but not in this direction. It appears to me that the place is әәәәә or әәәәә styled Sarāe-i-Barūtah, from the ruins of an extensive karwān-sarāe, two kuroh to the S.E. of Jagdeśpūr, on the road from Dihlī to Suni-pat, and, about twenty miles N.W. of the capital, the Sarāe being a convenient distance, and an eligible place wherein to lodge them until the muster of the forces, referred to at page 856, was complete, which muster was, no doubt, to enable the emissaries to carry back with them a good impression respecting the number and efficiency of the Dihlī forces.

9 Among the Maliks who accompanied Ulugh Khān upon this expedition, and also on the subsequent one, was Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tez Khān [No. XVII.,] who was ordered from Awadh for the purpose. See end of the year 657 H., under the reign.

1 Under the reign, the date is the 13th of Safar.

2 Near upon 100 miles. Such a word as "kas," which is Sanskrit, as in Elliot, does not occur throughout this work.
contumacious rebels of that tract. All those that were on
the mountain sides, in the deep defiles, and great ravines,
were taken and were brought under the swords of the
Musalmāns. For a period of twenty days he [Ulugh
Khān-i-Aʿzam] continued to move about that Koh-pāyah
in every direction. The dwelling-places and villages of
those mountaineers were on the summits of the high hills,
and the whole of their edifices on the acclivities of rocks,
so that you would say they were, in altitude, equal to the
stars, and even with the sky. By command of Ulugh
Khān-i-Aʿzam, the whole of those places which, in strength,
might compare with the tale told of the wall of Sikandar
in solidarity, were captured and plundered, and the people
of those places, who were knaves, Hindūs, thieves, and
high-way robbers, were all put to the sword. The Ulugh
Khān orders to that army of holy warriors were, that
whoever should bring in a head should receive one tangah
of silver, and whoever brought in a man alive two tangahs
of silver from the private treasurer.

The defenders of the truth, in conformity with Ulugh
Khān-i-Aʿzam’s commands, penetrated into all the loftiest
places, into the defiles, and deep ravines, and acquired
heads and captives, and became filled with property and
money, especially the sept of Afghāns, every one of whom
you might say was some huge elephant with [the tails of]
two Khītā-i bulls over his shoulders, or some tall tower of
a fortress, placed on its summit, for the purpose of over-
awing, with banner displayed. The number of them,
employed in the service of, and attending the stirrup of,
Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, was about 3000 horse and foot,
daring, intrepid, and valiant soldiers, each one of whom,
either on mountain or in forest, would take a hundred
Hindūs in his grip, and, in a dark night, would reduce a

---

3 In nearly every instance, throughout this work, the Calcutta Printed Text
uses لوره for لوره and لوره for لوره.

4 The same word—ghajż—ghtē—is used here as applied to Nāṣīr-ud-Dīn,
Sabuk-Tīgūn, page 68. It evidently refers to their hairy faces and the long
curly hair hanging down their backs, and as some tribes wear their hair to this
day. These Afghāns are the first PATĀNS mentioned in this work, and in no
other place in it, either before or after, are they mentioned. Compare ELLIOT
here also.
THE **SHAMSĪAH MALIKS IN HIND.**

...demon to utter helplessness⁴. In short, the whole of the Malik and Amirs, Turks and Tājziks, displayed zeal and energy, the mention of which will ever endure upon the pages of time; and, up to this period, since the standards of Islām were first displayed in the land of Hind, at no time had the Musalmān troops ever before reached that locality or ravaged it⁵. Under the auspices of the good fortune of the Sultān of Sultāns, Nāṣir-ud-Din, Maḥmūd Shāh, the Most High God facilitated the delivery into the hands of Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam that obdurate Hindū, who had carried off those camels and camel men, together with his sons and family, all of whom were taken, and the decree of fate brought them into the bondage and captivity of Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam’s followers, and the whole of the heads and chiefs of the rebels, to the number of about 250 persons, among the chief men of that people, fell into the chains of bondage. One hundred and forty-two horses reached the Sultān’s stables, and sixty **badrahs**⁷ of **tangahs**, the amount of [each of?] which was 35,000⁸ **tangahs**, he [Ulugh Khān] extorted from the Rānāhs and Rāes of that mountain tract⁹, and they were conveyed to the royal treasury; and, in the

---

⁴ One of the St. Petersburg copies of the text ends the Section here, and passes at once to the last Section.

⁵ The tract of country here indicated, the Koh-pāyah of our author, seems to be Bharatpur, Dholpur, and part of the Rājpūt states of Jaipur and Alwar. The Musalmāns had penetrated before this much farther south to the vicinity of the Narbādah.

We may be sure these successes will not be found recorded in Rājpūt annals.

⁷ A small bag of cotton or linen cloth, goats’ leather, or felt cloth, rather longer than broad. The word also means a bag of 10,000 **dirams**.

