

FRESH LIGHT ON THE GHAZNAVÎDS

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The following pages contain a study of the Anecdotes relating to the Ghaznavîds in Al-Mervarrûdhî's Âdâb-ul-Harb Wash-Shujâ'ah, which throw a fresh light on these kings. Attention was first drawn to the anecdotes by Rieu in his Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the British Museum page, 488-b. The Târikh Âl-i-Subuktagin of Bayhaqî which gave the fullest information about the Ghaznavîds having reached us only in a fragmentary condition, we have to depend on the meagre accounts of the dynasty preserved by general historians. This being the state of our knowledge of the subject, such side-lights as are thrown by writers like Al-Mervarrûdhî are most welcome, for he must be drawing upon contemporary sources. Linguistically too the anecdotes are of great interest, as the writer flourished in the seventh century of the Hijra and the philological peculiarities of his work have considerable importance for the student of Persian.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Âdâb. Âdâbu'l Harb wash-Shujâ'ah by al-Merv al-rûdhî.
Â'in. Translated by Jarret.
Ancient Geogr. of India. By Cunningham; ed. S. Majumdar. Calcutta, 1924.
Bâbur Nâmah. The Memoirs of Bâbur, translated by Mrs. Beveridge.
Badâ'ûnî tr. The Muntakhab-ut-Tawârikh, translated and edited by George S. A. Ranking, M.A.
Bêrûnî. Indiâ by al-Bêrûnî.
E. I. (or Encycl. of Islâm). The Encyclopædia of Islâm (Leyden).
Firishta (or T. Firishta). Târikh-i-Firishta. Lucknow, 1281.
Farrukhî. Dîwân-i-Farrukhî. (Tehrân edition).
Ivanow. Ṭabaqât of Anṣârî etc. (J. R. A. S. 1923. Jan. and July).
J. R. A. S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Lane. Lexicon.
Maḥmûd. The Life and Times of Sulṭân Maḥmûd by Dr. Nâzîm.

- Nuzhat-ul Qulûb. E. J. Gibb Mem. Series.
 R. T. Revised translation of the Chahâr Maqâlâ by
 E. G. Browne.
 Râhatuṣ-Ṣudûr. E. J. Gibb Mem. Series.
 Rûnî. Diwân-i-Rûnî (Tehrân edition).
 Steingass. Dictionary.
 T. Firishta. See Firishta.
 Târikh-i-Sistân ed. Bahâr. Tehrân, 1314.
 T. Mub. Târikh-i-Fakhrû'd-Dîn Mubârak Shâh, ed.
 E. Denison Ross. London, 1927.
 Ṭ. Nâsirî (Ṭab. Nâsirî). Ṭabaqât-i-Nâsirî. Calcutta ed.
 Tatimma Şiwân al-Ḥikma. Lahore, 1351.
 Turkestân by W. Barthold (E. J. Gibb Mem. Series).
 Wust. Tab. Wüstenfeld's Genealogical Tables.
 Yâqût. Mu'jam-ul-Buldân.
 Zain-ul-Akhbâr. By Gardêzî ed. Dr. Nâzim.

THE AUTHOR

(a) HIS LIFE

THE NAME of the author of the *Âdâbu'l-Ḥarb wa'sh-Shujâ'ah* is *Sharîf* Moḥammad, surnamed Mubârak Shâh, commonly known as فخر مدبر (Fakhr-i-Mudabbir)¹. He was a descendant of the Caliph Abû Bakr. His full genealogy² on the father's side, as given by himself,³ is as follows:

Abû Bakr al-Ṣiddîq
 'Abdu'r-Raḥmân
 'Abdullâh
 Talḥa
 Shu'ayb
 Aḥmad
 Khalaf
 Bû Naṣr
 Aḥmad
 Khalîl
 Abu'l-Faraj
 Sa'id
 Mansûr
 Moḥammad.

1. But cf. *T. Mub.* 62⁶ where he is called Fakhr-i-Mudîr (فخر مدیر).

2. The *Wust. Tab. R.* agrees with the above genealogy from Talḥa to Abu Bakr. This genealogy also agrees with that given in the *T. Mub.* p. 62, except for two variants, viz. Abî'l-Farah instead of Abu'l-Faraj and al-Jalîl instead of Khalîl. 3. *Âdâb* f. 9a.

On the mother's side he describes himself as a descendant of Amîr Bilkâtigîn, King of Ghaznîn and father-in-law of Maḥmûd (*Ādâb* f. 99b.). He also mentions Abû Muslim as his ancestor (*idem.* f. 107a, 117b) though he does not give any details as to his relationship with him.

His ancestors, he tells us, were men of great renown, for instance, *Sharîf* Abu'l-Faraj, his paternal great grand-father, was a distinguished officer of *Sultân Râdî* Ibrâhîm (*Ādâb* f. 42a). Similarly, his father was one of the learned men of his time, who was well-versed in more than twenty sciences. He was the teacher of all the Imâms of the "Two Capitals"¹ and of the intervening towns. Beside these, many other Imâms, Qâdis, and preachers were his pupils, while he himself was the pupil of such great Imâms of Ghaznîn as the Qâdî'l-Qudât 'Izz-ud-Dîn 'Omar, Khwâja Imâm Mu'ayyad, Imâm 'Alî Shâdân etc. etc.²

The author does not tell us which was his native place. But his own account given in the introduction of *T. Mub.* leads one to think that, his native place must have been Ghaznîn. He informs us that from the time of the irruption of the Ghuzz³ down to the capture of Khusraw Malik by the Ghorîds and the conquest of Lahore⁴ he could not secure the genealogical table of his ancestors from Ghaznîn.⁵ It was only after the conquest of Lahore that he himself went to Ghaznîn and while seeking for sale-deeds etc. of his ancestral property he accidentally found it. This would show, that the family originally belonged to Ghaznîn but the Ghuzz invasion drove them to India, where they may have first come to Multân (see Anecdote 18) and then settled in Lahore.

Our author was a contemporary of the Ghorîd King Mu'izz-ud-Dîn Moḥammad-i-Sâm. He was present in Peshâwar during one of the many visits of Mu'izz-ud-Dîn to that city (see Anecdote 9). The author also wanted to present to him his book called *Kitâb Baḥr-i-Ansâb* at Lahore, during his last visit to that city, but owing to the departure of the Sultân again for Ghaznîn and his murder on the way at a place called Damyak, the author could not do so (*T. Mub.* p. 72). He was present in Lahore, when the news of the murder of the Sultân was brought there, and later, when Sultân Qutb-ud-Dîn came from Delhi to Lahore on receiving that news in 602 A.H. The author on that occasion dedicated the above-mentioned book to him. The Sultân showed him much favour and appreciated his book. According to the *Haft Iqlîm* our author was a great favourite also of Ghiyâth-ud-Dîn Ghorî (*T. Mub.* Introduction iii).

'Awfî, in the *Lubâbu'l-Albâb* I. 126,⁶ has noticed "Fakhr-ud-Dawla

1. Apparently Ghaznîn and Lahore

2. Cf. *T. Mub.* p. 68 seq.

3. About 548. A.H.

4. In 583. see *E.I.* I 157b.

5. *T. Mub.* p. 62. I read در حضرت غرین بمآندہ بود instead of در حضرت عرش بمآندہ بود.

