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*Translations from the Táríkh i Fírúz Sháhí, by the late MAJOR
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(Communicated by T. W. H. TOLBORT, Esq., C. S.)

[Continued from No. IV. of Part I., for 1869.]

[Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 282.]* When Sulṭán 'Aláuddín had witnessed four consecutive revolts, commencing with that in Gujráṭ which was raised by the new converts to Islám, up to that of Hájí Maulá, he awoke from his slumber of apathy and oblivion, and recovered from his various insane fancies. While using his utmost exertions in the prosecution of the siege of Rantambhúr, he held privy councils both by day and night, to which were convoked Malik Hamíduddín, and Malik A'azzuddín, the sons of 'Alá Dabír, and Malik 'Ainulmulk of Multán, every one of whom was an Aḡaf and a Buzurjmíhr in soundness of judgment, as well as some other sage advisers. With these he held consultations and conferences, as to the cause of the revolts, in order that when their origins and causes had been correctly ascertained, they might be altogether removed, so that hereafter no revolt might possibly occur again.

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

* The foot notes and passages in [] are additions made by the Editor of this Journal.

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

Some time after Hájí Maulá's revolt, Sultán 'Aláuddín succeeded with immense toil and difficulty in capturing the fort of Rantambhúr, whereupon he put Raí Hamír Deo, and the new converts, who had fled from the Gujrát insurrection and taken shelter with him, to death. Rantambhúr, together with the surrounding country, was given to Ulugh Khán, and whatever was in the fort became his.

The Sultán then returned from Rantambhúr to Dihlí, and being greatly incensed against the inhabitants of that city, sentenced many of the chief men to be exiled from it; and he himself would not enter the town, but took up his quarters in the suburbs.

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

[The Sultán 'Aláuddín* then took active measures to render revolts in future impossible. First of all, he commenced with confiscating

* Here is a blank in Major Fuller's translation, extending from p. 283, l. 5, from below, Ed. Bibl. Indica, to p. 285, last line. The text of this portion is

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

[Secondly, with the view of making revolts impossible, the Sultán appointed informers (*munhiyán*), and their number was so great, that he knew the good and bad things that men did. People could not utter a syllable without his knowledge ; and whatever happened in the houses of the Amírs and the Maliks, of wellknown and great men, of the officers and collectors, was, in the course of time, brought to the full of blunders, and a few words have remained untranslated. Ed. Bibl. Ind. p. 283, l. 2 from below, for بكشانيد *bekshánid*, read بكشانند *bikashánand*. For ايار, in the last line, read ايام ; and as بس خلق زررا رها نكند has no sense, we may perhaps read بهيچ خلق زررا رها نكند, or بر خلق, and leave no one in possession of gold.

P. 284, l. 2, *sáhán* is unclear to me. After *án qadre*, a sentence with ك is wanting. For *khánah* we expect *khánahá*, though it is in accordance with the clumsy style of *Ziá i Baraní*. *Mafrúz* on l. 3 is a queer word, and should be either بادروزه *bádrozah*, or روزينه *rozínah*, daily allowance, the same as *wazífah*. Another queer word is عزامت on l. 14, for which we have perhaps to read غرامت fine, mulct. For چاها و زندان on l. 4 from below, read چاههای زندان, as on p. 285, l. 2 from below. For *mídádand* on l. 9 of the same page (284), we should perhaps read *mídád*, if *daur* be the subject ; for the plural *míkárdand* in the following line is used *honoris causâ* of the Sultán. The word بكاه is doubtful.

The word *daur* is evidently the name which 'Aláuddín gave his corps of spies, and is the same as *naubat*, a watch, a patrol.

On p. 285, l. 13 dele و before كاه. An amusing alteration by the printer's devil and his 'superintendent' may be found on p. 287, l. 3, where for *fitnah* : angezí, we read *fitnah i Angrezí* !!

Sultán. Nor did he treat indifferently (*farú naguzasht*) whatever information was brought to him by the patrol (*daur*), but he made the patrol responsible for it. The spies were so intruding, that the Maliks in Hazár Sitún could no longer say a single word openly, and if they had to say anything, they made use of gestures. Day and night they trembled in their houses, lest the patrol of informers should come; and they no longer spoke, nor did they do anything which might subject them to reproof, fines (*gharámat*), or punishments (*ta'zír*).* Every Bázár news, sales and purchases, and the doings of the people in the markets were reported by the watch, and inquired into by the Sultán.]

[Thirdly, with the view of preventing revolts in future, the drinking and the sale of wines were prohibited. Afterwards the Sultán also prohibited *bagní*† and hemp (*bang*), as also gambling. Great exertions were made to carry out the prohibition of the sale of wine and *bagní*, and special wells were constructed to serve as prisons. Drunkards, gamblers, *bagni*-vendors, were driven out of the city into the country, and the enormous taxes which the state had derived from them, had to be struck off the revenue books. The Sultán, first of all, gave the order to remove from the social assembly rooms of the palace all decanters, *ma'barís*,‡ the porcelain vessels painted with gold, and the glasses and

* *Ta'zír* (تعزیر) is a punishment not fixed by the Qorán, and is opposed to *hadd* (حد) when the Qorán fixes the punishment, as stoning for adultery. In the former the judge may use his discretion, and control the degree of the punishment according to circumstances.

† I do not know why the 'superintendents' of the Ed. Bibl. Ind. have written *bugní*. The word is only given in the *Majma'ulfurs* by Surúrí (*vide* J. A. S. B., 1868, p. 16), who has—

بگنی بفتح با و سکون کاف فارسی نوعی از شراب باشد که آنرا بعربی نبیند
خوانند • مثالش طیان گوید
* بیت *
مست گشتم ز جرعه بگنی شد مزاجم ز بنگ مستغنی
و بباى فارسی [یعنی بگنی] نیز بنظر آمده ۱۱

From this *Burhán* has copied, though he has left out the form *pagní*, which has also come under Surúrí's observation.

‡ The text (p. 284, l. 1) has *معبرى*, a word not to be found in our dictionaries. From the context it is clear that a vessel for holding wine is intended. It may come from *معبر* *ma'bar*, Malabar.

bottles. All were smashed, and the broken bits were thrown in heaps before the Badáon gate. The bottles of wine were also taken from the assembly rooms and poured out, and the quantity of wine thus thrown away was so great, that pools and puddles were formed as in the rainy season. The Sultán 'Aláuddín also discontinued his wine-assemblies, and he told the Maliks to mount elephants and go to the gates of the city, and into the streets and the districts, the bázárs and saráis, and proclaim that it was his order that no one should drink or sell wine, or have anything to do with wine. Decent people gave up wine drinking as soon as the order was published, but shameless ill-disposed wretches, pimps and panderers, erected stills (*Hind.* bhaṭṭí), and distilled spirits from sugar, and drank and sold wine in secret; or they filled leather bags outside the town with wine and put them between loads of grass or fuel, or had recourse to other tricks of conveying wine into the city. The spies made strict inquiries, and the guards at the gates and the runners (*baríd*) posted there examined every one, and seized the wine and the owners, and took them before the Palace. It was then ordered to give the wine to the elephants of the Imperial stables to drink; and such as had sold it, or smuggled it into the city, or had drank any, were beaten with sticks, and fettered, and put into prison, where they were detained for some time. But as the number of the prisoners increased very much, they made wells before the Badáon gate at a place where all people pass by, and into these wells all were thrown that drank or sold wine.]

Some from the distress and misery they suffered in the wells died there, while others who were released after a time, came out half dead, and it took ages for them gradually to recover their health, and pull up strength. Many, therefore, through fear of imprisonment, abjured the use of wine, and if they were unable to control their appetites, they used to go [to the fords] of the Jamnah, and the villages ten or twelve *kos* off, and drink it there. In Ghiáspúr, however, and Indarpat,* and Kílúk'hari, and the villages four or five

* Ghiáspúr and Indarpat are portions of Dihlí. Kílok'hari had been noticed before. Ghiáspúr is that portion of Dihlí where Nizámuddin Auliá lies buried. It is also called Mughulpúr, from a party of Mughuls that were converted to Islám and settled there; *Badáoní* I., p. 173, l. 4. I am not quite sure whether this Mughulpúr is not the same as *Afghánpúr*, mentioned before (*J. A. S. B.* for 1869, p. 214, note); for the parganah and the town of *Afghánpúr* in Sambhal also were called both *Afghánpúr* and *Mughulpúr*.

kos away, as well as in the Saráis outside the town, the sale and purchase of liquor was no longer feasible. It is nevertheless certain that some reckless individuals continued to distil wine at their own houses, and to drink and to sell it; and ultimately suffered disgrace and infamy, and were cast into prison.

When the prohibition of the use of wine began to press too severely, the Sultán gave orders that, if any one distilled spirits privately, and drank the liquor in seclusion, without having a party or assembly, and without selling it, the spies were not to interfere with him, nor enter his house, nor apprehend him.

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

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

This order also was enforced with such strictness that not a stranger was permitted to stay in the houses of the Maliks and Amírs; and feasts and entertainments, when a great concourse of people would be gathered, were altogether stopped.* The Maliks and Amirs, though fear of the patrols, behaved most cautiously, and never held an assembly, nor uttered an imprudent expression, nor allowed any rebellious, infamous, or disaffected character to come near them. When they repaired to the palace, moreover, it was no longer possible for them to put their heads close to one another's ears, and to utter and hear whispered conversations, nor could they sit down in close proximity at one spot, and give vent to the sorrows of their hearts, and to complaints against the world.

* So perhaps in Major Fuller's MS. The last line on p. 286, of the *Edit. Bibl. Indica* has no grammar. Page 287 of the same edition is dreadfully disfigured by blunders and typographical errors. Line 3, read *angezí* for *angrezí*. For *mushattití* with a ط, we expect *mushattiti*, with a ت. Line 15, for *áwardan* read *awardand*. Line 17, for *khútán* read *khútánrá*. Line 18, for *yá* read *tá*. Line 19, for *charái*, read *charái*; for *bistáníd* read *bistánand*; and *sukúnatgarí* should not be broken up. Line 20, for *ghubbate* read *ghabane*.

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

After settling the above regulations, Sultán 'Aláuddín requested his councillors to suggest some rule or regulation, whereby the Hindús might be ground down, and their property or wealth, which is the source of rebellion and dissaffection, might no longer remain with them; and that one law respecting the payment of revenue might be instituted for all of them, whether landlords or tenants,* and the revenue due from the strong might not fall upon the weak; and that so much should not be left to the Hindús as to admit of their riding horses, wearing fine clothes, and indulging in sumptuous and luxurious habits.