⁸ The probability is that each **badrak** contained that number of **tangahs** — in value about as many rūpēs — in which case the total would be 2,100,000 **tangahs**, or about equal to 21 **laks** of rūpēs, not a very large sum to extort from several rich Rāes and Rānāhs, the smaller sum would have been too paltry to convey to the royal treasury. One of the best copies has gold **tangahs**, in which case the total amount may have been that given above, but, even then, the sum would be but a comparatively paltry one.

⁹ In the Printed Text, the original word — **सद देन** — he extorted — from the verb — **सदा देन** — is turned into — **सद देन** — and this has been followed in ELLIOT, hence this sentence has assumed the following amusing form: “and six bags of **tanka**s, amounting to thirty thousand tankas, were **taken** from the Rānās of the hills and the **Rīs** of **Sīnd**, and sent to the royal treasury.”

As the word **सद** stands in the place of — **सद —** there is no word for **taken** in this sentence in the Printed Text, and so the literal translation of it would be: “so much from the Rānās, &c., to the royal treasury conveyed” — an unintelligible jumble of words.
space of twenty days, such were the important feats effected through the vigorous and energetic command of Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam—May his glory ever continue!

On the 24th of the month Rabīʿ-ul-Awwāl, 658 H., Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam returned to the capital. The august canopy of sovereignty, and the king of the world like an imperial sun under the shadow thereof—God perpetuate his sovereignty!—and all the Malikīs, Amīrs, Ṣadrs, men of rank and position, and the inhabitants of the city, came out to the plain of the Ḥauż-i-Rānī [the Rānī's Reservoir], and drew up in lines, extending from the Bāgh-i-Jūdī [the Jūd Garden] to the Rānī's Reservoir, and hastened in the footsteps of loyalty to meet and do honour to the sublime standards which accompanied Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam. The Sultān of Sultāns—God long preserve his sovereignty!—at the head of the Rānī's Reservoir, on the exalted seat of the throne of sovereignty, held an audience, and Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, with the Malikīs and Amīrs of the force, arrayed in robes of honour conferred by Ulugh Khān himself, attained the honour of kissing the threshold of the place of audience, so that one might say, from the various coloured robes, of satin, silk, brocade, gold and silver tissue, and other expensive textures, and gold embroidered tunics and other garments, that that plain bloomed like a thousand flower gardens. All these Grandees, Malikīs, Amīrs, incomparable champions and warriors of the force, one day previous to this, in their own quarters, had donned these honorary dresses from out of the lordly treasury of Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam—May it never cease being replete with riches and spoils!—and [now] the whole of them, victorious and triumphant, safe and rich, hied to the sublime audience-hall, and great and small—high and low—attained the honour of kissing the Sultān's hand, together with thousands of commendations, favours,

1 In one copy of the text—one of the older ones—this is here written with the vowel points—باغ‌ی‌هد. It is, however, nowhere else written so. In Arabic—جود—signifies liberality, munificence, but the original may be a loci name.

2 The Hamilton MS. is minus the whole of the remainder of this Section.

3 This grand reception plainly shows that Ulugh Khān's force had achieved a great success over the unbelievers.
and assurances, and returned thanks to the Most High and Holy God for that success.

After two days, the royal cavalcade [again] proceeded out of the city to the plain at the Rāni’s Reservoir, with the intention of making an example of infidels, and command was given for the elephants, of mountain-like form and reaching to the sky, of demon-like aspect, and wind-like speed—so that you might say they were the delegates of destiny and the soldiers of the angel of death—to be brought for the purpose of inflicting condign punishment upon the infidels. The relentless Turks, of the profession of Mars, drew their well-tempered, fire-flashing, swords from the scabbards of power, and then the sublime order was issued so that they commenced to execute [the rebels]. After that, some of those rebels they cast at the feet of the ele-
phants, and made the heads of Hindūs, under the heavy hands and feet of those mountain-like figures, the grain in the orifice of the grinding mill of death; and, by the keen swords of the ruthless Turks, and the life-ravishing executioners, every two of these Hindūs were made four, and, by scavengers, with knives, such that, at the gashes of them, a demon would be horror-stricken, a hundred and odd rebels were flayed from head to foot, and at the hand of their skinners, they quaffed, in the goblet of their own heads, the Sharbat of death. Command was given so that they stuffed the whole of their skins with straw, and suspended them over every gate-way of the city.