6. Cf. *T. Mub.* p. 68 seq.

wa'd-Din Mubâarak Shâh b. al-Husain al-Mervar-rûdhî", whom he praises for his hospitality and liberality and whom he describes as a great favourite of the Ghorid Sultân Ghiyâth-ud-Dîn (d. 599). Sir Denison Ross seems to identify him with our author, because the biographical notice of Fakhr-ud-Dîn Mubâarak Shâh which he has quoted from the *Haft-Iqlîm* in his introduction to the *T. Mub.* is really based on the notice given by 'Awfi. It may be noted here that 'Awfi calls the father of Fakhr-ud-Dîn Mubâarak Shâh by the name of al-Husain, while our author gives the name of his father as Mansûr. It is possible that 'Awfi's al-Husain is a mistake for Abû'l-Husain or perhaps Abû'l-Hasan (the latter form occurs in Ibnu'l-Athîr, see *T. Mub.* vi) which may have been the *Kunya* of Mansûr. Qazwîni has a note on the passage, under reference, on p. 327 in which he tells us that Fakhr-ud-Dîn Mubâarak Shâh was a favourite also of the Ghorid 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn, father of Sayf-ud-Dîn. As 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn died in 551 (see *E.I.* II 162a). Against this it is to be noted that our author, according to his own statement, was a mere youth (*Kodak*) about 565 A.H. (Rieu p. 488). In any case we can tentatively accept the identity of *Lubab's* Mubâarak Shâh with our author.

In 'Awfi's notice, referred to above Fakhr-ud-Dîn is called "the Minister of great dignity and nobility" (*al-Şadr al-'ajall al-akram*) and he is included in the chapter on the Ministers and Viziers (*wuzarâ wa şudûr*) which indicates that he was holding a ministerial office under the Ghorids.

Ibn-ul-Athîr in a passage relating to this author says that in 595, he introduced a certain Shâfi'ite lawyer to Sultân Ghiyâth-ud-Dîn, who induced the Sultân to abandon the *Karrâmî* heresy and become a Shâfi'ite (see *'Ajab Nâme* p. 393). This may possibly show that our author was himself a Shâfi'ite.

The author had also seen many places where battles had been fought during the reign of the Ghorid and Ghaznavid Kings and met various notable persons of those times.

The date of the death of Fakhr-ud-Dîn, like the date of his birth, is not definitely known. He must have died in one of the years between 607 and 633 A.H. for he tells us in the *Âdâb* (f. 9a) that he dedicated that work to Îltutmish. Ibn-ul-Athîr gives Shawwâl 602 A.H. as the date of his death (*'Ajab Nâme* p. 393), which is wrong in view of the fact stated above.¹

(b) HIS LITERARY ACTIVITY

WE MUST now pass on to a brief consideration of Fakhr-ud-Dîn Mubâarak Shâh's literary activity which so far as we know is represented by:

¹ See also *Turkestan* p. 31, note 3

- (1) His Persian poetry, mostly fragmentary in character.
- (2) His prose works, viz.
 - (i) The *Shajara-i-Ansâb*.
 - (ii) The *Âdâbu'l Harb wash-Shujâ'ah*.

(1) *His poetry*

According to Ibn-ul-Athîr he wrote good poetry in Persian and Arabic (*Âjab Nameh* p. 393). 'Awfi observes that Fakhr-ud-Dîn's *Qaṣîdas* and quatrains were noted for their delicacy and fluency (*latâfat wa salâsat*) and that his quatrains particularly were world-famous and oft-quoted by the learned (*Lubâb* I 126, 132). The same author has preserved one *qaṣîda*,¹ one *qit'a*,² one fragment of a *ghazal* and two quatrains of the poet (*ibid.* pp. 126—133). A few more fragments are given by the author of the *Haft-Iqlîm* (see *T. Mub.* Introduction) and one quatrain, addressed to Sultân Ghiyâth-ud-Dîn, is given in the *T. Nâsirî*, p. 81.

Mirzâ Moḥammad Qazwînî (*Lubâb* I 327) invites our attention to a History of the Ghorîds in the Mathnawî form, which Fakhr-ud-Dîn composed and some verses from which are quoted in the *Rawḍ-atu'l-Jannât of Isfîzârî* [Panjab University MS. f. 81.]

In my opinion it is this work, which is referred to in the *T. Nâsirî* p. 28 seq: Jûzjânî tells us that Fakhr-ud-Dîn wrote an account of the genealogy (نسب نامه apparently = نسب نامه)³ of the Ghorîd Kings in the name of Sultân 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ḥusâin Jahânsôz in verse, but when he had written only a part of "the book and the history", he suffered from some mental disorder and left the book incomplete. Later on when he recovered he completed the book and dedicated it to Ghiyâth-ud-Dîn Moḥammad-i-Sâm. This book Jûzjânî saw in the year 602 A.H. in the Library of the daughter of Ghiyâth-ud-Dîn.

Sir Denison Ross somehow thinks that the book seen by Jûzjânî was the *Shajara-i-Ansâb*. He is of opinion that Raverty's translation of the expression *naẓm* in the *Tab. Nâsirî*, as "poetry" or "verse" (*Tabaqât Nâsirî tr. Raverty* I 300 sqq.) is a mistake because it was "almost if not quite inconceivable to write an accurate genealogy in verse", and that the expression '*naẓm*' in the original though used technically for "composing" verse could be applied to the "arrangement" of the genealogical tables also (*Âjab Nâmeḥ* p. 393).

1. In praise of Malik Sayf-ud-Dîn Khusraw-i-Jibâl b. Sultân 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ghori

2. Addressed to Amir-i-Ajjall Zahir-ud-Dîn Naṣr Sammûrî.

3. That the term *nasab nâmeḥ* was not used only for a genealogical tree but for a work wherein some biographical notices of the persons concerned might also be given is proved by the *Nasab Nâmeḥ-i-Mikâlîyah* preserved in the British Museum copy of the *Târîkh Bayhaq* see my article on the Sons of Mikâl in the *Proceedings of the Idara-i-Ma'ârif-i-Islâmîa*, 1933 M.S.

It seems, however, that the work which Jūzjānī saw was not the *Shajara-i-Ansāb* which indeed is a prose work, but the History of the Ghorīds from which six verses were quoted by Isfizārī.

It is not known to us if any of his Arabic verses are preserved. It is said in the *Habīb-us-Siyar* ('*Ajab Nāmeḥ* p. 394) that he had composed *al-Madkhal ul-Manzum fi Baḥr-i-Nujūm*, a work on Astronomy. Hājī Khalifa II. 410 calls the work *Madhkal ilā 'Ilm-in-Nujūm* and names the author as Mubārak al-Ghorī. But none of these authors tells us whether it was in Arabic or Persian, nor do we know whether the work is preserved or not.