In furtherance of the above object, which is indeed the chief of all objects of government, they suggested two regulations. First this, that whatsoever the Hindús cultivated, whether great or little, they should give one half agreeably to the measurement and [the full value of the produce per *biswah*], without any distinction, and that they should leave the landlords nothing beyond their proprietary rights [?]. Secondly, that they should levy a grazing tax on every animal that gives milk, from a cow to a she-goat, and that they should collect them in a fold in rear of every dwelling house [?][†], so that no opportunity might be left for

* The text has *خوطه وبلاهر*. Lower down we find *خوطان وبلاهران*. *Baláhar* may be Hindústání, and signify a low-caste servant. *Khút* is a rare Arabic word signifying a *fine, strong man*. From the passages below it is quite clear that these terms mean *the strong and the weak*, and most probably *landlords and tenants*, as translated by Major Fuller. If I did not know that Major Fuller's MS. had *خوطه* with a *خ* — he says in a foot note that the words *خوطه وبلاهر* are unintelligible to him —, I would say that *خوطه* was a blunder for *فوطه*, with a *ف*.

I have never seen these terms used in any other book.

† The text has *bahukm i masáhat o wafá i biswah bikunand*,—very unclear terms. Major Fuller left a blank. 'Aláuddín wants to grind down the Hindús; they are to pay taxes amounting to one-half, *i. e.* 50 per cent., and their lands are to be measured, and not even a *biswah* of their grounds is to escape taxation.

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

'First this, that they (the officers) should measure, and tax to the full value, even the last *biswah*, whatever grounds the Hindús cultivated, whether great or little; and that the Hindús should pay 50 per cent. without distinction, and that there should be no difference between the powerful and the weak, and that they (the officers) should remit the powerful nothing of the sums due by them for their wealth. Secondly, they should levy a grazing tax on every

evasion or subterfuge in levying the tax, and the burden of the strong might not fall upon the weak, but that both to the strong and to the weak there might be but one law for the payment of the revenue.

On this duty, and in calling to account those functionaries, clerks, overseers, and agents, who were in the habit of taking bribes and committing embezzlements, Sharif i Qáyiní,* Náib Wazír of the Empire, who had not his equal in the art of caligraphy throughout the whole Kingdom, and was conspicuously distinguished for his judgment and ability and his elegant composition, was several years employed. He used the greatest efforts, until he made all the villages around the capital, the towns and districts in the Duáb, from Biyánah to Jháyin, from Pálam to Deopálpúr, and Lúhúr, all the territories of Samánah and Sunnám, from Rewári to Nágor, from Karah to Kánodí, and Amrohah, Afghánpúr, and Kábar, from Dabhái to Badáon, and K'harak, and Koelah, and the whole of Káṭehar,†—until he made all these places, with regard to the payment of revenue, subject to one standing regulation of measurement and [the full value of the produce per *biswah*, and of a house tax, and] the grazing tax, as if they were but one village.

He carried out the system so well too, that contumacy and rebellion, and the riding‡ of horses, carrying of weapons, wearing of fine clothes, and eating of betel, went out entirely among the Chowdries,

animal that gives milk, from a cow to a she-goat. And this grazing tax was established. Also, for every house, they should demand a dwelling tax, so that no opportunity, &c.' The difficult words are *az pas i har khánah sukúnat-garí talab numáyand*. Ziá, as shall be shewn below, is a most miserable writer, as far as style is concerned. His language is Hindí literally translated into Persian. Even in his work on the History of the Barmakides his style is very poor. *Az pas i har khánah* is idiomatic Hindí or Hindústání, *har g'har ke píchhe*, behind every house, *i. e.* for every house, *per* house. That a new tax is meant is clear from p. 288, l. 10 and p. 323, l. 10, where كرهى is either گدھی, or گهري, from گد (گڑه), or گهر, a house.

* So according to Major Fuller's MS. Qáyin (قاین) is the well known in Persia.

† Samánah and Sunnám occur often together. They belong to the Sirkár of Sarhind; Dabhái (دبھائی, or with a nasal *n*, دنبھائی) belongs to the Sirkár of Kol, and must not be confounded with دیبھا, Dehbá, (now دھمه *Dahmah*) in the Sirkár of Gházípur. Kánaudí, or Kánaudah, belongs to the Sirkár of Nárnaul; Káṭehar is Rohilcund. Kábur is in Sambhal; another Kábur belongs to the Sirkár of Bihár in Bihár. Amrohah lies in Sambhal. For كهرك Major Fuller's MS. had كيزك (?).

‡ Compare J. A. S. B., 1869, I., p. 121, l. 15.

landed proprietors, and other opulent men. In collecting the revenue he made one law applicable to all of them, and to such a degree did their obedience extend, that a single constable of the revenue department in exacting the taxes would seize some twenty landed proprietors, chief men, and agents, and minister kicks and blows to them. It was not possible in fact for a Hindú to hold up his head, and in their houses not a sign was left of gold and silver [and *tankahs* and *jetals*], and articles of luxury, which are the main incentives to disaffection and rebellion. In consequence of their impoverished state, the wives of the landed proprietors and chief men even used to come to the houses of the Musalmáns, and do work there, and receive wages for it.

The same Sharaf of Qáyin, the Náib Wazír, also carried out the business of investigating and recovering the embezzlements of all the superintendents, overseers, revenue officers, and functionaries, agents, and collectors, to such an extent, and effected such a close scrutiny, that every *jetal* standing against the name of each of them was extracted from the ledgers (*bahí*) of the *patwáris* (or village accountants), and in accordance with that, the sums were levied from them under pain of torture. It was no longer possible, therefore, for any one to take one tankah or any single thing indeed from either a Hindú or Musalmán by way of bribe.*

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

* In the *Ed. Bibl. Indica*, p. 289, l. 3 *dele* the words *barishwat* before *chíze*. On l. 9, the word *شق* has either the meaning *the jail situated in the shiqqah of a shiqdár* (?), or it is blunder for *شك*, and *dar shakk* means *on suspicion*.

In Shakespear's *Hindústání Dictionary* I find *شقدار shiqdár* given in the sense of *perplexing, uncertain*; but surely, this is a mistake, or an Indian spelling, for *شكدار shakk*, doubt.

Sultán 'Aláuddín was a monarch, who had not a particle of education, and had never cultivated the society of intelligent persons.

On attaining to the sovereignty, he formed the opinion in his own mind, that the business of ruling and governing was a totally distinct affair from giving efficacy to the statutes of religion, and that royal mandates appertained to Kings, but the commandments of the law of the Prophet to Qázís and Muftís. In accordance with this idea, therefore, whatever measure in the course of government pleased him, or appeared advantageous to the State, that he invariably adopted, no matter whether it was consonant with the precepts of religion or not; and never, in the transaction of state affairs, did he ask for an ecclesiastical verdict or decree on the propriety of any measure. Very few intelligent persons had frequent intercourse with him; but of those who used to visit him were, first, Qází Ziáuddín of Biyánah; second, Mauláná Zahíruddín Lang, and third, Mauláná Mushayyid of Guhrám.* [They were ordered to sit at the table, and sat together with the Amírs outside]. Qází Mughísuddín of Biyánah also had constant communication with the Sultán, and used to attend both at public and private audiences.

One day, about the time when a great deal of trouble was being taken with regard to levying heavier taxes, and imposing fines and recoveries on revenue officers, Sultán Aláuddín told the Qází Mughís that he intended asking him for his professional opinion on several subjects, and required him to state the exact truth in return. Qází Mughís said in reply: "It seems as if the hour of my death were near at hand;" whereupon the Sultán enquired, "Why should you think so?" "Because," exclaimed the Qází, "when your Majesty asks my opinion on religious points, and I state the truth, your Majesty will get enraged and put me to death." "Rest assured," said the Sultán, "that I will not harm you; only reply with truth and sincerity to whatever questions I may put to you." Qází Mughís answered, "Whatever I have read in theological works, that will I assert."

The first question proposed by Sultán 'Aláuddín to the Qází Mughís was: "Under what circumstances can the epithets of *Khiráj*-

* Guhrám is a town and parganah in the Sirkar of Sarhind. In Elliot's works, also in Prof. Dawson's Edition, the name is wrongly spelt *Kohráam*.

dih, and *Khirājguzār* be properly applied to a Hindú?" The Qází replied, "By the ecclesiastical law, the term 'Khirāj-guzār' is applicable to a Hindú only, who, as soon as the revenue collector demands the sum due from him, pays the same with meekness and humility, coupled with the utmost respect, and free from all reluctance; and who, should the collector choose to spit in his mouth, opens the same without hesitation, so that the official may spit into it, and under such circumstances continues to pay him homage. The purport of this extreme meekness and humility on his part, and of the collector's spitting into his mouth, is to shew the extreme subservience incumbent on this class, the glory of Islám and the orthodox faith, and the degradation of false religion. God Almighty himself [in the Qorán] declares with regard to their being subjected to degradation '*an yadin wahum ṣāghirūna*,'* and thus he expressly commands their complete degradation, inasmuch as these Hindús are the deadliest foes of the true Prophet. Mustafá, on whom be blessing and peace, has given orders regarding the slaying, plundering, and imprisoning of them, ordaining that they must either follow the true faith, or else be slain and imprisoned, and have all their wealth and property confiscated. With the exception of the Imám i A'zam [Abú Hanífa], whose doctrines we uphold, we have no other great divine as authority for accepting the poll tax (*jāzyah*) from a Hindú; for the opinion of other learned men is based on the [*Hadís*] text, "either death, or Islám." Sultán 'Aláuddín burst out laughing at Qází Mughís's answer, and said: "I know nothing of the subjects that you have been talking about; but it had often struck me, that the landed proprietors and chief men used to ride fine horses, wear handsome clothes, shoot with the Persian bow [*i. e.*, cross bow], fight among themselves, and follow the chase, and yet never paid a *jetal* of their taxes on lands, persons, flocks and herds, although they took their proprietary share of the produce separately, and that they were further in the habit of having parties and drinking wine; yet some of them would never come to the collectorate, whether summoned or not, nor pay the least respect to the revenue officers. My anger was roused at this, and glowing with passion, I said to myself: Here am I desirous of conquering other countries, and bringing more realms under

* Qorán 9, 29. Sale's Qorán, 1857, p. 152. *Vide* Aín translation, p. 237, note 1.

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

The second question proposed by Sultán 'Aláuddín to Qází Mughís was this: "As to the robbery, embezzlement, and bribery, going on among officials, and the way in which they falsify accounts and defraud the revenue; is this mentioned anywhere in the divine law?" Qází Mughís replied: "It has never occurred to me, nor have I ever read in any book, that when officials receive a sufficient salary, and yet rob the money of the public treasury, which contains the aggregate of the national income, or receive bribes, or defraud the revenue, they cannot be chastised by their superiors, either by fine, imprisonment, or other infliction as may seem most advisable; but for such a delinquent, who robs in his official capacity, amputation of the hand has not been authorized (*i. e.*, the recognized sentence awarded to a common thief.)"

The Sultán said: "Well, I have ordered the revenue commissioners to recover by means of various kinds of torture whatever sums may appear on investigation against the names of the agents, superintendents, and other officials; and ever since they have been called so strictly to account, I hear robbery and bribery have greatly diminished. I have, however, also directed, that the salary of superintendents, and other officials shall be fixed at such a rate as to allow of their living respectably; and if, notwithstanding this, they still commit frauds, and decrease the actual sums received, it shall be

recovered from them with stripes ; and accordingly you yourself can see how it fares in the present day with persons holding these appointments."