In short, an example of retribution was made such as the plain at the Rāni’s Reservoir, and the open space before the gate of Dihlī never remembered the like of, and the ear of no hearer ever heard a tale so terrible as that. Such like religious warfare and victory over the infidels, and such amount of booty was acquired, and such efforts

\[4\] In Elliot [page 382, vol. ii.], the Editor considering that “The author here becomes very diffuse in his descriptions and praises, which are not worth translation,” this entire paragraph is dismissed with a very few words:—

“His Majesty, with a great retinue of chiefs and nobles, came forth to the plain of Haus-rāni to meet him, and a great court was held in which many honours and rewards were bestowed.”

\[5\] We must make allowances for the age in which this occurred, but what an idea it gives us of the merciful disposition, and amiability of “the king of the world,” and copier of Kurāns, if he had any authority!
were brought about through the power of the Ulugh Khāni good fortune. May the Most High God preserve the Sultān of Sultāns, Nāsir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Din, Māhmud Shāh, on the throne of sovereignty, and adorn the exalted seat of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam with permanency and stability!

Having achieved such deeds, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam represented before the sublime throne, that it was right that the Khurāsān emissaries should be conducted to the capital, and attain the honour of kissing the royal hand. On the command being issued, on Wednesday, the 8th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 658 H., the august retinue [of the Sultān] moved to the Kūshk-i-Sabz [the Green Castle], and Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam gave orders, so that the Shāhib, the Dīwān-i-'Āriz-i-Mamālīk [the Head of the Department of the Muster-master of the Kingdom] marshalled in order the men bearing arms from the different parts around and in the vicinity of the capital. About 200,000 footmen, well armed, came to Dihli, and they drew up, in battle array, about 50,000 horse, fully equipped with defensive armour, and with banners [displayed]; and of the populace of the city—the higher, middle, and lower classes—so many men bearing arms, both on horseback and on foot went forth, that, from the Shahr-i-Nau [new city] of Gilū- khari to within the city where was the Royal Kaṣr, twenty lines of men, one behind the other—like the avenue of a pleasure garden with the branches entwined—placed shoulder to shoulder, stood row after row. Truly you might say—"It is the last great day, the time of the general resurrection, the hour of perturbation, the rendering of account of good and evil"—through the experience, energy,

* Compare ELLIOT here.
* Now, in ELLIOT, we have "the Mughal ambassador in Khurāsān." In the Printed Text "they" correctly, the—plural of خرائشان رست [plural of خرائشان]. See note 7, page 851.
* The Calcutta "official" Printed Text, copying the I.O.L. MS. 1952, has a very amusing blunder here. Instead of آداد—signifying "prepared," "ready," "drawn up," &c., after سوار—it has آداد—signifying "female"—سوار—thus turning them into 50,000 female horse!! The R. A. S. MS. is also incorrect, but has آداد—not آداد—and the former word is meaningless.
* Twenty-seven lines, in some copies. "The author becomes very diffuse in his description and praises, which are not worth translation," according to ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 382, which see.
control, and lieutenancy of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam—God perpetuate his good fortune! The arrangement of the lines, the assignment of the place of every one of the Amirs, Maliks, Grandees, and Ṣadrs, with their followings and dependants, the disposition of the standards and banners, the donning of arms, the preservation of every one's rank, which Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam directed, he himself saw to, by moving from one end of the lines to the other, placing every one in the place which had been assigned to him.

That concourse of people presented such a tremendous appearance, that the ear of the heavens, at the din of the tymbals and kettle-drums, the cries of the trumpeting elephants, the neighings of the prancing horses, and the vociferations of the people, became deaf, and the eye of the malicious and envious blind. When the Turkistān emissaries¹ mounted and set out from the Shahr-i-Nau [of Gilū-khari], and their sight fell upon that concourse, their fright was such from the awe inspired by that immense concourse and the warlike apparatus, that the danger was lest the bird of their souls should take wing from their bodies. It is most likely—indeed it is the fact—that, at the time of the charge of the trumpeting elephants, some of² those emissaries got thrown from their horses and fell to the ground. May the Most High God avert the evil eye from this kingdom and realm, capital and army, and the Maliks of the dynasty!

When the emissaries³ reached the city gate, by the royal command, and the approval of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, all the Maliks observed the custom of going to receive them, and, in doing honour to the emissaries' party, observed [towards them] the usages of respect, and with due reve-

¹ They are so-called here in all the copies of the text collated, with a single exception, but, hitherto, they have always been styled emissaries "from Khurāsān," and "of Khurāsān," and the context proves the above a mistake for Khurāsān, because they came from thence, and not from Turkistān. See page 859.

² They and their followers must be meant, as the emissaries were but three in all.