(2) *His prose works*

(1) *The Shajara-i-Ansāb*—The reason for his writing this book is given by himself (see *T. Mub.* pp. 62—75). He gradually built up the genealogical tables beginning with the Prophet, then proceeding on to the tables of the Ten Companions known as '*Ashara-i-Mubashshara* and the *Muhājirs* and the *Anṣār*. Next he drew up the tables of the Qur'ānic Prophets. To these he added the tables of the Kings of 'Arabia, Syria and Yemen, and of the 'Arab poets. These again he supplemented by the tables of the Persian Kings, the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids, the Imāms, the 'Arab tribes, the Amirs of the period of the Caliphate, and the dynasties like the Tāhirīds, the Ṣaffārīds, the Sāmānīds, the Ghaznavīds and the Ghorīds. The nucleus of the *Shajara* was provided by the genealogical tables of his own ancestors. This he brought from Ghaznīn to Lahore after the capture of the former city by Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Ghorī in 583 A.H. For other tables he spent twelve years in collecting his materials from a thousand works, which he had to consult repeatedly. Then another year he spent in deciding how to arrange his tables and in copying them out.

In the autumn of 602 when Mu'izz-ud-Dīn came to Lahore the author wanted to present the work to the Sultān as stated above, but before he could do so the Sultān set out for his capital and was murdered on the way at Damyak. Later, when Quṭub-ud-Dīn Aybek came to Lahore the author explained the contents of his work to him and presented a copy of it to his Library as desired by the Sultān.

This book has not been published in full till now. In 1912 Mr. A. G. Ellis purchased a Manuscript of it written in elegant *nesta'liq*. The MS. dates "presumably"¹ from the sixteenth century. Sir Denison Ross has given a description of this work in the '*Ajab Nāmeḥ* p. 392 sqq., also an abridged English translation of the Introduction of this work, and a full translation of its *dībācha*. In 1927 he published the Persian text of the Introduction to the Book of genealogies of Fakhr-ud-Dīn

¹ So says Sir D. Ross in the *T. Mub.* p. vi. In the '*Ajab Nāmeḥ* p. 392 he thought the MS. dated from about the fifteenth century.

Mubârak Shâh under the title of *Târikh-i-Fakhr-ud-Dîn Mubârak Shâh-i-Marwrûdhi andar ahwâl-i-Hind*.

(ii) *The Âdâbu'l Harb wash-Shujâ'ah*. This is the name which the author gives to the work in the two Manuscripts, which I have used viz. the British Museum copy (see f. 9b) and the R. A. S., Bengal's copy (also f. 9b).¹ But the India Office copy calls it; *Âdâbu'l-Mulûk wa Kifâyatu'l-Mamlûk* (see *Maḥmûd* p. 9, *Cat. of Persian Mss. in the India Office* col. 1493).

This work he dedicates to Sultân Îltutmish² (r. 607—633 A.H.) and describing himself as the least of his servants, and the meanest of his well-wishers (*Âdâb* f. 9a). It is chiefly a treatise on the customs and rules of war, but the introductory chapters are devoted to the proper characteristics of a King and his duty to select fit officers of State.³ It comprises thirty-four⁴ chapters which the author enumerates in the beginning of the work. The British Museum copy has the English version of the contents on the fly-leaf of its Ms., dated 1820 from the pen of Major Yule for which see Rieu p. 488. The B. M. copy is defective at the end. It breaks off before the end of the last chapter.

The author who was well-informed concerning the mediæval life of the Muslim countries deals in this work with the various topics connected with war. The author has introduced numerous anecdotes in his book illustrating the subject of his discussion. Of special interest are the anecdotes relating to the Ghaznavîds, to which, as already pointed out, attention was first invited by Rieu. The following pages are devoted to a special study of these anecdotes about the Ghaznavîds.

ANECDOTES RELATING TO THE GHAZNAVĪDS IN THE ÂDÂBU'L-HARB WASH-SHujâ'AH

THERE ARE eighteen anecdotes in this book relating to the Ghaznavîds, out of which six are devoted to Sultân Maḥmûd, one to Maudûd, two to Raḍi Ibrâhîm, two to Mas'ûd-i-Raḍi Ibrâhîm, four to Bahrâm Shâh and two to Khusraw Shâh. Dr. Nâzim thinks that from their language and style the historical anecdotes in this work relating to Sultân Maḥmûd appear to have been taken from Bayhaqî's *Mujalladât* or some other work of that period (*Maḥmûd* p. 9). What is true of the anecdotes about Maḥmûd would be equally true of the anecdotes relating to most of the Ghaznavîds.

1. The actual words of the author are; *wa Âdâb al-Harb wash-shujâ'ah nâm kandah shud*.

2. Styled Abû'l Muẓaffar, Nâsir Amîru'l Mominîn (*Âdâb* f. 9b).

3. *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the India Office* col. 1493

4. The India Office copy has 40 chapters. The additional six are added between chapters 5 and 12 of the B. M. copy.

It may be pointed out here that on the whole the anecdotes are of great historical value, because they impart to us a good deal of additional information about the reign of the Ghaznavids, while other books dealing with the same period, such as the *Tabâqât-i-Nâsirî*, the *Târikh-i-Firishtah* and the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawârikh* of Badâ'ûnî give only meagre accounts of their rule. But notwithstanding its value, the book is not free from anachronisms and historical inaccuracies. In Anecdote No. 8 the author refers to the Caliph al-Qâdir Billâh (r. 381—422) as a contemporary of Maudûd (r. 432—440), while Maudûd was really a contemporary of the Caliph al-Qâ'im (r. 422—67). Similarly in Anecdote No. 17 Mahmûd's raid in India is dated in the year 422, while Mahmûd died in 421, and the invasion in question took place only in 410. In Anecdote No. 12, the author states that in the year 389 when Lahore passed into the hands of Shâh Jaipâl, al-Qâdir Billâh sent to Mahmûd a robe of honour, and a diploma of appointment as the Caliph's Deputy, and gave him 'Irâq, Khwârazm, Khurâsân, Nimrôz, Sind and Hind, which is, however, an anachronism, because the author has mixed up the events of 389 and 417 (see *English tr.* Anecdote No. 12, p. 222, note 2). In Anecdote No. 8 Sandanpâl, the grandson of the Shâh of Kâbul is described as living in the time of Maudûd, while *Badâ'ûnî* (tr. p. 20) writes that Nawâsah-i-Shâh died in captivity during the life-time of Mahmûd. In Anecdote No. 10 our author refers to Sandpâl *Nabîra-i-Shâh Jaipâl* as being captured by Mahmûd but makes no mention of his death, which shows that according to him, he may have survived Mahmûd. *Firishtah* calls the Nawâsah-i-Shâh, who was contemporary with Mahmûd, as Sukhpâl (see *English tr.* p. 214, note 1). Were there several Nawâsah Shâhs? Similarly in Anecdote No. 7 the author describes the marriage of the daughter of Chaghar Beg Dâ'ûd with Mas'ûd, while the *Tabâqât-i-Nâsirî* (tr. Raverty) I 107 states that it was Maudûd (d. 441) who married a daughter of Chaghar Beg (so also in *Badâ'ûnî* tr. I. 49). If Mas'ûd married a daughter of Chaghar Beg (d. 450) she must have been several years older than Mas'ûd for he was born in 453 (see *English tr.* p. 211, note 1).

TRANSLATION OF THE ANECDOTES

Note. — The folios numbers in the following pages refer to the British Museum copy.