The third question proposed by the Sultán to Qází Mughís was this : "As regards the wealth that I brought from Deogír with so much trouble, on my gaining the sovereignty ; is that wealth my private property, or does it belong to the national treasury of all Musulmán's ?" Qází Mughís replied : "I have no option but to speak the truth before the royal throne ; the wealth that your Majesty brought from Deogír, was gained by the force of the army of Islám ; and whatever is gained by such means, becomes the national treasure of all Musulmán's. Had your Majesty acquired the wealth from anywhere by yourself, it would be a satisfactory reason according to divine law, and the wealth so acquired would be Your Majesty's private property."

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

The fourth question proposed by Sultán 'Aláuddín to Qází Mughís was this : "What portion of the national treasury belongs by right to myself and my children ?" Qází Mughís exclaimed : "Surely my hour of death has arrived ;" to which the Sultán replied : "Why should your hour of death have arrived ?" "Because," said the Qází, "if I answer this question which your Majesty has put to me, according to the truth, your Majesty will get into a passion, and put me to death ; and should I tell an untruth, on the day of

judgment, I shall have to enter into hell." The Sultān replied: "State whatever is authorized by the divine law, and I shall not harm you." Then said Mughís: "If your Majesty intends following the example of the virtuous Caliphs, and desires the highest honours of a future state, you should take for your own use and that of your family just as much only as you have assigned to each of the soldiery, viz., 234 tankahs. But if your Majesty prefers following a middle course, and considers that that sum would not suffice to maintain the dignity of your exalted position, you might take for your own use and that of your family as much as you give to the chief dignitaries of your Court, such as Malik Qirán, Malik Qirbak, Malik Náib Wakílidar and Malik Khāç Hájib. Or should your Majesty adopt the opinions of the sages of the world, in taking a sum from the national treasury for your own use and that of your family, you should take a portion that is larger and better than that of other nobles of your Court, in order that a distinction may be drawn between yourself and others, and the dignity of your exalted position may not be lowered. Whatever your Majesty takes from the national treasury however, in excess of these three modes which I have represented, and for all the lakhs, and krors, and gold jewels you bestow on your family, you will have to answer for at the day of judgment."

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

After discussing the aforesaid questions, Sultān 'Aláuddín said to Qází Mughís: "After the way in which you have stigmatized my acts as contrary to divine law, listen to this: I have even established a fine of three years' pay for every horseman, who does not stand muster; I cast into prison all who indulge in wine or sell it; when any one

commits adultery with another's wife, I cut off his (offending) organ and put the woman to death ; in revolts I slay both the good and the bad ; embezzled money I recover by means of various kinds of torture, and keep the delinquents in prison and in chains so long as one *jetal* of the sum remains unliquidated, and revenue defalcators I make prisoners for life. Now, do you mean to say all these acts are contrary to divine law ? ”

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

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

[But stop, O Mauláná Mughís ! One thing I do not forget in my prayers to God, and I often say, “ O God, thou knowest that my kingdom suffers nothing, if any man sleeps with the wife of his neigh-

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

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

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

[In the same year in which the Sultán 'Aláuddín asked Qází Mu-ghis on some questions of the law, Mauláná Shamsuddín Turk, a very

* On p. 296, *Ed. Bibl. Indica*, l. 15 read *bá zan i yake* for *zan i yake*, and *kunad* for *kunand* ; on l. 18, read *bistánad* for *bistánand*, and *banámzadí* for *namzadí*.

Bád i burút zadan (l. 12) is said, of men, *to boast* ; of women, we say *bád i gesú zadan*.

The whole page is about the most difficult and doubtful page in *Baraní*.

excellent and learned teacher of the Hadīs, had come to Multán, bringing with him a collection of four hundred works on the Hadīs. He would not go beyond Multán, because he had heard that the Sultán said no prayers, nor attended the Friday-prayer in the mosque. Fazlullah, son of Shaikhul Islám Çadruddín, became his pupil. This learned man, while at Multán, wrote a commentary on the Science of the Hadīs, which he sent, together with a pamphlet in Persian, to Court. In the preface, he had said much to the praise of the Sultán. In the pamphlet the following passage occurred. ‘I have come from Egypt with the wish of seeing your Majesty and the city of Dihlí, and my intention was there to establish a school of followers of the Hadīs,* and to deliver the Musalmáns from acting upon the traditions of learned but irreligious men. But when I heard that your Majesty says no prayers, nor attends the mosque on Fridays, I returned from Multán. However, I heard of two or three qualities which your Majesty possesses in common with pious kings, and I also heard that your Majesty has two or three qualities which do not belong to religious kings.’]

[‘Now, the good sides of your Majesty are these. I am told that the wretchedness and the misery and the despicable condition and the worthlessness of the Hindús are now so great, that Hindú children and women will go about begging at the doors of the Musalmáns. Hail, king of Islám ! the protection which thou affordest the religion of Muhammad (God’s peace rest on him !) is such that, if for a single act done by thee to the glory of Islám, a measure of sins filling Heaven and Earth be not forgiven thee, thou mayest grasp the hem of my garment on the morrow of resurrection.’]

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

* *I. e.*, the Mauláná rejected the decisions of the early lawyers, unless based upon the Qorán and the Hadīs.

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

[‘*Fourthly*, I have heard that thou hast driven the trades people with their voluble tongues into mice holes, and hast taken the cheating, and lying, and falsifying out of them ; and yet thou thinkest* it little that, in this regard also, thou hast managed *bázár*-people as no king ever has done since the days of Adam. O king, bless God that thou sittest for such deeds in the company of the prophets !]

[‘ But the other things which I have heard of your Majesty, are such as neither God, nor the prophets and the saints, nor even the rationalist, can approve of. *First*, for the office of *Qází* of the realm (a most critical office which suits no one, except he despise the world) thou hast appointed *Hamíd* of *Multán*, whose family from the times of his grandfather and father have lived on usury. Nor dost thou carefully enquire into the belief of thy other *Qázís*, and thou givest the laws of the Prophet into the hands of the covetous, the avaricious, and the worldly. Be on thy guard, lest thou shouldst not be able to bear thy sinful drowsiness on the morrow of resurrection.’]

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

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

* On p. 298, in Bibl. Ind. edition, l. 4, read *bamanáfi*’ for *manáfi*’, and on l. 11, *míshumári* for *mashumári*. It looks as if *mashumári* had been taken in the sense of *nashumári*, because the same grammatical blunder is perpetrated three times on p. 327.

On p. 302, l. 8, read *lashkar* for *shukr* ; l. 11, *nágirift* for *tá girift* ; l. 17, *az* for *ar*.

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

[Now the book and the pamphlet written by this teacher of the Hadís came into the hands of Baháuddín, the Counsellor ; and Baháuddín, the ungrateful Counsellor, gave the book to Sultán ‘Aláuddín, but the pamphlet he did not give and kept it hidden, on account of his partiality for Qází Hamíd of Multán. But I, the author of this book, have heard from Malik Qirá Beg that the Sultán learned from Sa’d, the logician, that such a pamphlet had arrived ; and he called for the pamphlet, and he wanted to make away with Baháuddín and his son, because he had not given up the pamphlet, and the Sultán was very sorry that Mauláná Shamsuddín Turk had returned from Multán disappointed.] (Ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 299.)

Death of Ulugh Khán. Conquest of Chítor. Invasion of the Mughuls.

Not long after Sultán ‘Aláuddín had returned from Rantambhúr to Dihlí, and begun pursuing this parsimonious and cruel conduct towards the people, and had thrown open the gate of fines and chastisements ; Ulugh Khán fell sick, and while proceeding to the Capital, he died at one of the halting-places on the road.

Malik A’azzuddín Abúrjá, [Búr Khán (?), *Ed. Bibl. Ind.*] was appointed Wazír in [Shahr i Nau (Jháyin)] the revenue of which was now levied, like that of the environs of Dehli, according to measurement and the exact value *per biswah*.

Sultán ‘Aláuddín then took the army away again from the Capital, and marching to Chítor, invested that fort, and speedily reduced it, after which he returned to the Capital. Just about the time of his return, an invasion of the Mughuls took place ; for the Mughuls had heard in Máwarannahr, that Sultán ‘Aláuddín had marched with his army to a distant fortress, and was engaged in besieging it, and that Dihlí was consequently unprotected. Turghí accordingly got together two or three *tumáns* of horse, and reached Dihlí by a series of rapid marches with the utmost celerity.

During this year too, in which the Sultán had proceeded to capture the stronghold of Chitor, Malik Fakhruddín Júná Dádbak i hazrat, and

Malik Jhujhú, Jágírdár [*muqta'*] of Karah, the nephew (brother's son) of Nuçrat Khán, together with all the Amírs of Hindústán, had been dispatched to Arangul ; but by the time they arrived there, the rains had begun to descend from the sky, and the season became most unpropitious, so that the army of Hindústán could effect nothing at Arangul, and ultimately returned about the beginning of the cold weather, totally disorganized, and with all its stores and equipments lost and ruined.

It was during this very year, when Sultán 'Aláuddín had returned to Dihlí after the capture of Chítor, and the army that had started along with him, had lost all its stores and equipments during the rainy season, and a month had not elapsed since the time of the Sultán's return, so that the soldiery had not yet been mustered, nor their kits renewed, that the invasion of the Mughuls took place, and the accursed Turghí, advancing swiftly with 40,000 horsemen, encamped on the banks of the river Jamnah, and blockaded the roads of ingress and egress of the city.

A strange incident was this that befel the soldiery during this year ; for Sultán 'Aláuddín, after returning from the capture of Chítor, had not sufficient time to provide the army with horses and arms after the loss of equipments they had sustained at Chítor, and Malik Fakhr-uddín Júná, the Dádbak, having returned with the army of Hindústán broken and disorganized from Arangul into the provinces, not a horseman or footman out of it could force his way into the city, on account of the blockade kept up by the Mughuls on all the roads, and the piquets they had stationed. In Multán, Sámánah, and Deopálpúr, moreover, there was no force of sufficient strength to overthrow the Mughul army, and join the Sultán's camp [at Sírí]. The army of Hindústán was summoned to advance, but in consequence of the hostile presence of the Mughuls, they remained at Kol and Baran. [The Mughuls moreover had occupied all fords (of the Jamnah)].

Sultán 'Aláuddín, therefore, with the few horsemen that he had at the Capital, came out of the city, and fixing his head quarters at Sírí, pitched his camp there. The Sultán was then under the necessity of having a trench dug round the camp, and palisades, formed of the planks of house doors, erected along side the trench, whereby he prevented the Mughuls from forcing an entrance into the camp. He

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

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

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

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

* *Vide* a plan of 'Alāuddīn's Intrenchment in Campbell's 'Note on the Topography of Dihlī,' J. A. S. Bengal, 1866, Pt. I., p. 217.