³ These persons came with no political object: merely respecting this matrimonial alliance with Ulugh Khān, and therefore I have neither styled them envoys nor "ambassadors from" Hulākī Khān, but Ulugh Khān evidently wished to let them see the Dihlī forces to the best advantage, and carry back a good report of them.
rence conducted them to the Kaşr-i-Sabz [the Green Castle] and before the exalted throne of sovereignty. On that day, the Castle of Sovereignty was adorned with various kinds of carpets and cushions, and a variety of princely articles of luxury and convenience, both of gold and silver, and round about the royal throne two canopies, one red and the other black, adorned with jewels of great price, were extended. The golden throne ornamented with the masnad [seat] of empire, and the series of illustrious Malikis, great Amirs, distinguished Şadrs, eminent personages, the handsome young Turk slaves with golden girdles, and the champions in pomp and pride ranged around, made the assembly halls studded with gems, and saloons burnished with gold, seem like unto the garden of bliss, and the eighth heaven, so that the [following] lines having become applicable to the occasion, and having been pronounced before the exalted throne by one of the sons of this suppliant, from his composition, are here introduced. [These lines are a mere repetition of the same fulsome epithets and exaggerated figures as are found in the preceding and following prose, and are scarcely worth insertion here.]

Thou mightest with truth say that that assembly was as a heaven full of stars, or like a firmament teeming with planets. The sovereign of the universe on the throne appeared as a sun from the fourth heaven, with Ulugh Khân-i-A'zam in attendance as a shining moon, kneeling upon the knees of veneration and reverence, the Malikis in rows like unto revolving planets, and the Turks in their gold and gem-studded girdles like unto stars innumerable.

In short, all this arrangement, and preparation, and [these] different matters, were carried out with the approval and wise counsel, and sagacious conception of Ulugh Khân-i-A'zam, for, although the Sultan of Sulṭāns, in conformity with the Prophet's sayings, accords to him the position of a father, nevertheless he is more obedient and submissive than a thousand newly-purchased slaves. 6 So

4 If —signified an umbrella merely, it would scarcely be applicable here. What canopies of state are may be seen from Plate vii. to Blochmann's Translation of the A'īn-i-Akbarī.

6 I should imagine that this remark—in fact the whole of this account—
the emissaries, after their reception, were conducted, after receiving various marks of favour, and different benefits were conferred upon them, to the assigned place prepared for their residence.

It is necessary at this place to mention what was the motive of the arrival of these emissaries from the country of Khurāsān, and from Hulā'ū [Hulākū] Khān, the Mughal, and how it fell out. The facts of the matter are these, that Malik Nāšir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Malik Ḥasan the Kārlugh—The Almighty's mercy be upon him!—perhaps, entertained a strong inclination to cause a pearl from the oyster shell of his family to be transferred to the string of marriage to Shāh, the son of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, in order that, through that union, he [Nāšir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad] might display his glory over the Malikīs of the time and the great rulers of the world, and that that connexion might be a means of strength to him, and a source of security. On this subject he wrote secretly and confidentially, to one of the servants of the household of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, and endeavoured to obtain an inkling as to the possibility of the [proposed] connexion, and intimated that he himself would, under this veil, submit the matter for the august consideration of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, by way of sincerity and duty. As Malik Nāšir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan the Kārlugh, was one of the illustrious Malikīs of his day, it became necessary, on the clearly proves that Ulugh Khān was not Sulṭān when this was written. It is somewhat remarkable that our author has never once mentioned whether Ulugh Khān had obtained his freedom or not. We must hence suppose that he had not, for our author would scarcely have omitted to mention such an important fact.

The following six paragraphs are what, in Elliot [page 383, vol. ii.], is said, by the Editor, to be "a long digression of no interest."

All the copies of the text are alike here, but it is very certain that Ulugh Khān's son must have had some other name prefixed to the word Shāh, but no son of his is mentioned in history of whose name Shāh forms a part.

See Thomas: Pathān Kings, page 98. It is there stated that he, Nāšir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Kārlugh, "seems to have succeeded to his father's dominions in Sind, and to have been held in consideration as a powerful monarch. He was still reigning on the arrival of the ambassadors of Hulāgū Khān in A.H. 658." His holding dominions in Sind is entirely erroneous. Malik 'Īzz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashā Khān, held Sind in 658 H., and was still holding it when this history was brought to a conclusion, and where the dominions of the Kārlugh lay will be found in the following statement, and likewise the proof respecting 'Īzz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashā Khān's still holding Sind and Multān also.
part of Ulugh Khān, to give an answer on the subject, and his consent to the connexion. He, accordingly, directed one of the middle rank among his retinue to bear the answer to this request, and that bearer, a Khalj, they used to style by the name of the Ḥājjib-i-Ajall [the most worthy Chamberlain], Jamāl-ud-Din, 'Alī.

On this Khalj being nominated to this important matter, he obtained from the royal revenue department an order for a number of captives, on account of unavoidable necessaries, and the expenses of the road, and to enable him to get over his journey. When he set out upon the road, at the different stations and stages, the toll-collectors, on the way, continued to demand of him and expect payment of the established tolls and fixed cesses, and the Ḥājjib, 'Alī, continued, in this manner, to repudiate them [saying]: "I am an agent [and therefore exempt]."