(1)

Once Sultân Yamin-ud-Dawlah Bahrâm Shâh¹ (May God purify his dust!) bought a maid-servant, who was very beautiful, well-proportioned,² refined, well-bred, and cultured. She had allured the heart of the

1. In *T. Nâsirî*, p. 23 note 2, he called Mu'izz-ud-Dawla.

2. Lit. having handsome extremities of the body, i.e. the arms or hands and the legs or feet and the head (see Lane. *Lexicon*).

Sultân completely, who, on account of his extreme love and passion for her, became captivated, and enslaved to her. Once that maid fell ill. The Sultân was greatly upset on account of her illness. Several nights he could not sleep for that reason. All physicians were helpless, and could not cure her. At that time a physician came from the 'Irâq side, who was a Christian by faith and was called Abû Sa'id of Moşil. He was an expert in the medical science, had acquired great experience, and had thereby perfected his knowledge. They explained to him the condition of the patient, but they did not tell him whether she was a woman or a man.

[He said:] "Bring me the urine¹ so that I may see it, diagnose the disease, and then suggest a line of treatment".

Next day they took the urine to him. When he saw it, he said to them:

"It is the urine of a Hindû woman, for they mostly suffer from this disease, which has mutually conflicting characteristics, and is difficult to cure. Show the patient to me, so that after feeling her pulse, seeing her face, tongue and the eyelids, I may diagnose the disease better and prescribe for her."

This was reported to the Sultân who was surprised to hear of his perfect skill and expert knowledge, but remarked:

"How could one show the secluded women of the Seraglio to a stranger?"

Several nobles were present there. They said:

"Since the beginning of the world the sick and the suffering have been visited by the physicians, who have been allowed to enter the *harems* of the kings, caliphs, nobles and Kâdis. No one has ever objected to this. An accident may happen to a woman which may cause a wound in the privy parts. Exposure in such cases for treatment by surgeons and cuppers, in the interest of the health (of the ladies) has been held permissible."

Such things were said by every one present. on hearing which the Sultân relaxed his rigidity a little, and said:

"If it is inevitable to show her to the physician, cover her completely and do not expose her face and hands fully, so that the physician may see (only what he must see)."

The physician was called in. Mihtar Jawhar was the Atâbek² of the Sultân. He was very respectable, rich and cultured. The Sultân ordered him, to go and attend on her, and hear what the physician said and prescribed.

When the physician felt the pulse, saw the face and tongue and the eyelids of this maid, he became dumfounded and though he tried to prescribe something for her disease, he could not, and was unable to utter

1. For this meaning of *dalil* see Browne, *Revised Trans of the Chahâr Maqâla*, p. 142.

2. Lit. Father Prince, see *E.I.* I. 504.

a single word. He gave his heart to her, was confounded like a mad man, went out and said:

"I am going home and would consult my books, because the case is a difficult one."

Those who were present there knew what had happened. When the physician left her, this maid grew worse and became bed-ridden. Mihtar Jawhar reported the whole affair to the Sultân and remarked that it appeared something untoward had happened to the physician, for he could not prescribe for her. The Sultân sent the Mihtar to the house of the physician to inquire about his health. The physician began to cry and said:

"This patient of yours has killed me, and ruined my career." Having explained his condition to the Mihtar, he told him that if the Sultân would give or sell that sick maid to him he would become a Muslim, and give up Christianity. Otherwise he would not be able to live any longer.¹

Mihtar Jawhar went back and reported to the Sultân, the condition of the physician's ill-health. The Sultân asked what the ailment of the physician was. The Mihtar enquired if his life was safe. Having been assured (by the Sultân) that it was, he proceeded to say, that the maid had affected the physician in the same way, as she had affected "the Lord of the World" (the Sultân). On account of jealousy and fury, the hair of the forehead of the Sultân stood on end, so much so that his cap fell down. It was the characteristic of the Yamîni Kings (May God purify their dust!) that when they were in anger, the hair on their forehead stood on end. When Mihtar Jawhar saw this he was afraid lest the King should punish the physician. So he hinted in a more tactful manner:

"This physician is a Christian and wants to be converted to Islam. He has come from a distant city."

The Sultân inquired if he had a motive behind the proposed conversion. Mihtar Jawhar replied, that he had. The Sultân wanted to know what that motive was. Mihtar Jawhar replied, that the physician stated that if the "Lord of the World" would sell or bestow the maid on him, he would be converted to Islâm.

When the Sultân heard the remark about the physician's proposed conversion his anger subsided.

"Will he really become a Muslim?" asked the Sultân.

"Yes," replied the Mihtar.

"Go then," said the Sultân, "And enquire from him, as if from yourself, whether he really wants to become a Muslim, so that I may bestow the maid on him".

Mihtar Jawhar went and made the necessary enquiry.

"I am ready to become a Muslim," said the physician, "And if

¹ Lit. If he had a thousand lives he would not escape with one.

necessary I shall enter into a contract for slavery".

When Mihtar Jawhar returned and informed the Sultān of the matter, he said:

"Go and bring in the physician so that he may embrace Islām for I have manumitted the maid. He can marry her and take her home."

Immediately the physician came in, made obeisance, snapped his *Zunnār* (religious belt) and embraced Islām at the hands of the Sultān.

The maid was given to him in marriage, and a large quantity of dowry was sent to her. Every lady of the *harem* presented her with a quantity of wearing apparel, so that from every palace four hundred pieces came to her. The couple became exceedingly rich. She recovered her health in a few days. This maid gave birth to two daughters and two sons. Her sons were the contemporaries of this well-wisher, the author of this book.

(2)

Similarly, on one occasion the auspicious Sultān Bahrām Shāh (May God have mercy on him!) held an entertainment in the palace of the *Pirūzī* Gardens. He furnished the banquet pavilion in such a manner that the eye of time would not see the like of it again. At sunset the Sultān ordered that the banquet pavilion be set up outside the palace. The butlers and *farrāshes* began to take it out. As the palace became relatively more empty, a *farrāsh* trampled on a golden and bejewelled narcissus-vase weighing a thousand *Mithqāl*¹, doubled it, picked it up and tucked it away in the leg of his breeches. The Sultān saw it all, but pretended not to see it. When the pavilion was taken out they searched for the narcissus-vase but could not find it. The Head Steward of the Royal Workshops called in every person and made an enquiry, but no one made a confession. So he began to chastise the servants with scourges. When the Sultān heard this beating he sent for the Head Steward and said:

"Don't penalise innocent Muslims, for he who had carried it away will not give it back and he who has seen him carry it away will not betray him."

The Head Steward stopped his enquiry. Then the Sultān called in the Superintendent of the Workshop told him that he had presented the narcissus-vase to someone, and ordered him to write it off in the Inventory of the Keeper of the Household furniture. A long time after this, the *farrāsh*, who had carried away that narcissus-vase, and invested its proceeds in acquiring estates, and furniture and purchasing slaves, maids, vineyards, gardens and mills, was offering water to the Sultān to wash his hands. At the time he was dressed in patched garments. The Sultān raised his head and said:

1. *Mithqāl*, for this see E.I. III 528, *Badā'uni Tr.* I, 25, note 1.

"You wretch! have you anything left out of the proceeds of that narcissus-vase?"