As soon as the danger threatened by Ṭurghī, which indeed appeared most appalling (for the time), had passed away, the Sultān awoke from his lethargy, and gave up carrying on wars and sieges. He built a palace at Sírī, and took up his abode there, making Sírī his capital, and rendering it populous, and flourishing. He also directed the fortress of Dihlí to be built up, and issued orders that the forts on the line of march of the Mughuls, which had gone to ruin, should be repaired, and that new ones should be erected wherever they were required, and distinguished and able governors appointed to all these strongholds in the direction whence the inroads of the Mughuls occurred. He further commanded that they should make up numerous warlike engines, enlist expert marksmen, establish magazines for arms of all kinds, and accumulate stores of grain and fodder after the manner of granaries, within the ramparts; that numerous picked and chosen troops should be enrolled at Sámánah, and Deopálpur, and kept ready for service, and that the districts in the direction of the Mughul inroads should be confided to experienced nobles, and firm and energetic chiefs.

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

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

The Sultān then took counsel with his advisers, every one of whom was unequalled and eminently distinguished, saying: "To maintain an immense picked and chosen force well mounted, so that they may be fully equipped and efficient at all times, is impossible, without the expenditure of vast treasures; for one must give regularly every year

whatever sum is fixed upon at first ; and if I settle a high rate of pay upon the soldiery, and continue to disburse money to them at that rate annually, at the end of a few years, notwithstanding all the treasure I possess, nothing will be left, and without treasure it is of course impossible to govern or deliberate."

"I am accordingly desirous of having a large force, well mounted, of picked and chosen men, expert archers, and well armed that will remain embodied for years ; and I will give 234 *tankahs* to a *Murattab* and 78 *tankahs* to a *Du-aspah* ; from the former of whom I shall require two horses with their corresponding equipments, and from the latter one* with its usual gear. Consider now and inform me how this idea that has entered into my mind about raising a large force, and maintaining it permanently, may be carried into execution."

The councillors, endowed with abilities like those of Aḡaf, exercised their brilliant intellects, and after some reflection unanimously expressed the following opinion before the throne : "As it has entered into your Majesty's heart, and become implanted† there, to raise a large force and permanently maintained on small allowances [*ba mawājib i andak*], such can never be accomplished unless horses, arms, and all the equip-

* *I. e.*, one horse. The Edit. Bibl. Ind. has *yak aspah*, one horseman.

This passage is unfortunately unclear and useless, because Baranī has not supplied a commentary. *First*, it is clear from the following that the wages of 78 and 234 (*i. e.*, 78 × 3) *tankahs* were unusually low, and Baranī has not stated what the ordinary rates were. *Secondly*, it is also clear that 'Alāuddīn takes the terms *Murattab* and *Duaspah* in a new sense, because he defines them for his councillors, and Baranī has not stated what their usual meanings were. The word *Murattab* does not appear to occur in later histories ; it may mean *equipped*, though *murattib* would give a meaning too. To call a man *duaspah*, because he joins the army with *one* horse, is extraordinary, and against the meaning which the word has in the Akbarnāmah, Badāonī, the Pādishāhnāmah, &c. *Vide* the annotator's note on Akbar's *Manṡabs* (Ain translation, p. 238 to 247). *Thirdly*, we expect in the wages a proportion of 1 : 2, not 1 : 3, because 'Alāuddīn's *Murattab* furnishes two, and his *Duaspah* one horse ; but this difficulty may be explained away (*vide* Ain translation, p. 251, l. 3, where also the rates are given which Akbar gave his *Yakaspahs*).

Badāonī's interesting remark that Akbar's *Dāgh-law* had been the rule under 'Alāuddīn i Khiljī and Sher Shāh (Ain translation, p. 242, and J. A. S. Bengal for 1869, p. 126) can but little be verified by a reference to Ziā's work, though the word *dāgh* (in Akbar's sense) occurs on p. 319, l. 2 from below (*Ed. Bibl. Ind.*), and p. 477, l. 6, (Muhammad Shāh's reign)—also an interesting page for the military history of India, inasmuch an army of 380,000 troopers is mentioned, a statement which may advantageously be compared with Ain translation, p. 245.

† The text has *jāgūr*, which is taken in its etymological meaning of *jā-giriftah*, having taken a place, having taking root, *vide* Ain translation, p. 256, note.

The earliest passage at present known to me, of *jāgūr* being taken in a sense

ments of a soldier, as well as subsistence for his wife and family, become excessively cheap, and are reduced to the price of water; for if your Majesty can succeed in lowering the price of provisions beyond measure, a large force can be raised and permanently maintained according to the idea that has entered your august mind; and by the aid of this vast force all fear of danger from the Mughuls will be averted."

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

These measures were as follows: a fixed price current; a magistrate (to carry out the provisions) of the law; royal granaries; prohibition against all sales at enhanced prices; consignment of the caravans of grain into the hands of the magistrate of the market; sale of grain by the cultivators at their own fields; publication of the price current daily before the throne.

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

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

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

approaching its later (Indian) meaning of *lands assigned to military commanders*, occurs in Baranī (Ed. B. I., p. 40, l. 13)—

چهار هزار سوار جاگیر و بداؤن اقطاع داشت

'He had 4000 troopers as *jāgīr*, and held Badāon as *aqṭā'*; for which later Historians would say

چهار هزار سوار منصب و بداؤن جاگیر داشت

The word *manṣab*, like *zamīndār*, is old, and occurs even in the *Ṭabaqāt i Nāṣirī*.

It is of interest to watch the changes of meaning which the word *jāgīr* has gone through.

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

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

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

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

Regulation VI.—To take certificates from the Collectors [*kárkunān*]* of the country to shew that the merchants get the grain on the fields. (For *کارکنان ولایت* read *کارکنان ولایت*, as is clear from p. 307).

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

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

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

The *first* regulation was of this description—Wheat, $7\frac{1}{2}$ *jetals* per *man*; barley, 4 *j.*; gram, 5 *j.*; rice, 5 *j.*; másh, 5 *j.*; and mot'h, 3 *j.*† The above prices held good for years, and as long as Sultān 'Aláuddīn was alive, grain never did rise a *dáng* above that, either during an excess or a scarcity of rain, and this establishment of a fixed price in the market was considered one of the wonders of the age.

* We should not forget that *Kárkun* was the title of a class of Revenue officials under the 'Amīl, or Collector. During the reign of Akbar, the 'Amīl, had two *bitikchís* or 'writers' under him, whose titles were *Kárkun* and *Khác-nawís*. Abulfazl specifies their duties in the *Akbarnámah* (beginning of the 27th year).

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

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

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

The *third* regulation for the same purpose was, the accumulation of vast hoards of grain in store-houses. Sultán 'Aláuddín gave orders that throughout the crown lands in the Duáb, they should take the grain itself in place of money payments for revenue, and send it into the royal granaries at the capital, while in [Shahr i nau] and its adjoining territory, they should take a moiety of the royal share in kind, and that in Jháyin and its several districts also, they should form depôts for grain, and forward it by the caravans to the capital. In short, so much of the royal grain reached Dihlí, that there was scarcely a street, which did not contain two or three of the royal store-houses filled with it; and when there was a scarcity of rain, or the caravans, from some cause or other, failed to convey sufficient grain into the market, they used to bring it into market from the royal stores, selling it at the regulated price, and supplying the people according to their wants, while in *Shahr i nau* they used to consign the grain out of the royal depôts to the caravans. By these two arrangements, there was never a dearth of grain in the market, nor did it ever rise one *dáing* above the regulated price.

The *fourth* regulation for the same purpose was, the consignment of the caravans to (the charge of) Malik Qabúl, magistrate of the market. Sultán 'Aláuddín gave orders, that the whole of the caravans from all parts of the kingdom should be subject to the magistrate of the market, and their leaders should be [fettered and chained]. The magistrate also was directed to keep the leaders of the caravans [fettered and chained] ever present before him, until they became of the same mind, and agreed to sign a deed on mutual security, and that until they brought their wives, children, cattle, and property with them, and set up their abodes in the villages bordering on the Jamnah, where the

jurisdiction of the magistrate would extend over them and their wives and children, and the caravans would be completely subject to him, he should not remove the chains from their necks. By the establishment of this regulation, so much grain began to pour into the market, that there was no need for the royal stores, and the price never rose a *dāng* above the fixed rate.

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

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

The *sixth* regulation for securing the cheapness of grain, was the taking of written agreements from the superintendents and agents of districts to this effect, that they would cause the grain to be delivered to the caravans by the cultivators at their own fields. Sultán 'Aláud-din accordingly gave orders, that at the chief office of revenue, written engagements should be taken from the magistrates and collectors of the country lying within the Duáb, which is nearest to the city, binding them to exact the revenue due from the cultivators with the utmost rigour, so that it might be impossible for them to carry off any large quantities of grain from the fields to their own houses, and hoard it there, and that they might thus be induced to sell it to the caravans at the fields at a cheap rate.

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

grain as they could, from their fields to the market, and sell it at the regular price.

The *seventh* regulation for the above purpose [consisted* in this that reports had to be furnished of the prices current in the Bázárs. The continuance of the prosperity of the Bázárs was ascertained in three ways. *First*, the *Shihnah i Mandī* had to furnish a list of prices and report on the condition of the Bázár. *Secondly*, the *Barīd i Mandī*, reported on the quality of the articles. *Thirdly*, the informers who had been appointed for every Bázár made reports. If there were discrepancies between the reports of the informers and that of the Barīd and that of the Shihnah, the Shihnah got for it what he had to get. But as the officers appointed in the Bázárs knew that the Sultān got his reports on the transactions and the state of the market from three sources, it was impossible to deviate, even in the least, from the Bázár regulations. Experienced people that lived during the reign of 'Aláuddīn were astonished to see how firm the prices of articles remained; for though it is nothing uncommon to see prices remain firm during years when the season is good and there is plenty of rain, it was most remarkable that during the reign of 'Aláuddīn no famine occurred at Dihlī, not even in years when there was a draught and people thought a famine unavoidable. Neither the grain of the Sultān, nor the grain of the merchants could indeed rise a single

* Here is a blank in Major Fuller's translation, extending from p. 308, l. 3, *Ed. Bibl. Indica*, to p. 312, l. 4 from below. On page 308, l. 5 from below for *او* read *او*; l. 3 from below, dele *و*, and for *بست یکان* read *ایستگان*. Page 310 l. 5 read *کونله* for *کونله*; the Hamzah cannot be left out, as the word is an adjective; l. 7 dele the Hamzah, and read *سینم سه و نیم* for *سینم*; l. 10. *سلاھتی* for *سلاھتی*; l. 12 read *شکرتری* for *شکرتری*; l. 14. *سه* for *سر*, and *دوونیم* for *دوونیم*; l. 19, *اسامی* for *تذکرہ اسامی*. Page 311, l. 4 the second word is *birasānand*; l. 6, dele the Hamzah of *اقمشہ*; l. 13, dele *و*; l. 18, read *ششتری* (of Shushtar or Shustar) for *ششتری*. Page 313, l. 3, read *اسپہای* or *اسپہائے* for *اسامی*; and compare lines 14 and 15 with l. 20. Page 314, l. 6, *کردندے* for *کردندے*; l. 11, *نخواهد* for *خواهد*; l. 12 read *کند و از میزان و پیش* for the absurd—*کند و از میزان و پیش*. Page 315, l. 10, read *مذکور* for *مذکور*; last line, *زحمت* for *زحمت*, and *موزہ* for *موزہ*. The pages from 308 to 332 of the *Bibl. Indica* Edition look like uncorrected proof sheets.

dāng, and it is certainly a matter of astonishment that no other king besides 'Alāuddīn ever did effect such results. If even once or twice the Shihnah i Mandī petitioned the Sultān to raise the price of grain by half a *jetal* on account of a season of draught, he got twenty lashes].