By the time he had got over the stages and stations within the kingdom [of Dihli] and reached the territory of Sind, the report of his being on a mission became public; and, when he passed on to Multān, and from thence to Úchchah, Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, commanded that he should be summoned. So they summoned the Ḥājjib, 'Alī, and detained him, and demanded of him the letters he was bearing, that they might become acquainted with the nature, import, and contents of the documents. The Ḥājjib, 'Alī, denied his mission; but, when the affair assumed severity, on being constrained, he avowed, in the presence of the Mughal Shaḥnagān [Intendants]: "I am an Emis-

This Nāṣir-ud Din, Muḥammad, the Karlugh, is the same who presented himself to Sulṭān Raṣiyyat when in the Panjāb in 637 H., and was probably personally known to Ulugh Khān. See page 644, and note 7.

These slaves or captives must have been given him for the purpose of being sold to provide for the expenses of his journey as occasion required, after the same fashion as our author obtained a grant of forty head to send to his "dear sister" in Khurāsān. These captives could have been of no other use to him, and the object is evident.

Tavernier says, respecting an ambassador of the king of Mingrelia whom he saw at Constantinople when he was there, "The first time of his audience, he had a train of above 200 persons. But every day he sold two or three to defray his expenses."

1 See note 8, preceding page.
2 The Calcutta Printed Text has ҳαμед—chastizing, &c., instead of ҳαμед—delaying, postponing, and the like.
3 The word is in the plural here—شکاک. This conduct on the part of
sary, and I am going upwards.” Having, in the presence of that assembly, made such a statement, Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Balban-i-Kashti-Khan, as a matter of necessity, gave over requiring aught from him, and said: “It is necessary for thee to proceed, that I may have thee taken to thy place of destination.” The Hajib, 'Ali, replied: “My orders are on this wise, that I should proceed to the presence of Malik Nasir-ud-Din, Muhammed, son of Hasan the Karlugh,” and, consequently, Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Balban, was under the necessity of allowing him to proceed in the direction indicated.

When the Hajib, 'Ali, reached the khittah [district or country] of Banian, the report of his coming from the borders of Dihli, on a mission, having become published and disseminated among the Mughal Shahnagan [Intendants], and the gentle and simple of that territory, Malik Nasir-ud-Din, Muhammed, son of Hasan, the Karlugh, had to send him, perforce, towards 'Irak and Azarbajjan, to the presence of Hulay'û, the Mughal, and he [Malik Nasir-ud-Din, Muhammed, son of Hasan], of his own accord, and without the sanction of this Court [the Court of Dihli], indited letters as from the dear tongue of Ulugh Khan-i-A'gam, and, sending some small present along with the Hajib, 'Ali, despatched him along with confidential persons of his own.

On arriving in the neighbourhood of the 'Irak territory, they reached Hulay'û's presence in the city of Tabriz of Azarbajjan. Hulay'û treated the Hajib, 'Ali, with much honour, and showed him great consideration. At the time they desired to read out the letters unto Hulay'û, the Accursed, it became necessary to translate them from the Persian into the Mughali language. In the letters they had written the name of Ulugh Khan-i-A'gam, ‘Malik,’ for the

Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Balban-i-Kashti Khan, shows that he had thrown off all dependence on the Court of Dihli, but he does not appear to have benefited much from so doing, as he was now a mere vassal of the Mughals.

The word جامع is used here, with reference to the Mughal Shahnagin, and shows that Malik Balban-i-Kashti Khan must have had several—more than one, at least—of the Mughal Intendants to take care of him.

Malik Nasir-ud-Din, Muhammed, also, had been obliged to succumb to the Mughals, and receive their Shahnagan. He will be referred to again.

These last three paragraphs prove how erroneous is Mr. Thomas's statement, mentioned in note 9, page 859.
custom of Türkistân is this, that there is but one supreme ruler, no more, and him they do not style Malik, but Khan, and all others have the name of Malik. So, when they read out the letters to Hulâ'û, the Mughal, he said: "Why have ye given an equivalent for the name Ulugh Khan? it behoveth that his designation of Khan be preserved." Such honour and respect did he esteem fit to show towards Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam. Every person of the Khâns of the countries of Hind and Sind, who proceeded to the presence of the Khâns and rulers of the Mughals, they altered the title of, and styled them all simply 'Malik,' with this exception of the name of Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam which they recognized as it originally stood. This is one, among the proofs of the Divine grace, that both friend and foe, believer and unbeliever, mention his august name with veneration:—"This is the grace of God which He bestows on whomsoever He pleaseth; and God is the possessor of great grace."