"By the dust of the feet of Your Majesty," replied the *farrâsh*, "nothing is left out of it. It is all gone."

The Sultân gave him more money and said, "Spend it off. When it is all spent I will order them to give you more, but don't mention these things to anyone, lest they take you to task (for your misdeed)."

(3)

It is so related that in the year 503 the *Sultân-i-Karîm*¹ 'Alâ'-ud-Dawla Mas'ûd son of Rađi Ibrâhîm (May God purify their dust!) marched towards Bust. An exquisite, precious and unique pearl fell down from the beak of the falcon surmounting the Sultân's umbrella. The attendants were upset and began to search for it. The *Sultân-i-Karîm* said:

"Pass on and leave it! May be that some poor person would come this way and his posterity and descendants would live lives of ease and comfort on account of this pearl. The prayer of this poor fellow would live in the memories of the people and they would speak of the incident when we are no more."

(4)

During the reign of *Sultân-i-Rađi*² Ibrâhîm the city of Ghaznîn was visited with a famine and the prices of things rose high. Most of the citizens of Ghaznîn locked their houses and dispersed in all directions. The *Sultân-i-Rađi* used to go on the roof of his palace every Thursday³ night, say his prayers there throughout the night, and study the condition of the city. On this particular Thursday night he went upon the roof of the palace but did not hear the usual sounds—of the recital of the *Qur'ân*-readers, of the revision of their lessons by the children, of the singing of the Sûfis, and of the notes of the flutes. Nor did he see the usual lamps and lights. He was very much upset at this, came down and made enquiries from the servants as to the condition of the city. They said:

"It is a week since the people can find no flour, bread, or anything else to eat whether cooked or raw. There is famine and dearth. There are not more than five or six families left per street. Most of them have gone to different directions from the city and have locked their houses."

The Sultân was much grieved to hear this and passed a sleepless night. Next day he summoned all his nobles and grandies, scolded them and said:

1. Cf. *T. Nâiri* 21¹.

2. In *T. Nâiri* 19 he is called Rađi-ud-Dîn.

3. Lit. Friday night, but according to Muslim way of counting, the night of Friday precedes, not follows it.

"Why did you not inform us of the distress in the city so that we might have taken measures to relieve it. Our great worry is that Malik Shâh, will slander us and say that Ibrâhîm had not grain enough to help his subjects with, and save them from the trouble of migrating elsewhere. Now think of some device and take measures to relieve the distress, for it is a great shame that the citizens of Ghaznîn should be driven away from it by hunger."

All the nobles, grandies, amirs and military commanders unanimously, and with one voice said, that the matter could be tackled successfully only by Abu'l-Faraj the Treasurer, and no one else. He alone could deal with this matter satisfactorily. This *Sharîf* Abu'l-Faraj was the paternal great-grandfather of the scribe and the author of this book. He was entrusted with twenty-one offices, all of great importance, by the *Sultân-i-Raḍî* Ibrâhîm. From the gates of Ghaznîn to Tikinâbâd¹, Bust,¹ Mustang,² Quzdâr,³ Tiz,³ Makrân, Qarmâshîr,³ Nermâshîr² to the confines of Aden (the sea?), Siwastân,⁴ Bhroach,⁵ Kambâyat⁵ and the whole littoral of the (Indian) Ocean were under his control. On the other side, the whole territory comprising of Arûr⁶, Bhakkar,⁷ Siwârî (Sibi?), Bhâtîyya, Davâ (?) Gujerbîla (?) Uch⁸, Multân, Karôr⁸ and Bannû, up to the gates of Ghaznîn was under his charge. He also held the office of Overseer of the Seraglio and the Princes, and of Superintendent of the Royal Stores and of the kitchen for the poor⁹ (?) and was entrusted with the trusteeship of the Yamîni, charitable endowments, with the Mint and with the Manufactory for royal robes. He enjoyed the full confidence of the Sultân because he was his foster-brother, and his school-fellow—they had learnt the *Qur'ân*, literature and calligraphy together. Moreover they were together in the fort of Nây also, and had grown up to manhood after being brought up in the same place. The Treasury and the Wardrobe were also under him. He used to remove every anxiety from the mind of the Sultân and solve every difficulty of his. One year he would go to Tikinâbâd and Bust and continue his tour via Mustang, Quzdâr, Siwastân, Uch and Multân and from there return to Ghaznîn. Next year he would (take the reverse course) go to Multân and Uch, continue his tour via Bust and Tikinâbâd and return to Ghaznîn.¹⁰ The Sultân asked:

"From which side will he return this year? I want to send swift

1. For them see *Nûzhat-al-Qulûb*, p. 143 and 142.

2. For these see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* pages 347, 331, 329 (also see *Bêrûnî* I 208) 313.

3. Apparently—Garmsîr, for which see *Â'in* (tr. Jarrett) II 394.

4. Siwastân i.e., Sehwan see *Â'in*, p. 337 note 4.

5. For them see *Bêrûnî* I 205, 209, 208.

6. Arôr in *Bêrûnî* I 205. Alor in *Â'in* (tr. Jarrett) II 337.

7. For this see *Â'in* (tr. Jarrett) II 327.

8. For them see Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 277.

9. Lit. feast for help. The reference seems to be to some sort of soup-kitchen.

10. According to *Ishtakhrî* p. 250 Tikinâbâd was five days' journey from Bust, and Ghaznîn was eleven days' journey from Tikinâbâd.

dromedaries and express riders to meet him, so that he may come expeditiously and remove this anxiety from my mind."

They informed him that he was coming by the Multân route that year. So he immediately despatched swift dromedaries and express riders to him and invited him to come poste-haste. Going at a terrific speed, the dromedaries met him at Bannû and the firmân bearing the royal sign-manual, asking him to come post-haste, was handed over to him there.

All his baggage and followers he left behind. He told off fifty Turkish slaves to bring up the baggage to the city expeditiously and himself set out, unencumbered, with twenty Turkish slaves and a few dromedaries. On account of the favour of the Sultân he had seventy Turkish servants with golden belts, all getting their allowance¹ and salary from the Sultân. In the city of Ghaznîn there is a street known as the "Street of the golden-belted ones", which is so called after them and is well-known. From Bannû he came to the Sultân in three days. When he went to him and had the honour of paying obeisance and kissing his hand, the Sultân rose up from his throne, came down, embraced him twice and said:

"You have helped us through every calamity and crisis and have removed our anxiety on every occasion. On account of famine and dearth things in Ghaznîn have come to such a pass that its citizens have locked up their houses and gone to different directions. We are worrying ourselves very much for fear of the slanders of Malik Shâh. Think of some device to set matters right and remove this anxiety from our mind. For all nobles and grandies agree that you alone can set the matters right."

He at once bowed and said:

"The King of Islâm should order that proclaimers on horse and camel-back proclaim it to-night in the whole city, its bâzars, and quarters that tomorrow all provenders and bakers should come to such and such a street where the (Royal) granary² is, so that every person may get grain according to his need."