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

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

1. The establishment of the *Sarái 'Adl*.
2. The fixing of prices.
3. The registration of all merchants in the Empire.
4. Advances made from the Treasury to rich and respectable Multānī traders, who were put in charge of the *Sarái 'Adl*.
5. Passes to be given by the chief of the town (*ra'ís*)* to great and rich people when they wanted to purchase costly articles].

[The *first* regulation for keeping the prices of articles low, consisted in the establishment of the *Sarái 'Adl*. The open space inside the Badāon Gate, in the direction of the *Koshak i sabz*, which for years had not been used, was called *Sarái 'Adl*, and 'Alāuddīn gave the order that no article belonging to the Sultān or to merchants of the town and the country, should be stored up in any other place but the *Sarái 'Adl*. Every article should there be sold at the price fixed by the Sultān, and if any one should store up wares in his own house, or sell them, or sell them a *jetal* dearer than was

* Perhaps the *Dīwān*, as below, in the third regulation, Baranī uses *Ra'ís* as equivalent to *Dīwān i Riyāsāt*.

fixed, such wares should lapse to the Sultān, and the owner should be liable to severe punishment. On account of this regulation all wares were deposited in the *Sarāi 'Adl*, whether in value from one hundred, or from thousand to ten thousand *tankahs*.]

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

Dihlī <i>Khazz</i> Silk,	16 <i>Tankaks</i> .
Orange coloured, raw silk, <i>Khazz i Kaunlaī</i> (<i>کونلا</i>)*.....	6 <i>T</i> .
Half silks mixed with hair, as prescribed in the Muhammadan law, fine,	3 <i>T</i> .
Red striped stuffs,	6 <i>Jetals</i> .
Common stuffs,	3½ <i>J</i> .
Red lining as woven at Nágor,	24 <i>J</i> .
Coarse lining,	12 <i>J</i> .
<i>Shirín báft</i> , fine,	5 <i>T</i> .
Do., Middling,	3 <i>T</i> .
Do., Coarse,	2 <i>T</i> .
<i>Siláhatī</i> ,† fine,	6 <i>T</i> . (?)
Do., Middling,	4 <i>T</i> .
Do., Coarse,	2 <i>T</i> .
Long cloth (<i>Kirpás</i>), fine,	1 <i>T</i> ., for 20 <i>gaz</i> .
Do., Coarse,	1 <i>T</i> ., for 40 <i>gaz</i> .
Again, White sugar,	2½ <i>Jetal</i> , per <i>ser</i> .
Light brown sugar (<i>shakar i tar</i>),	1½ <i>J</i> ., Do.
Brown sugar,	1½ <i>J</i> ., for 3 <i>ser</i> s.
Grease, of different animals,	1 <i>J</i> ., for 1½ <i>s</i> .
Sesame oil,	1 <i>J</i> ., for 3 <i>s</i> .
Salt,	1 <i>J</i> ., for 2½ <i>mans</i> .

* Regarding *Khazz* silk, *vide* *Aín* translation p. 92, note 4. The word *کونلا* must be written with a hamzah above the *g*, as in all other adjectives denoting colour; e. g., *پستة* *pistai*, looking green like the pistachio nut, *نقره* *nuqrai* looking like silver, *چهره* *chihrai* pink, &c. *Vide* J. A. S. Bengal, for 1868, p. 41.

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

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

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

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

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

[The *fourth* regulation for the above purpose provided that advances from the Treasury should be made to Multání traders, so so that they might bring articles to town, and sell them in the *Sarái 'Adl* at the rates fixed by the Sultán. The Sultán 'Aláuddín ordered that advances within twenty lacs of tankahs should be made to rich Multání merchants from the treasury, who were to be put in charge of the *Sarái 'Adl*; and he told the Multánís to bring articles from all parts of the Empire, and sell them at the rates fixed by the Sultán in the *Sarái*. Whenever merchants did not bring articles to town, this regulation was applied, and articles remained cheap].

[The *fifth* regulation for the above purpose consisted in this that the *Díwán (raís)* was ordered to grant passes for the purchase of costly articles. The Sultán 'Aláuddín ordered that no man should be allowed to buy in the *Sarái 'Adl* costly stuffs, as *Tasbáh*, *Tabríz*, embroidered, cloths with gold threads, *Dihlí floselle* silks, *kamkhábs*, *Shushtar* silks, *Harírí* silks, Chinese silks, *Bhíram (?)* silks, *Deogír* silks, and other stuffs which common people do not use, without first obtaining a pass from the *Díwán*, and writing out a receipt for them. The *Díwán* then

used to give Amírs, Maliks, great and well known men, passes according to his knowledge of their circumstances ; but if he knew that some of them, though not merchants, had merely applied to him for permission to take costly stuffs from the *Sarái 'Adl*, in order to sell them in the country at four or five times the price at which they had got them from the stores of the Sultán, he refused to give passes. The very reason why the pass system had been introduced, had in fact been this, to prevent merchants, both in and outside the town, from obtaining costly stuffs from the *Sarái 'Adl* at the rates fixed by the Sultán, and then taking them to the country where they could not be had, and selling them at high prices].

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

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

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

First, with respect to the specification of quality and the corresponding price of a horse, it was determined thus. Horses coming under the designation of taxable animals, were divided into three qualities, with

fixed prices [?]*; that of the first quality varying from 100 to 120 tankahs, the second from 80 to 90, and the third from 60 to 70; while such as did not pass through the custom house [or rather, the *Dīwān's* muster], were called *tattoos* (ponies), averaging from 10 to 20 tankahs.

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

The *third* regulation for the above purpose, was the coercion and castigation of the chief horse brokers, who were a most arrogant, rebellious, and audacious class of people. These they treated with immense rigour and severity, and expelled some from the city, until the price of horses began to get cheap; for these chief brokers are in reality the rulers of the market, and until they are brought into order by coercion and castigation, and cease taking the bribes which they receive from both parties, and abstain from mediating between the buyer and the seller, the price of horseflesh can never fall. It was a matter of some difficulty to bring these bare-faced brokers into order, nor would they have behaved themselves properly except through fear of the Sultān's

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

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

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

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

harsh disposition, whereby it was no longer possible for them to prevaricate and tell falsehoods.

The *fourth* regulation for the above purpose was, the investigation into the quality and price of horseflesh before the throne. Every month or six weeks, Sultán 'Aláuddín used to summon before him [for a day or two] a specimen* of all these qualities of horses, together with the chief brokers, when he both examined and tested the quality of the animal, and ascertained its prices. If any variation appeared between its sterling worth, and the specification of its quality and price, the brokers suffered penalties and punishments accordingly. Owing to this scrutiny, inasmuch as the chief brokers were liable to be summoned quite suddenly before the throne, it was impossible for them to set up a price and quality of their own, or to take any thing from the buyer and seller, or to enhance or diminish, or to exceed the standard [and yet pass in muster before the throne].

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

* Major Fuller's MS. seems to read *نونه* for *نونه* (?) which the Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 314, l. 6, has.

† Major Fuller passes mildly over the obscene phrases of the text (p. 314, the last six lines.) *Kanīzak i kinári* means, of course a girl for embracing (*kinárah*), a concubine, not necessarily a singing girl. The words *Ghulámán i kárkardah* and *bachagán i naukári*, which Major Fuller translates 'working men' and 'ill-favoured boys,' have another meaning. *Kárkardah* is the same as *maf'úl*, not 'working,' but 'worked upon,' a *catamitus*; hence *ghulámán i kárkardah*, slaves that are practised and may be used by sodomites. *Ghulám bachagán i naukári*, who fetched of course less money, are 'novices in the art.'

To the great joy of Baraní 'beardless slaves, beautiful eunuchs, pretty slave girls fetched (during the next reign) 500 to 1000 Tankahs, and even 2000 T.'; vide Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 384, where, *passim*, we have to read on the last lines *arzishhái* (prices) for the absurd *az* (on one line) and *rishtahái* (on the other line.)

and that of working men [?] from 10 to 15, while ill-favoured boys [?] were procurable at 7 and 8.

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

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

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

In the establishment of laws for the market people, which belongs to the financial department [*dīwān i riyāsat*] of the State, and for the establishment of the price of articles sold in the stalls of the market, a great deal of trouble was taken; and with immense toil, everything connected with the markets, from caps to socks, combs to needles, sugar cane to vegetables, [*Harīśah* to broth, *Çabūnī* sweatmeats to *Reorīs*,* cakes and baked bread to rice bread and fishcakes, from *pān-*

* *Réorī* is perhaps familiar to all in India. For *Harīśah*, we have Abulfazl's recipe, *Ain translation*, p. 60, l. 18; and p. 33, *Note*.

leaves] to betel nuts, roses, and greens, was put thoroughly in order.

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

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

The first measure for establishing the cheapness of articles, appertaining to public markets, was the appointment of an able superintendent, and a stern harsh-tempered magistrate; [for the people of the markets are shameless, bold, cunning, and debauched, they 'burn' fools and lie, and(?); they arbitrarily fix the prices of articles themselves. Kings have been unable to reduce them to obedience by laying down price lists, and ministers have failed to devise laws and regulate the transactions of this forward set of people. After much reflection, 'Aláuddín appointed Ya'qúb, the superintendent (*názir*), to the new office of *Díwán i riyásat*; for he knew the whole town, and the transactions and the sales and purchases of every class, and was not only a trustworthy and upright man, but also ill-tempered, hard and close, cruel and coarse. But on account of the respect in which he was held, and the obedience which people shewed to his orders, the Sultán gave him the *riyásat*, in addition to his duties as *názir*, and the *Muhtasib*-ship of the Empire. Such a *raís* conferred indeed every honor on the office. From the numerous corporeal punishments which he inflicted and had inflicted, from the imprisoning and fettering, and the

* *Kotahdast*.—Baraní means a man who will not take a bribe.

ignominies which he heaped on the bázár people, every one of them stood in awe of him, and sold his things cheap ; but notwithstanding all severities and scoldings, they could not keep from giving less, or shewing purchasers one thing as a pattern and then giving something inferior, or from burning fools, and cheating and falsifying.]