When the Häjib, 'Ali, was dismissed, on his return, the Shâhnâh [Intendant] of the khittah [territory] of Baniân, who was the son of Amir Yagh-rash, a famous person, and a respected Musalmân, was nominated by Hulâ'û to accompany him, and Hulâ'û sent orders to the Mughal forces which would be under the standard of Sâri [Sâli], the Nû-în, saying: "If the hoof of a horse of your troops shall have entered the ground of the dominions of the Sul tán of Sul tán, Nâšir-ud-Dunyâ wa ud-Din, Ma'hmûd Shâh—God perpetuate his reign!"—the command unto

---

6 The Calcutta Printed Text is a mere jumble of words here.
8 Why then is his name not given as well as his father's? The Mughal troops had, at this time, been nearly three years—from the end of 655 H.—on the western frontier of the Dihlî kingdom, and this fact does not speak much for its power. Perhaps internal dissension prevented vigorous measures being taken against them. For what purpose this person came to Dihlî does not appear, unless it was to inform the Sultan of Sulãn, that, out of respect for Ulugh Khan, his troops had been directed not to molest the narrowed frontier on the Bhâh.
9 This name is somewhat uncertain, and may possibly be Bagh-rash. It is written باغر ش as above in three copies, including two of the oldest, and in others بغر ش.
10 We may scarcely suppose that our author wishes us to believe that these are the exact words of Hulâkû Khan's order.
you is this, that all four feet of such horse be lopped off." Such like security did the Most High God miraculously vouchsafe unto the kingdom of Hindūstān through the felicity attending the rectitude of the Ulugh-Khānī counsels.

When the emissaries reached the capital, the sovereign of Islām, in requital and return for that honour which Hulāʾū, the Mughal, had been pleased to show towards the Ḥājib of this Court⁴, conformable with the saying, "Verily the reward of kindness should be nought save kindness"—great favour was lavished upon his emissaries likewise. This [which has been related] was the reason of the arrival of the emissaries of Khurāsān and the troops⁵ of Turkistān.

May the Most High God long preserve the Sulṭān of Islām, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-ʾl-Muẓaffar-I-Maḥmud Shāh, upon the throne of sovereignty, and the prosperity of the Khākān-i-Muʿ-azzam, Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿẓam, in successive increase and augmentation, for the sake of Muḥammad and his posterity!

---

⁴ At page 860, he is said to have been a Ḥājib of Ulugh Khān’s own household. No doubt, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, was acquainted with the matter of this proposed alliance from the outset.

⁵ This remark is unintelligible save as referring to a retinue or escort accompanying this nameless person, the son of the Shāhnaḥ of Banṭān, and the other nameless persons who accompanied him. The word used is كركل signifying an army, a body of troops, large or small. As to emissaries, there is only one mentioned here—the person above referred to, but, in the account of Malik ʾIzz-ud-Dīn, Balbān-i-Kašḷū Khān, our author states that he despatched his own agents along with the Mughal Shāhnaḥ [at page 860 the plural is used—Shāḥnāgān] of Sīnd, on account of the Mughal army being on the Dīhlī frontier, to the Sulṭān’s presence. Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Karlugh, in all probability, also despatched an emissary of his own with Ulugh Khān’s Ḥājib. Our author is either very reticent or appears not to have known the upshot of these matters when he finished this work, for he says, at page 786, "Please God it may turn out well and advantageously." It is also plainly apparent that both Malik Balbān-i-Kašḷū Khān and Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Karlugh, could not act independently, and that eir Mughal Shāhnaḥs must have had the control of their affairs.

It is much to be regretted that our author has not given us more particulars respecting these events, and particularly of the last six years of the reign of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh. It would have been interesting to have known the upshot of Malik Balbān-i-Kašḷū Khān’s career, and whether the matrimonial alliance took place between the son of Ulugh Khān, and the Karlugh chief’s daughter, and many other interesting matters, which are not to be found in any subsequent writer.
We have again returned to our history, and the last of the events thereof is this, that Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, having carried out, after the manner [before related], holy-war upon the infidels of the Koh-pāyah with such condign severity, a large number of the remainder of the kinsmen of those rebels, who, previous to that, had escaped from the neighbourhood of the Koh-pāyah from the hand of the troops and defenders of Islām—may victory ever attend them!—and fled into different parts, and, by great stratagems, had managed to preserve their abominable lives under the protection of flight from the keen swords of the retainers of Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam's house, began, a second time, to renew their sedition, and commenced to infest the roads and to shed the blood of Musalmāns, and, by reason of the violence of that gathering, the roads were perilous. This fact being brought to the august hearing of Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, he despatched intelligencers, informers, and spies, so that they reconnoitred the remaining positions of the rebels, and made thorough inquiry as to the present whereabouts of those vagabonds. On Monday, the 24th of the month of Rajab, 658 H., Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, mounted with his own following, the forces of [the contingents composing] the centre [division], and other troops of the Malikis and warriors, issued from Dihlī and pushed on towards the Koh-pāyah, in suchwise that, in one march, he proceeded about fifty kuroh or more \(^4\), came unexpectedly upon that gathering, captured the whole of them, and put about 12,000 persons, consisting of men and women, and their children, to the sword. All the passes, defiles, and the crests of the hills, were purified of the bodies of the rebels by the wounds of the swords of the Auxiliaries of the Truth, and much booty was captured. Praise be unto God for this victory of Islām, and honour to its votaries!