Under the orders of the Sultân, two hundred horses and camels were given to the proclaimers who made the proclamation in the whole city the same night. It is said at that time there were six thousand bakers and six thousand provenders in the city of Ghaznîn. Next day the Sultân ordered the weighers³ to come and every baker and provender was daily provided with ten ass-loads⁴ of grain. As a result of this,

1. *Ijra* (modern *jira*) means allowances, especially in kind *Jamagi* (equivalent to the modern *Mawajib* or *Mustamirri*) means wages in cash. See Browne, *Revised Translation of Chahâr Maqâla*, p. 46 note 1.

2. Lit. store-house for grain sacks. *Kundû* is a vessel made of clay in which grain is kept.

3. Lit. those who handle the steelyard. *Kabân* (properly *Qubbân*)—a steelyard (Lane).

4. *خروار*, an ass-load; the measure of a hundred Tabriz maund. (*Steingass*).

their shops began to do their work normally and bread became abundant in the city. In the morning its price was 70 *dirams* a maund, at the time of the evening prayer it came down to fifty *dirams*, next day to thirty and on the following, to seventeen. When the Sultān came to know of this he prostrated himself before God, praised and thanked Him, that he had an individual in his service who could remove that serious anxiety from his mind, and save him from that grave crisis.

At once under his orders dromedaries and swift riders were despatched in every direction and they traversed three or four stages and brought back the emigrants.

When the next Thursday night the Sultān again went up on the roof of the palace and studied the condition of the city he found everything normal, and was greatly pleased. The following day he sent for the *Sharif* Bu'l-Faraj, offered his apologies, and showed much kindness to him saying:

"You have done a deed which will live in the memories of the people for all time. We shall in our turn show you such favour which shall similarly be remembered for evermore. For every office which you hold, we shall award you a robe of honour. For twenty-one offices of yours, we shall give you robes twenty-one times."

The *Sharif* Bu'l-Faraj bowed and said:

"The Lord of the World has already shown much kindness and showered many favours on me. Now I have grown old and have not the strength to receive all these favours. If the Lord of the World so desires, let him grant me a robe for every three offices which I hold." This was agreed to. On the next day the Sultān gave him robes of honour seven times along with a palanquin, a bed, a drum, a banner, an elephant, a shield, a battle-axe and a standard. Every time that he wore the robe of honour, he would come back to his house and sit down. Then the Chamberlain would come and say:

"The Lord of the World calls you!"

He would go again and receive the robe in the manner he got it the first time. Till the afternoon prayers he got robes seven times, received much kindness and many favours. From the time of Adam (may God's peace be on him!) till this day no king has given, nor would give, to any of his servants, two robes of honour in one day but as the servants were so exceptionally sincere, capable and experienced, the generous, ingenious, and discriminating Kings also showed exceptional favour to them. May God (exalted be He!) forgive those Kings! and direct the Kings of our time to do good to others, show them patronage and regard and treat them with kindness, by His Favour and Grace!

(5)

It is so related that in the year 504 the capital town of Ghaznīn experienced great distress, and on account of a visitation of locusts, famine

prices obtained there. The people became thoroughly miserable because of the famine, and on this account submitted their complaint to the *Sultân-i-Karîm* 'Alâ'-ud-Dawlah Mas'ûd son of Ibrâhîm (may God purify their dust!) informing him of their wretched state. The *Sultân-i-Karîm* wrote on the back of the complaint the following remark:

"Every poison has its antidote, every disease its remedy. We have ordered that the stores of grain be brought out and sold at seven-tenths of the current prices, so that our subjects may live in ease and the kingdom may remain inhabited."

At once the stores of grain were brought out, and sold at the price fixed by the Sultân. Abundance prevailed and in a few days' time things became normal, the famine disappeared and tranquillity was restored. The King was gratified on account of the prosperity of his subjects and his good name was indelibly inscribed on the page of time. May God (exalted be He!) forgive all just and benevolent kings and dispose them to doing good, by His Favour and Munificence!

(6)

A *wazîr* should surpass his contemporaries in wisdom, knowledge and intelligence. He should be so brave as not to be afraid of any enemy and any battle. If the King thinks it expedient to send him against an enemy he should not show cowardice but put a good face to the matter. In bravery he should be like the Khwâja Aḥmad² b. Ḥasan Maymandî, who urged on the deceased Amîr Yamîn-ud-Dawla Maḥmûd b. Subuktagîn (may God illumine their graves!) and took him to fight against the Khânids³. When the Sultân Yamîn-ud-Dawlah reached there he found the army of the enemy superior in numbers to his own, comprising entirely of Turks, while his own army consisted chiefly of Tâjiks, Hindûs and irregulars.⁴ The Sultân was frightened and sent the following message to the Khwâja Aḥmad b. Ḥasan:

"Everybody told me that you were my enemy and would put me some day in some grave difficulty. I did not believe what I was told, but to-day I have realised the truth of those assertions and seen with my own eyes that you have urged me on and brought me to this place. You have done whatever you felt as incumbent on you. now let us see what

1. See p. 200, note 1

2. For him see Browne, *Rev. Trans. of the Chahâr Maqâla*, page 14, note 8.

3. For them see Browne, *Revised Translation of the Chahâr Maqâla*, p. 126; Lane-Poole: *Muḥammadan Dynasties*, p. 134 — Maḥmûd defeated them in A. H. 398/A. C. 1007.

4. [Abû Sa'id son of Ḥusain was the leader of the irregulars called 'Ayyarân in Sistân, see *Târikh-i-Sistân*, p. 350 See also the Editor's note on p. 161 note 3. Hence it appears that *Bû Sa'id* = 'Ayyâr or irregular army. Compare the following verse of Sa'id:

هر روز ار برای سگ نفس بو سعید يك كاسه شوربا و دوتا نان آرزوست

See *Gulshan-i-Ma'ânî*, (Lahore, 1932) p. 183 The word is not traceable in the dictionaries (MS.).]

God, to Whom belong might and majesty, has decreed."

He hurled threats and menaces at the *wazîr*. The Khwâja Aḥmad b. Ḥasan sent back word as follows:

"Say to my Lord the Sultân: To-day the battle is not between your majesty and myself, for you have more important work on hand" (say also):

"If you come out victorious you would know that I have been your well-wisher and friend and have desired an increase in your glory, kingdom, territory, army and treasure. If God forbid, the contrary happens, neither you would see me any more, nor I you."

When they brought back the message the Amîr Abu'l-Qâsim son of 'Abdu'l-Malik who had come from Sistân to the Royal Court, was standing before the Sultân. He saw the vexation and the anxiety of the Sultân and said:

"O Lord! In Sistân a jackal entered the house of an old woman who had a goat and wanted to carry it away and kill it. The neighbours told her that a jackal had come and wanted to carry away her goat. She had a look at the jackal and said that her goat was as big as the jackal and had two horns in addition. Despite that if the goat was killed: it had better be killed."

"O Lord!" he proceeded on to say, "Our army is equal to the army of the enemy and we have got one thousand and four hundred elephants in addition. Despite this if they defeat us we had better be defeated and slain."

When they were talking like this, Aḥmad the Keeper of a *postîni* (?) elephant, which they had brought from Sistân and which had formerly belonged to the Amîr Khalaf¹ b. Aḥmad, came forward and said:

"O Lord! Since last night I have tied this elephant for more than a hundred times. Every time it has loosened itself and broken the chain. This is an indication of victory and success. This slave of Your Majesty will go on this elephant, snatch away their standard, lower it down, and bring it before the Lord."