[The *second* regulation for keeping bázár prices low was this, that the Sultán should continually make enquiries ; for if a king wishes to regulate the doings of bázár people who never were subject to regulations, he should not befriend (?)* nor neglect continually to enquire into their doings ; for kings of olden times have said that it

* The misprints in the Ed. Bibl. Indica are again so numerous, that it is difficult to get any sense at all. P. 316, l. 6, read ضوابط for ضوابط ; l. 11, كالاى for كالاى ; l. 14, برآورد (an estimate) for دربرآورد ; l. 18, در for به ; سفید for سفید سوزنده, l. 20, رئیس for نصب رئیس ; بازارها for بازارهاى ; و سوزنده is a word, which very likely has no meaning. P. 317, l. 5, read كمدهي وجه for كمدهي وجه ; با رياست نظرت for با نظارت رياست ; شدت او شدت و تكلم, l. 11, وجه for وجه ; ل. 14, either الفت is wrong, or a word has fallen out before it, as bá ghaflat ulfat nakunad ; l. 15, read نه نمايد for نمايند ; l. 17, باز آرنده for باز آرنده ; l. 19, استقضاى for استقضاى ; l. 20, كار نرخ ارزاني for كار نرخ ارزاني, and delete تذكرهاى ; l. 22, اند for است, P. 318, l. 1, read بان for بان, and تذكره for تذكره ; l. 3, the word اشياى is twice written with a ي, though no adjective follows ; l. 4, for نيابد read نيابد, and خردگان for خردگان ; l. 6, the whole line has no sense ; l. 7, again اشياى with an impossible ي ; l. 16, kibár is doubtful ; l. 20, the first word is ghulám-bachagán. P. 319, l. 1, read بيدار كسى for بيدار كسى ; l. 3 delete the first و ; and for آرنده read آرد ; l. 5, read اشياى with a ي for اشيا ; l. 8, داده كم داده ; l. 9, put the words او را از دوكان at the end of the line, and delete the و after دوكان, which is moreover a bad Indian spelling for دكان ; l. 12, اشياء has received a Hamzah, the editors being doubtful as to the propriety of a final ي ; l. 15, for هزار read هزار ; l. 16, for ان read اين, and delete ها ; l. 17, read و چهار ; l. 21, delete و. The sentence, moreover, is either one of Barani's bad sentences, as there are two different subjects, Sultán 'Aláuddín, and on p. 320, l. 1, the Mughuls ; or the editors have not looked up the MSS. P. 320, l. 1 delete و after ميگرد ; l. 10, the و before علي has no sense ; l. 11, read چنگز for چنگز ; l. 13, for نايك read نايك as on p. 241 ; but the chance is that even that is

was an easy matter to clear the outskirts of a jungle, and subject distant nations, but it was difficult to clear a jungle from within and suppress rebellious bázár people. But Sultán 'Aláuddín inquired personally so carefully into the sales and purchases of the articles of every bázár as to astonish every one; and in consequence of his minute examination of the prices, the prices of the bázár—a very difficult matter—did get low.]

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

[The *fourth* regulation calculated to keep prices low, was this, that the *Názir* Ya'qúb should illtreat and beat the people of the bázárs and cut off pieces of flesh from their cheeks, if they did not give proper weights. Young and old people in the city were unanimous that no *Diwán i Riyásat*, in any age, could have been harsher than the *Názir* Ya'qúb; for in every bázár he used (daily) ten, twenty times to enquire into the prices at which articles were sold, and at each enquiry he discovered deficiencies in weight and lashed the tradespeople mercilessly, and illtreated them in every possible way. But notwithstanding his harshness and his lashes and punishments, the bázár people would not desist from giving short weight; for though they sold things at the

wrong, for on p. 323, l. 17, the editors have put *Tátak*; l. 15, read *ترتای* for *تریات*, as on lines 10 and 18, unless again both are wrong; l. 17, read *بحرنگاه* for *حرنگاه*; l. 21, read *اندریت*. P. 321, l. 1, *dele* the Hamzah, which is against Persian Grammar; l. 7, *dele* *و*; l. 15, read *راهگیر* for *راههای*; l. 17, *راههای* for *راهها*; l. 20, *برد* for *بود*.

fixed rates, they would cheat in the weights and decrease the quantity of the wares (?), and would 'burn' the buyers, especially such as were simple or young. When the Sultán 'Aláuddín enquired and saw that the people of the bázár would not be submissive as behoved them, and did not desist from giving short weight, falsifying, and 'burning' the simple and the young, he called sometimes simple slaves from his pigeon houses, gave them ten or twenty dirhams (*i. e.*, tankahs), and told them to go to the bázár, ordering one to bring bread and roast-meat, and another to fetch bread and *Yakhní*, a third to bring *Halwá*, a fourth to bring *Reorí*, a fifth, melons, a sixth, cucumbers, and so on; and when the boys returned with the things they had bought, the Sultán sent for the Raís, and had the articles brought by the boys weighed in his presence. Whatever was found to be deficient in the articles the boys had brought, was given to the Raís, and he went and stood before the shop of the fraudulent seller, cut a quantity of flesh equal to the deficiency from his two cheeks, and then kicked him out of the shop. These punishments were continued for some time till, at last, the bázár people become quite submissive, and discontinued giving short weight, and cheating and falsifying, and burning inexperienced purchasers and cheating the young; nay, they even gave so much and so correct weights, that on enquiry it was found out that they had given above the fixed quantity.]

[But this rule, these enquiries, the strictness with which the orders were carried out, and the punishments inflicted on the bázár people, came to an end with the death of 'Aláuddín, and of all the thousand regulations of the 'Alái reign, his son Sultán Qutbuddín could not enforce this regulation.]

*Effect of 'Aláuddín's Administrative Measures. (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 319 to 326.)**

[As soon as the prices had become low and things were cheap, a *Murattab* (p. 23) could be enlisted for 234, and a *Duaspah* for 78

* The following errors occur on pp. 322 to 325 in the *Ed. Bibl. Indica* :—

P. 322, l. 2 read نراینه ; l. 6 read جوئے ; l. 9 the name is wrong (*vide* below).
P. 323, l. 1, we expect قدیم for قوم ; transfer the last *Alif* to the end of the third line ; l. 12 *dele* باطن ; l. 13 read گده or گدهر ; l. 14 read دهار for دها, and علائپور or علائپور for علائپور ; l. 17 read بغاري for بغازي ; l. 18 جهاين for جهاين

tankahs, and the army was numerous and was never disbanded. The recruits also of the whole empire in passing muster before the 'Arz i Mamālik were examined in archery, and such only were entered (*ṣahīh shudan*) as were archers and had good armours. By order of the Sultān also, the prices of horses and the brand (*dāgh*) were regulated.]

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

[Thus on one occasion 'Alī Beg and Tartāk (?) who were the leaders of the Mughul army (the said 'Alī Beg was supposed to be a descendant of Chingiz Khān, the accursed), occupied with thirty, forty thousand Mughuls the foot of the hills in the district of Amrohah, and Sultān 'Alāud-dīn sent against them Malik Atābak(?), the master of horse. He attacked them in the confines of Amrohah, and God gave the army of Islām the victory. The said 'Alī Beg and Tartāk were both caught alive, and the greater part of their army was slain and completely overthrown; on the battlefields heaps were erected of dead Mughuls, and a rich harvest

(a blunder which goes through the editions of Baranī and Badāonī); میسر تی, according to Fuller's MS., is a mistake for میر تی; l. 21, insert a و after برن, and write کابیر for کابر. P. 324, l. 9, delete و after کلیات which, like تعاصمی, has the *Izāfat*; l. 16, دلخواست is very doubtful for دلخواه; for اندیشہ read اندیشیده; l. 18, رضا is absurd. P. 325, l. 5, read آید for آمد; l. 10, read منظور نظر for نظر only; l. 11, read علانی; l. 12, read آید; l. 13, read متعدیہ *muta'addiyah* for متعدیہ, or معتد به *mu'tad bihi* (many); l. 22, delete the و before حصار, where the apodosis commences.

was brought in. 'Alí Beg and Tarták and several others, with ropes on their necks, were taken before 'Aláuddín, who had given orders for a splendid darbár to be held in the Chautarah i Subhání, from which place as far as Indarpat the army stood drawn up in two lines. The crowds that were present were so great, that on that day people gladly paid twenty *jetals*, and half a *tankah*, for a goglet of water. 'Alí Beg and Tarták, together with the other captives and the spoils, were brought to this Darbár and marched past the throne, and all the captives were trampled to death by elephants in this very Darbár, and torrents of blood flowed along.]

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

[In the following year, three or four commanders of *tumáns* fell blindly with thirty, forty thousand Mughuls over the districts in the Sawálik Hills, plundering and carrying off spoil. 'Aláuddín sent an army against them, and ordered it to occupy the roads by which the Mughuls would return, and to encamp on the banks of rivers, in order to chastise them on their return, when want of water would bring them to the rivers.] The army of Islám seized the roads by which the Mughuls would have to return, and bivouacked on the banks of the river. By the will of the Almighty, it chanced that the Mughuls having overrun the Sawáliks, and performed a long journey from thence, arrived at the river bank with their horses and themselves both parched with thirst, and disordered. The army of Islám, who had been looking out for their arrival for several days, thus gained a most advantageous opportunity over them; and the Mughuls putting their ten fingers into their mouths, begged for water of the army of Islám, and the whole of them, together with their wives and children, fell into the hands of the latter. A glorious victory accordingly fell to the lot of the army of Islám, who carried several thousands of the Mughuls as prisoners to the fort of Naráinah, and conveyed their wives and children to Dihlí, where

they were sold in the [slave] market, like the slave boys and girls of Hindústán. Malik Khāṣ, the Hájib, was deputed from the throne to proceed to Naráinah, and on his arrival there, the whole of the Mughuls were put relentlessly to the sword, and their polluted blood began to flow in torrents.

Next year Iqbálmandah headed an invasion with a large body of Mughuls, and Sultán 'Aláuddín despatched an army to repel them. On this occasion also the army of Islám joined battle with the Dard-mandah force of Amír Alí [?]* and gained the victory over them. Iqbálmandah himself was slain, and some thousands of the Mughuls fell a prey to the sword. Such of the Mughul Amírs as were [commanders of one thousand or one hundred] and were taken prisoners alive, were conveyed to Dihlí, and there trampled under foot by elephants.

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

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

Sultán Tughluq Sháh, who in those days was called Ghází Malik, acquired a great name and reputation in Khurásán and Hindústán, and became, until the close of the Qutbí reign, the great bulwark against the advance of the Mughuls in [his] districts of Deopálpúr, and

* So Major Fuller. The Ed. Bibl. Indica (p. 322, l. 9) has *joined battle at a place called* تنبذہ امیر علی واهن, which has no sense. If Badáoní is correct, we might expect a phrase *to avenge the death of Amír 'Alí Beg*. My MS. of the Tabaqát, however, has at دهنده امیر علی واهن. *Dihandah* (Bad. I, p. 274, l. 1.) was the name of a river near Ajodhan (Patan i Panjáb), S. W. of Deopálpúr, Ghází Malik's *aqtá*.