This much, which had been witnessed of that dynasty by the author, came under the pen of sincerity—from

\(^4\) There is not a word about koz in the whole text. Fifty kuroh is not a very astonishing distance for a forced march of cavalry, and is not more wonderful than the previous one of the same distance mentioned at page 851. Compare Elliot, page 383.
readers and examiners he is hopeful of benediction, and, from the possessors of dominion, hopeful of honour, that which is hoped for through God the Beneficent, and that asked for through God the Merciful—in the month of Shawwāl, in the year 658 H.

Praise be unto God, and blessings upon His Prophet, and progeny, and his companions all, through Thy mercy, O Thou Most Merciful of the Merciful!

Shawwāl is the tenth-month. In the account of Malik Nuşrat-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, page 799, he states that he finished it in Rajab, the seventh month.

Additional Note.—As I am unacquainted with the Turkish language Mr. Arthur Grote was kind enough to refer, at my suggestion, a List of the less known Turkish titles and names occurring in this and the preceding Sections, but in this one more particularly, with the various readings and the names pointed, as in the very old MS. of our author's work in my possession, to Professor A. Vambéry, to ask him if he could submit them to some Turkish scholar for elucidation. In reply, the Professor himself has been so good as to supply the following explanations; but, while tendering to that gentleman my best thanks for the trouble he has taken, I fear I cannot possibly adopt his solutions of the difficulty, with two or three exceptions, for reasons here mentioned:

Page 720—"(Ulūg Kūlug) the great blessed, can be taken as a proper name as well as for an attribute paid generally to princes. To kūlug corresponds the Arab مار and Mongol Oldjaitu."

The Professor seems to read غ—ق—as simple ١—غ—which is not correct. Of the meaning of Ulūg there was no doubt.

Page 722—"Judging by the subsequent ٠—خ is a proper name, and is probably instead of ۷کیاک ۷کیاک ۷کیاک ۷کیاک = the mighty, the powerful. ۷کیاک can only signify a knife, in كیا (٢) dialect."

There was no doubt of its being a name or title, but, in the majority of copies collated, it is written with ۰—خ, not with ۷, or with غ.

Page 722—"(بلاي) balaban, a bird of prey, a much used proper name."

The word in my List is بلال—بلاي—which does not occur in any work I have ever met with.

Page 725—an erroneous transcription of ۷گنگ تربی = he broke, annihilated thousands. (٢) ۷گنگ تربی = he was like. (Instead of ۷گنگ تربی [sic in MS.]); of the tribe of ۷گنگ تربی—mangit.

As the name is not written with غ—ق—it cannot possibly refer to any tribe called 'Mangit.' The second definition is nearer the mark—but not with two ۷'s—and that reading, viz.—بلاي—was given in my List. It is by no means improbable, although it only occurs in one of the copies of the text collated, that the fifth consonant should be غ instead of ۷—a mistake which is very liable to arise, and, from what our author himself states at page 725, that he
was styled Ayáz-i-Hazár-Mardah, that is Ayáz [in prowess] equal to a thousand men, the first signification is not inapplicable.

Page 727—"âyim = a youngster, a lad?"

This definition will certainly not apply to the person in question.

Pages 513, 729, &c.—"îyeb, îyebek, also îyebik, decidedly the name of a bird (swan, koohoo, the Arab kîr, kîr, koch and Osmanli—چاوش کوش = chaush kus) frequently used as a nickname in older Turkish writings."

From the way the word is pointed it cannot be read otherwise than ï-bak, which is fully described in some of the best lexicons as a Turkî word, with the definitions I have given to it at pages 513 and 729, and is frequently used in Persian Histories, as our author's work shows. What will Mr. Blochmann say to the above definition? Fancy Kûf-ud-Dîn, the Swan! The Arabic kîkû, signifies the cooing of a dove, not a swan.

Page 732—"taishe = a writer, a secretary. It is a Chinese word, and occurs in Vassal's and Sherefeddin's works."

Since note 2, page 732, was written, I find the word Tashî—Tā-îshî—repeatedly used in the History of Amir Timür, the Gürân. Abû l-Qâzî, Bahadur Khân, in his Shajarah-ul-Atrâk, says a man possessing a fine voice is so styled, and Vâmbéy says it is Chinese for a writer, but he has evidently confounded it with the Turkish word Bitik-chî, which bears that signification. There cannot be any doubt of its being a Turkî word, and it is undoubtedly a title of rank. It is therefore clear that the words in the text—تاشی and تاشی—are meant for تاشی—Tashî. The only difficulty in adopting this solution of the matter is, that a Turk of that rank should have been in a state of bondage; but he may have been taken captive in some of the constant feuds between the Turks of the Tattâr and Mughal I-mâks, and sold as a slave.