The Sultân was greatly pleased and gave orders so that the army ranged itself in battle-array. When they were so ranged the Sultân came out of the army, dismounted his horse, prayed two *rak'ats* on the ground, bowed his head in prostration and rubbed his face on the dust and recited:

"Say,² O God! the possessor of the kingdom (etc.)."

Raising his head, from his prayer, he took his place in the centre of his army and called Aḥmad son of 'Ali of Bûshang³ the master of the

1. For Khalaf b. Aḥmad—King of Sistân, see *Tārīkh-i-Sistân*, p. 341. He ascended the throne in A.H. 352. Maḥmûd took Sistân from him in A.H. 393 and imprisoned him. Khalaf died in captivity in A.H. 399—*ibid* p. 327, 353.

2. *Qur'ân* 3:25.

3. For Bûshang see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 431.

horse. Then alighting from his own horse, he seated Aḥmad on it, and drawing out his own saddle-sword, handed it to him and said:

"Deliver an attack on the enemy, with all the palace slaves!"

f.55a The keeper of the elephant led the attack and pushed on till he snatched away their standard, broke it and lowered it. The army of the Khānids was defeated and scattered away. Then happened what happened. That victory deserves a separate volume. The keepers of the elephants and the palace slaves all returned victorious and successful. It is related that from that white elephant and its armour they drew out darts weighing a hundred maunds.

(7)

f.60a During the reign of *Sultān-i-Raḍī*¹ Ibrāhīm (God taught him his proof!²) Sultān Malik Shāh, the Saljūq, gathered together a large host
f.60b from Khwārazm, Khurāsān and 'Irāq with a view to march against Ghaznīn. The *Sultān-i-Raḍī* sent, as an ambassador to Malik Shāh, Mihtar Rashīd. It is he who founded the school in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Sultān Yamīn-ud-Dawla Maḥmūd Ghāzī (may God's mercy be upon him!) and has left behind many other charitable endowments and institutions for public good in Khurāsān. This Mihtar Rashīd was a very respectable, dignified, generous and liberal person. The Sultān sent with him several camel-loads of valuable cloth of every description and some additional camel-loads of all sorts of presents to serve as a reserve supply so that in case of need he should not feel helpless, for the distance was very great. The Mihtar further took with him quantities of such things from his private purse. When he reached that Court and interviewed the King, he conveyed to him the enquiries of the Sultān about his health, and greetings and presents. He also submitted to him all those presents which he had provided from himself. Sultān Malik Shāh showed surprise at the abundance of the presents, and as the Sultān had been previously informed of the Mihtar's magnificence, high status and generosity, quarters suited to his position and adequate hospitality and rations were provided for him. The next day the Mihtar Rashīd went to have a hot bath. Malik Shāh desired to present him with bath-money under some pretext and to make a display of his own liberality. So he sent to the bath, by a courtier of his, one thousand *dinārs* of Nishāpūr, a golden basin and ewer, a robe of honour worthy of him, and a horse, with a girth and other harnessing accessories of gold.

f.61a The courtier went to the Bath and waited till the Mihtar Rashīd came out, when he greeted him and conveyed to him the enquiries of the Sultān after his health and said:

"The King of the World has sent at present the bath-money,

1. See p. 200, note 2.

2. For this see *Lane*

and offered excuses for its being so insignificant—lest you may find fault with it.”

The Mihtar Rashîd made obeisance and presented to the Keeper of the Bath the presents which the Sultân had sent such as money, horse, cloth, basin and ewer along with a quantity of additional money from himself and offered excuses to him.

When the courtier who had brought the robe of honour and the horse saw all that, he was astonished and amazed at his generosity and said politely:

“Kings give presents and show munificence to ambassadors on some pretext. Why have you given away all these things as if they were adequate only for the Keeper of the hot bath?”

The Mihtar Rashîd replied that it was not proper for him to scrape away bits from (*i.e.* retain a portion of) the bath-money.

The courtier returned and related the whole story to the Sultân who was astonished at his generosity and liberality and said:

“We should devise some suitable plan otherwise it would be impossible to adequately deal with such a man as he is.”

The Mihtar Rashîd had presented a few thousand pieces of precious¹ cloth to all nobles, grandies, *Hājibs*² (military commanders) and the courtiers so that all the people of that kingdom were amazed at his munificence and liberality. He had won over and made the whole army and its officers obedient to himself and turned their heads by his munificence and generosity.

One day Sultân Malik Shâh went for a ride and sent for Mihtar Rashîd, so that he too may accompany him. The Mihtar Rashîd came, they rode their horses, and went for a ride. An innumerable army had come from all sides and were quartered in a large camp. The Sultân enquired from the Mihtar Rashîd whether their (the Ghaznavids') camping ground was larger and more extensive or his? The Mihtar Rashîd said:

“In our country there is a city called Lamghân³ and most of its inhabitations are barbers. Every year they come to the city of Ghaznî to ply their trade and pitch their tents in the (dry) bed of the river (of Ghaznî). Every tent has a banner at the entrance, so that its owner may distinguish his own tent from others. Their tents are more numerous than those in this camping-ground!”

On hearing this reply Malik Shâh regretted the folly of his remark.

On whatever subject Malik Shâh questioned him, he gave crushing replies, till the Sultân began to try to catch him in his words, and embarrass him thereby. One day he held a grand feast and invited the

1. Lit. heavy

2. The *Hājib* was a military rank of the commanders of the Turkish slaves under the Samānids, and Ghaznavids cf. *Turkestan*, p. 227

3. See Browne, *Revised Translation of the Chahār Maqāla*, p. 20 note 1

Mihtar Rashîd, and placed in the Banquet-Hall every variety of dessert, sweet-smelling herbs and dry and fresh fruit. He put questions about every kind of fresh fruit to the Mihtar Rashîd and asked if the like of that was found in Ghaznîn, and the Mihtar gave suitable replies to his questions, till they brought in a tray of pears¹—a large sized variety, than which larger could not be found in the whole of that country. They enquired from Mihtar Rashîd whether pears as big as those were found in Ghaznîn.

f.62a "In the kingdom of Ghaznîn" he replied "there are four districts, called Anwa' ² (?) Khumâr³, Lamghân and Shâh Bahâr⁴. These districts are granted as estates and fiefs to the Turks and their children. Pears grow in these districts each weighing a maund⁵ or a maund and five seers, or a maund and ten seers. These pears are called *pîl amrûd* (elephant pears). There is a beast of burden which can carry one thousand such pears and which does what you order him to do, like human beings."

"The Khawâja has spoken of such things," remarked Sultân Malik Shâh, "the like of which are certainly not found in the whole world".

These words were welcomed by the Mihtar Rashîd who began to praise his own country and preferred it to other countries and added:

"In our country there are things the like of which are not found in any other country."

"What are those things," enquired Malik Shâh, "You should tell us, so that we may know".

He said: "In our kingdom there is a bird which eats fire. The fire does not burn or hurt it."

"This is one," said Malik Shâh. "What else?"

"There is a bird," he continued, "which speaks like human beings".

"That is two," said Malik Shâh, "What else?"

"There is a bird," he added further, "which mews like a cat, and makes a display of itself like a bride. Then there is a white monkey with a black face, and a black one with a white face."