Láhor. He was appointed in the place of Sher Khán, the former* commander, and every year during the cold season he used to march out of Deopálpúr with a select force of his own, and advance to the Mughul frontiers, and there publicly challenge† them to an engagement; while the Mughuls could not even approach their own frontiers for the purpose of guarding them. Such security prevailed at last, that not only did no outbreak of the Mughuls occur at Dihlí,‡ but their name even never passed any body's lips.

*** Note by the EDITOR.

[Synopsis of the Mughul invasions which took place during the reign of 'Aláuddín, according to *Ziá i Baraní*, *Nizám i Harawí*, *Badaóní*, and *Firishtah*.

Baraní'.

(Major Fuller's translation in *J. A. S. B.* for 1869, and 1870.)

- | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------|
| 1. (J. A. S. B. 696 | Ulugh Khán, and | ? | | |
| 1869, p. 189) | A. H. Zafar Khán. | | Jarímanjúr. | |
| 2. (p. 193) | 3rd year of | | | |
| | 'Aláuddín's | | | |
| | reign. | Zafar Khán. | Çaldí. | Siwistán. |
| 3. (p. 194) | End of the | 'Aláuddín, Zafar | Qutlugh- | |
| | 3rd year. | Khán, and Ulugh | Khwájah | |
| | | Khán. | and Turghí. | Kílí. |
| 4. (J. A. S. B. ? | 'Aláuddín besieged | | | |
| 1870 p. 20) | | by Turghí. | In Sírí. | |
| 5. (p. 40) | ? | Malik Atábak (?), | 'Alí Beg and | |
| | | the Master of | Tarták (?) | |
| | | Horse. | | Amrohah. |
| 6. (p. 41) | ? | ? | Gung (?) | Khekar (?) |
| | | | (on the G'haggar?) | |

* The words of the Text (*Ed. Bibl. Indica*, p. 323, l. 1) *ba jái Sher Khán qadím o mustaqím gashtah* have no sense. If the *o* is correct, we must read *qawím* for *qadím*. Fuller leaves out the *o*, and reads *Sher Khán i qadím*, 'Sher Khán the former Commander;' but this is doubtful.

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

‡ So perhaps Major Fuller's MS. The *Ed. Bibl. Indica* reads, *not only did outbreaks of the Mughuls occur to no one (dar dile—not dihli—míguzásht), but their name, &c.*

7. (p. 41) ? ? ? Near some river beyond Naráinah.

8. (p. 42) ? ? Iqbálmandah. ?

Besides these, there were several attacks made by Ghází Malik (later Sultán Tughluq) on the Mughuls near the Indus.

Firishtah, (Briggs, Vol. I).

1. (p. 326) 2nd year of Ulugh Khán. Amír Dáúd. Láhor.
'Aláuddín's reign.
2. (p. 329) 697 Zafar Khán. Chaldí Khán. Siwistán.
3. (p. 329) 697 Zafar Khán, Ulugh Qutlugh Khán,
Khán, 'Aláuddín, son of Amír
Nuçrat Khán. Dáúd. Dihlí.
4. (p. 354) 703 A. H. 'Aláuddín besieged Turghí Khán. Dihlí.
5. (p. 361) 704 A. H. Tughluq Khán. Alí Beg and
Khwájah Tásh. Amrohah.
6. (p. 363) 705 A. H. Ghází Beg Tugh- Aibak Khán,
luq. to avenge On the
No. 5. Indus.
7. (p. 364) 706 ? Ghází Beg Tughluq Iqbálmandah. ?

Badaoni'.

(*Ed. Bibl. Indica*, I., p. 184 to 186.)

1. 698 A. H. Ulugh Khán, Tugh- ? Járan-
luq Khán. Manjúr.
2. ? Zafar Khán, Qutlugh
Ulugh Khán. Khwájah,
son of Dáúd. Kílí.
3. Malik Fakhruddín,
relieved by Malik Turghí Baran.
Tughluq. captured.
4. ? Malik Mánik 'Alí Beg and On the
(= Káfúr Náib Muhammad Rahab.
Hazár Dínarí.) Taryáq (?),
princes of
Khurásán.

5. ? Malik Náib, and Iqbálmandah,
 Malik Tughluq. and Kapak,
 to avenge
 No. 4. ?

Nizám i Harawí'.

Nizám, in his *Tabaqát i Akbarí*, follows Baraní. The first expedition, according to MS. 87 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—a very fair MS.—took place at *Járan Majhúr* (sic) in Sind (!). The names of the Mughul commanders of the second, third, and sixth expeditions are given as *Çaldí* and *Qutlugh*, son of *Dáúd*, and *Kapík* or *Kabík*. He calls 'Alí Beg (fifth expedition) the grandson (*nabísah*) of Chengiz Khán. For *K'hekar* (sixth expedition), he has *K'hak'harah*, in all probability the river G'haggar near Patiálá (Sarhind); and he says that the river mentioned in the seventh expedition was the *Ráví* (Láhor).

Thus we see that Baraní and Nizám have more than *eight*, Firishtah has *seven*, and Badáoní *five* invasions. Firishtah agrees more with Zíá i Baraní than Badáoní. The Mughul leader *Kapak*, in expedition No. 5, is evidently the same as Gung in No 6 of Baraní, as كپك and كنگ only differ in the diacritical points. As Badáoní's events differ materially from those of the other two historians, I subjoin a translation of Badáoní (I., pp. 184 to 186).

'In 698, Chataldí (*sic*), a leader of the Mughuls crossed the Indus, and invaded Hindústán. Ulugh Khán and Tughluq Khán, governor of Dípálpúr (Panjáb), who is the same as Gházi Malik, were sent against him. They met him in the confines of Járan Manjhúr, defeated him, killed some, and captured others, and 'Aláuddín's army returned victorious with much plunder.

'The *second* time Qutlugh Khwájah, son of Dáúd, came from Máwaránnahr with countless hordes to conquer Hindústán, and came as far as the environs of Dihlí to Árah (?); but he did not ravage the districts. In Dihlí things got very dear, and the condition of the inhabitants was miserable. Sultán 'Aláuddín appointed Ulugh Khán and Zafar Khán commanders, and sent them with a large army to fight the Mughuls. A battle took place at Gelí (Kílí), in which Zafar Khán was killed. In his death also 'Aláuddín saw an advantage. Qutlugh Khán fled to Khurásán, where he died.'

'The *third* time Ṭurghí Mughul, who belonged to the *markánán* (?), *i. e.*, unerring archers, of his country, came with a lot of foot soldiers, and 20,000 intrepid and renowned horsemen, occupied the foot of the hills and the districts lying there, and advanced as far as Baran, whose governor Malik Fakhruddín, the Mír Dád, shut himself up in the Fort. Malik Tughluq* was sent to his relief from the capital, when Malik Fakhruddín left the Fort and effected a junction with Malik Tughluq. Both fell upon the Mughuls at night, defeated them, and captured Ṭurghí, who was taken by Tughluq to Dihlí.'

'The *fourth* time, Muhammad Taryáq (?), Tartáq ?, Tarqáq ?) and 'Alí Beg, who were princes royal of Khurásán, advanced with a large army, one corps of which plundered Nágor, and the other occupied the Sirmúr mountains as far as the Bayáh, or Kálí, river. Sultán 'Aláuddín sent his slave Malik Mánik (?), who is the same as Káfúr Náib Hazár Dínarí, and Malik Tughluq, governor of Dípálpúr, towards Amrohah; and when the Mughuls with their cattle and spoils arrived at the Rahab, Malik Mánik fell over them from the rear. A great battle ensued; both princes fought bravely, but were at last captured and executed. Most of these accursed invaders were killed, and those that escaped fled in a wretched condition to their country. The heads of the two leaders were fixed on the battlements of the Fort at Badáon. The following Rubá'í was composed by a poet of that time, and may now be seen inscribed on the southern gate of that town (Badáon)—

O Fort, may God's protection be thy friend,

And may the conquests and the victories of the Sháh be thy standard!

The present King has built thee up again,

May Ṭurghí also, like 'Alí Beg,† be thy prisoner.'

'And Mír Khusrau also has described the war of Malik Mánik, who had now received the title of Malik Náib, in his history entitled *Khazáinulfutúh*, the language of which is a miracle and exceeds human power, though, in fact, every thing written by this Prince of poets, is of the same kind, so that it would be idle and wrong to make distinctions and preferring one poem to another.'

'The *fifth* time Iqbálmindah and Kapak (?) collected an army of

* The Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 185, l. 9, has wrong Malik Tughluq and Ghází Malik. It is one and the same man.

† The text has wrong 'Alá Beg. Besides, did Tughluq release Ṭurghí, whom he had captured in the *third* Expedition?

Mughuls, and invaded Multán, to avenge the death of Muhammad Taryáq (?) and 'Alí Beg. 'Aláuddín sent this time also Malik Náib and Malik Tughluq against them. When the Mughuls returned, 'Aláuddín's army followed them in forced marches. Kapak was caught in the fight, but he was exchanged for the prisoners and the spoils which had fallen into the hands of the infidel Tátárs.'

'From that day the desire of invading Hindústán grew cold in the hearts of the Mughuls, and the teeth of their rapaciousness were all on edge.'—

Of the five invasions mentioned by Badáoní, the third is not to be found in any other historical work. It is a matter of surprise that Baraní should have said nothing about it, as Baran was the centre of the expedition. For the fourth invasion also, Badáoní has a few new particulars.

I have not seen a MS. of Khusrau's *Khazáin ulfutúh*, though it would be of interest to examine that book as also his *Qirán ussa'dain* from a historical point of view.

Brigg's *Firishtah* has only a few differences in the proper nouns, and his variations might be increased by comparing the Bombay and the Lucknow editions.

Badáoní complains that 'historians, in narrating these invasions, have let the thread of chronology slip from their hands;' but it is not only the chronology which is unsatisfactory: the geographical details of this period have been as much neglected by the historians, as in other parts of Indian History. From *Firishtah* and from p. 327, l. 1, of Baraní's text edition it is, however, clear that the Mughul invasions all took place before A. H. 708 or 709.]