Page 731—Yughân-Tat—This title the Professor defines thus:—

"instead of aygan tat = the named foreigner."

The above definition is wholly out of the question with respect to Saif-ud-Dîn, ï-bak, who received the title of Yughân-Tat, on account of, or, after his capturing several elephants in Bang.

Page 761—"Taghrul = a proper name, not the righteous as hitherto believed, but toghrasul = the breaker, from toghramâk = to put in pieces."

Here the Professor writes ã correctly with ghä; but the definition of this well known word, which depends upon the pointing, is thus described in a very trustworthy work before referred to:—"Spelt 'Taghrul,' it signifies a species of the falcon tribe used in the chase"—and, as plainly indicated by our author farther on, page 936, with reference to the Áwang Khân—"and 'Taghril,' the name of a man," which may signify "the breaker." Moreover one noble is named Tughril-i-Tughân Khân. See page 743

Page 742—"Either a displacement of تفرères خان Temûr kîran khan = the iron-breaking Khan, or temur who defeated Kamreddin."

The Iron [like] Khân would be appropriate, and the word tamur—iron—has already been described at page 742.

Page 746—"Kara kash khan aytîn = the man named
THE SHAMSIAH MALIKS IN HIND.

Kara kash khan. *Kara hash* = black eyebrow, is a frequently-used proper name.”

Undoubtedly it is the name of a man, and *may* mean the Black-eyebrowed, but what does *Aet-kin* mean? The former is also written *Fra Poster*—*Karâ Kûsh*.

Page 748—*altun yay [yâhî?] = the golden bow*. Ikhîtiyar-ud-Dîn of the Golden bow is not inapplicable, but the word signifying gold is written either *Alân* or *Alûn* with long *â*—I.

Page 752—*sonkar, shonkar = a bird of prey, a hawk*.

Sunâkar, as it is written, on the authority before referred to, which gives the meanings of some—but not all, I regret to say—Turkî words, signifies a black-eyed falcon of a particular species. See note 6 to the page above referred to.

Page 754—*babakluk = the gross, the thick; or a mistake of the copyist instead of *kulluk = mârâb*.

The word in the majority of the copies of the text collated has *kîk-lûk*, with the vowel points, but two copies have certainly *Gîlûq*, and the first meaning assigned to it is not inapplicable, i.e. Tâj-ud-Dîn, Sanjar, the Stout or Gross. The Professor previously said that *kutlug* meant *mârâb*!

Page 756—*Kerit khan = a title = the prince of Kerit, a known Turkish tribe*.

This I look upon as wholly inadmissible, because the *Karâyat*—*kûram*—tribe—not *Kerit* certainly—so famous in the history of the Mughals, as will be found farther on, was a purely Mughal tribe, and *Karâyat* signifies dark or swarthy. The Malik referred to at page 756 was a Turk, and not of the Mughal *l-mâk*.

Page 673—*The incomprehensible part is *bikim* and here I suppose it to be an orthographical mistake for *yikîtim = my champion, a hero*.*

The word may possibly be *ykim* as a single point makes all the difference, but it might, after the same fashion, be meant for *bikim or kîm* and the like, but the next question is, as *âr* is not translated with it, whether “my champion” is possible or not: I rather think it is not.

Page 775—*balaban keshlû or keshili = of the tribe Balaban. Keshi [or ?] kishî means a person, an individual, but keshlû [sic in MS.] or kishili, if preceded by a proper name, signifies a man of. Thus Uîgar kishili = a man of the Uigur tribe; balaban kishili = a man of the Balaban tribe.*

Unfortunately for these definitions the word I submitted was *balaban*: *balân*, and this latter word has already been stated to mean “a bird of prey, a much-used proper name.” Since these words were submitted to the learned Professor, I have found, beyond a doubt, according to my authorities, as will be found farther on, that *Kashlû Khân* is a title, and it is said, in the history of the Mughals, that *Koshlak Khân*, the Nâmân, was entitled *Kashlû* and *Kashî Khân*, which title is said to be the same in signification as *Koshlak*, who is also called *Kojlak Khân*. “A man of” therefore is entirely out of the question for *Kashlû* here, at least.

Page 831—*chumak = the black hatchet, a proper name.*

This rendering is not improbable, and not unlike many other Turkish nicknames, but between a *block* and a *hatchet* there is a great difference except
when they come together. In the work I have before alluded to جامع—
جہم [in the text it is جامع—Jamāk] is described as an iron mace of six
points or divisions.

From the above result, I fear that a satisfactory solution of the correct
significations of these titles and names, with the few exceptions referred to, must
remain in abeyance until some good Dictionary of the old Turkish language
shall be forthcoming.