* * *

Thus had Sultán 'Aláuddín eradicated the Mughuls, and stopped up completely the road of their invasions, while the soldiery from the establishment of a cheap price for every military equipment, and article of consumption, were in a flourishing condition. The provinces in every quarter were under the administration of trusty nobles and worthy courtiers, the rebellious had become obedient and submissive, and the system of imperial taxation* [according to measurement, and

* 'Aláuddín's house tax (*gharí*) and grazing tax (*charáí*) corresponds to the *Khánahshumárá* and *Gáooshumárá* of later reigns. Both taxes were looked upon as illegal and odious. *Vide* my *Aín* text, p. 301, l. 5.

the house-tax] and the grazing duties having entered into the minds of all the people, all ideas of rebellion vanished from their hearts, and they pursued cheerfully their several avocations and trades. Rantambhūr, Chitor, [Mandalgadh], Dhār, Ujain, Mándú, 'Aláipúr, Chanderí, Irij, Siwánah and Jálór,* which are all strong places beyond the limits of the empire [?] had fallen under the control of various provincial governors, and jágírdárs [muqṭa']; while the territory of Gujrát flourished under Alan [Alp?] Khán, Multán and Sístán under Tájulmulk Káfúrí, and Deopálpúr and Láhor under Ghází Malik Tughluk Sháh, Sámánah and Sunnám under Malik Akhurbak Nának (?), Dhār and Ujain under 'Ainlmulk of Multán, Jháyin under Fakhruilmulk of Mírat, Chitor under Malik Abú Muhammad, Chanderí and Irij under Malik Tamar, Badáon, Koelah, and K'harak under Malik Dínár, superintendent of elephants, Audh under Malik Takir [*Ed. Bibl. Ind.*, Baktan], and Kaṛah under Malik Naṣiruddín Sauteliyah. Kol, Baran, Mírat, Amrohah, Afghánpúr, Kábar, and all the districts lying within the Duáb, were under the influence of the same law, as if they were one single village; they were crown lands, and applied to the support of the soldiery. The entire revenue was paid into the treasury, even to the last *dáng* and *diram*, and in the same way was pay issued to the soldiery from the treasury, and the expenses of all establishments defrayed.

In short, the imperial administration of Sultán 'Aláuddín had reached such a state of perfection that vice and crimes were totally expelled from the capital, and the safety of the highways throughout the provinces had become so great, that the Hindú landed proprietors and tenants [*Muqaddimán o Khúṭán*] used to stand on the highroads, and keep watch over way-farers and caravans, while travellers with goods, fabrics, cash, or any other property used to alight in the midst of the

* *Mandalgarh* (the *Ed. Bibl. Indica*, p. 323, l. 13, has wrong *Mandalk'hír*) is the name of a town and Parganah in Chitor. *Siwánah* or *Síwáná* (سيوانا or سيوانه) is the name of a town and Parganah in Jodhpúr. For Mándú, Major Fullers has *Mándú and Kahár*(?), and the *Ed. Bibl. Indica* has ماندوگره for ماندوگره; but *Mándúgarh* is the same as *Mandú* or *Mándú*.

For 'Aláipúr the MSS. of the *Ain* have 'Aláipúr. It is a town with a fort, and also a parganah, in the Sirkár of Gwáliár. Abulfazl says that before the time of 'Aláuddín it had another name; but none of the thirteen MSS. in my possession gives the old name legibly; the MSS. have كهار, كهار, and سهار.

Major Fuller's words, *which are all strong* (mazbút) *places beyond* (khárij) *the limits of the Empire*, are scarcely correct. Translate, *which do not belong to mazbút districts, i. e., they were not yet under Musalmán Zábíts or Governors.*

plains and deserts. From the excessive rigour of his rule, the good and evil, favorable and unfavorable transactions of the inhabitants in the capital, as well as the affairs of the whole of the residents in the provinces, were never unknown to him. The hearts of all his subjects both high and low were deeply impressed with awe and reverence for his severe rule and harsh disposition, and the royal seed* having settled in the breasts of the public generally, the roots of his empire had sunk deep.

It never crossed the minds of people on beholding this state of things, that the sovereignty would pass away from his house so speedily, and revert to another family; and when by the aid of the accidental luck and good fortune, which attended him, the measures of his government turned out satisfactorily, and his enterprises, both premeditated and unpremeditated, were accomplished as speedily as he could wish, worldly-minded persons, who consider greatness to depend upon the attainment of worldly prosperity, and the success of one's designs, attributed the favorable results of Sultán 'Aláuddín's measures to his consummate ability, and imagined that the expressions which used to fall from his lips regarding the execution of state affairs, and the victories and triumphs of his armies, proceeded from inspiration. Those, however, learned in civil and religious law, and versed in the irresistible decrees of God Almighty, [and those] whose far-seeing judgment penetrates the realities of things, and whose conclusions are more certain than the revolution of the heavens, and the immobility of the earth, used to remark on beholding the frequency of Sultán 'Aláuddín's victories and triumphs, and the constantly successful issue of his undertakings, that every triumph and victory which accrued to the standard of Islám in his age, and every undertaking of his and of all his subjects which turned out well, and every measure of advantage and improvement which was apparent throughout the kingdom, arose from the virtues and benedictions of Shaikhul Islám Nizámuddín of Ghiáspúr. He, (they said) is the beloved and chosen of God, and on his head the divine grace, bounty, and beneficence is being constantly showered; and in consequence of the continual favours that are pour-

* *Verbally*, the hearts of men were generally (*'ámatan*) settled regarding his rule, and the roots of his kingdom which he himself had caused to sink (into the hearts of men), on beholding them (the roots), it never crossed, &c. This is one of Barání's bad sentences.

ing down upon his head, and owing to the blessings of his auspicious existence, which has been eternally and perpetually the object of divine affection, the undertaking of both the rulers and the ruled of this government have been accomplished satisfactorily, and the standard of Islám has been exalted time after time with celestial victory and triumph; whereas what relation can virtue and divine inspiration have to Sultán 'Aláuddín, who is polluted with so many sins, both active and passive,* and from indulgence in cruelty and bloodshed, has become a habitual and bloodthirsty murderer. All the comforts, general prosperity, and perfect peace and security of people from perils of every kind, and the inclination of the people to obedience and devotion, have arisen from the blessings of Shaikh Nizámuddín.

The author's object in noticing the stability which Sultán 'Aláuddín's government had acquired, and the satisfaction he enjoyed from the success of his undertakings, is this, that as soon as the Sultán's state affairs and negotiations were settled, and his mind was satisfied with the condition of every quarter that belonged to him, he [built Fort Sirí and peopled it. Sultán 'Aláuddín then] engaged in territorial conquests. With the view of overthrowing the Hindú chieftains and lords of other principalities, and carrying off wealth and elephants from the kingdoms towards the south, he organized and equipped another force besides the one which he maintained for the Mughul inroads.—(*Ed. Bibl. Indica*, p. 326.)

(Here ends Major Fuller's translation.)

* * Baraní then proceeds to narrate 'Aláuddín's expeditions to the Dak'hin, which extend from p. 326 *Edit. Bibl. Indica* to p. 337. The text is, however, so carelessly edited that without the help of several MSS. it would be useless to attempt a translation. On p. 327 alone, there are sixteen blunders, grammatical, historical, and typographical. The following list of corrections may prove acceptable.

P. 326, l. 20, read *zist* for *zabast*; l. 22, *khidmatíhá* for *khidmát*; and for *duwum* (the second) we have probably to read *duwázduhum* (the twelfth).

P. 327, l. 1., *tis'a watis'amiyah* (909 A. H.) is nonsense, as 'Aláuddín lived 200 years earlier; perhaps we should read *tis'a wa sab'a miyah* 709, or better *samání wa sab'amiyah*, 708; l. 2, read *Arangul* for *Aratgul*; l. 5,

* *Ma'áçí i lázimah o muta'addiyah*, 'active and passive,' inherent and passing on to others. Crimes are *lázimah* when they are ذاتی, i. e. attach to the sinner himself; and *muta'addiyah*, when a man causes others to sin.

nabáshí for *mabáshí*, a grammatical blunder which is repeated four times on this page in different verbs! l. 9, read *murá'át* for *murá't*; l. 10, *napardází* for *mapardází*; l. 12, dele *kih*; l. 13, read *nayáyad* for *biyáyad*, which would be the opposite; *khiyánathái* for *khiyanathá*; and put a *Hamzah* over the last letter of this line; l. 16, read *khúi* for *khúi*, as required by Persian grammar; l. 17, a *wáw* has been omitted before *nek*; and read *nabáshí* for *mabáshí*; l. 19, read *ta'arruz* for *ta'azzuz*, or *tanaghghruz*; l. 20, read *chand* for *chatad*; l. 22, spell *هرکرا* for *هرکردا*.

P. 328, l. 1 read *dar* for *do*; l. 2 for *bá hamchunán* read *hamchunán yá*; l. 5, for *Rábrí* read *Ráprí*; l. 10, *khidmatíhái* for *khidmathái*; l. 22, *yahtáju* for *yahtiáju*; and for *rishtah* on p. 328 and *qábí* the first on p. 329, read *rishtatábí*!

P. 329, l. 15, read *bá* for *az*; l. 20, for *nairah* read *naizah*; l. 21, for *bastand* read *bisitadand*.

P. 330, l. 2, read *khidmatíhái* for *khidmatiyán*; l. 11, *Jháyin* for *Jhábin*; l. 16, *darángáh kih* for *daránkih*; l. 22, dele the first *wáw*, and put *kih* after *ánjá*.

P. 331, l. 10, read *barkhastah* for *bikhástah*; p. 14, insert a *rá* after *Nizám-uddín*.

P. 333, l. 2, read *Ráprí* for *Rábrí*; l. 5, read *lagámrez* for *lagámzír*; l. 6, *sí o shash*; l. 8, *raftaná* has no sense; l. 9, for the absurd *qaranháí* read *az qaranhá*; l. 11, strike out either *andázah* or *bayán*; l. 12, for *búd* read *búdand*; l. 19, for *namíkán* read *nímgán*; l. 22, read *búdah ast* for *ast*.

P. 334, l. 15, for *و* read only *و*; and for *hákím* read *hukm*; l. 20, dele the *wáw*.

P. 335, l. 3, read *mígoyand* for *mígoyad*; l. 12, *mímánad* for *mínunáyad*; l. 17, *daráim* for *daráim* (a clever spelling); l. 18, *mítuwáním* for *mítuwánam*.

P. 336, l. 3, dele *و*; l. 7, the word *búdhkán* has no sense; l. 11, read *'alái* for *'alái*; l. 14, dele the two *u* vowel signs, they are wrong; l. 17 read *'alái* for *'alái*; and *nadásht* for *nadáshtant*; l. 18, *fareb* for *qariyat*; l. 19, for the third time on this page, read *'alái* for *'alái*.

P. 337, l. 3. Here read *'alái* for *'alái*; l. 4 and l. 5, *Qáyíní* for *Qáníní*; l. 11, here read *'alái* for *'alái*, and dele the *wáw* before *panj*; l. 16, read again *Qáyíní* for *Qáníní*, and perhaps *riyásat* for *risálat*; l. 17, a few words are left out after *inshá*; l. 19, the Arabic word is *lá yuflih*, with the Persian plural, a *ح* not a *خ* *kh*.



1870. "Translations from the Tárikh i Firúz Sháhi." *The journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 39(I), 1–51.

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