At this Malik Shâh said: "The Khwâja has made such (false) statements that more of lying could not fall to his share".

This remark made the Mihtar Rashîd boil with rage. He said:

"Belonging to the kingdom and throne, of kings, the like of whom are not and cannot be found anywhere in the world, and having been reared and brought up by such kings, how could a man like myself, in addressing a King like Your Majesty speak of things which are not found in reality? If I can demonstrate to Your Majesty in a clear and explicit

1 For this meaning of *Amrûd* see *J R A S* 1927

2 B: نوع Not traceable.

3. See *Tatimmat Siwân al-Hikmah* p 184.

4. According to *Yâqût* III 226 Shâbuhâr is a village in the district of Balkh

5. *Man* possibly *Tabrizî* man is meant, weighing somewhat less than 2 lbs. see *Badd'ûnî Tr.* I 72, note 4

manner the argument and proof of what I have said, and the truth of it be established, in that case will Your Majesty do as I bid and undertake granting to me what I desire?" f.62b

"If you can undertake to prove all that you have told us," replied Malik Shâh "we shall indeed willingly do as you desire". And he made all the nobles and grandies present there as witnesses to what he had said.

The Mihtar Rashid reported to the (Ghaznavid) Sultân all that had happened, and requested him to despatch hastily one hundred ass-loads of *pîl amrûd*, one female elephant, two ostriches, a pair of peacocks, male and female, and a pair each of parrots, of *shârak*¹ which could not only talk but recite the *Qur'ân*, and of black and white monkeys. Moreover he asked to be advised of their impending arrival two or three days before the actual arrival of the animals etc. so that he might make suitable arrangement for them. When the letter was read to the Sultân Radî (may God's mercy be upon him!) he at once gave orders and they loaded and despatched to him one hundred ass-loads of the choicest pears along with a female elephant, a pair each of ostriches, peacocks, parrots, talking birds, which could both talk and recite the *Qur'ân*, and of black and white monkeys. A reply to his letter was also sent with a quantity of gold, presents, and precious cloths, and he was asked to intimate at once by a special messenger, if he needed anything further, so that it might be supplied.

When the reply came and the things were about to reach, the Mihtar Rashid ordered that the door of the house in which he was living be enlarged, so that the loaded elephant might enter it. A big banquet was also arranged on the very day when these things were to reach, and Malik Shâh and all the nobles and grandies of the kingdom were invited to it. The Amîrs and commanders of the army were also invited. At the Mihtar's orders some fruit-bearing fuel was burnt, and fire prepared, and placed on two trays. He also kept concealed a balance and weights near at hand, and sent his own men before-hand with orders to select one thousand best and choicest pears, to load them in ten baskets on the elephant, and to bring the loaded beast in. f.63a

When Malik Shâh and nobles sat on the table, they were surprised to see all those things for they had not seen such a villa, vineyard, grapes, trees of every kind, horses, camels, cows, the sheep of Sogdiâna and different kinds of spoon-meat, fried meat, *halwâ*, and sweet dishes of many sorts, fattened fowls, game and other things. When they rose up from the table and washed their hands, they moved to the place suitably furnished for drinks under pavilions, supplied with gold, silver, glass², and goldplated vessels befitting princes and kings, varieties of desserts, sweet-smelling herbs, perfumes and heaps of dry and fresh fruit. There

1. A species of talking bird.

2. Lit. transparent (or translucent) vessels. Perhaps China is also included in the term.

they sat to drink wine. The cup had gone round hardly more than twice or thrice, when they brought into the pavilion the elephant duly decorated, and loaded with pears.

f.63b Malik Shâh had never seen an elephant before, and when he saw the movements of its ears, its tusks and its huge body, he was frightened, and rose up from his place to run away from the pavilion to a neighbouring canopy. The Mihtar Rashîd said:

"The Sultân need not be afraid of the beast." "It is this beast" he added, "which does what you order him to do, and on it are the pears which I had described".

As soon as the elephant was brought in, it placed its head on the ground, and paid obeisance, and they brought down the baskets one by one from its back. Each time it placed its head on the ground.

Malik Shâh was astonished to see the elephant. When they had taken down all the baskets from its back, and emptied their contents, they brought the balance and weighed them till each heap of a thousand pears was weighed and was found to weigh one thousand, two hundred and odd maunds.

Then he ordered them to take the elephant out. Next the ostriches were brought in, and those two trays of fire were placed before them. They began to eat fire, till both trays were empty. They were then taken out and the peacock was brought in, and the peahen was concealed. The peacock began to scream. When it had screamed for a little while, the peahen was shown to it and it began to make ostentatious display of itself (by expending its tail).

Then he ordered them to bring in the parrots and the *shâra*ks. When their cages were laid down, they saluted at first, and then began to recite "*al-Hamd*"¹ and "*Qul Huwallâh*", and finally began to talk. Next they brought in the monkeys. When Malik Shâh saw their colour, faces and bodies, he was amazed. Then the Mihtar Rashîd rose up and said:

f.64a "This humble servant has acquitted himself of his obligation and demonstrated the proof of his statement." All present there shouted out: "You have given a proof which would be remembered for ever".

"Now," said the Mihtar, "Your Majesty should also quit yourself of whatever obligation I impose".

Malik Shâh said, "As this was the condition we agreed to, we should certainly fulfil the obligation".

The Mihtar Rashîd said, "The first thing is, that Your Majesty must give up the idea of waging war against Ghaznî, for your army has not the courage and power to face the army of Ghaznî. If your army is of one sort, ours is of ten sorts."

"We have given up the idea," replied Malik Shâh.

"You should," proceeded the Mihtar Rashîd, "give your daughter in marriage to the son of our Sovereign, the Amîr 'Alâ'-ud-Dawlah

1. "*Al-Hamd*" is the first Surah of the *Qur'ân* and "*Qul Huwallâh*" the last but two.

Mas'ūd, so that both houses may be united and the enmity removed".

Malik Shāh said in reply, "We have no daughter,¹ but we have an aunt in 'Irâq, daughter of Chaghar Beg Da'ūd², whom we betroth (to Mas'ūd). You should send some one to fetch her, so that she may be brought and taken to that court."

A letter was immediately written under his orders to 'Irâq to the effect that he had given his aunt in marriage to the Amir 'Alâ'-ud-Dawlah Mas'ūd and that the necessary arrangements for her be made at once, and she be sent with those men who were coming to fetch her. That lady eventually became the mother of Sultân Malik Arsalân³.

The Mihtar Rashîd had been instructed from the court of Ghaznî to write letters as from the Sultân, to every Amir, commander, grandee, and noble of Malik Shāh. The contents in each case were as follows:—

"We have understood what you have written. Your letters clearly show your friendship and regard, and we are ordering herewith the presentation of a gift to you, which you should take from such and such a merchant."

Under the orders of the Sultân he (the Mihtar Rashîd) had already handed over a hundred thousand golden *dinârs* of Nishâpûr to some merchants visiting Ghaznî for trade, with instructions to give the money to those Amîrs and commanders of the Saljuq kingdom, who would bring to them letters with a certain mark. f.64b

The Mihtar Rashîd acted accordingly and ordered that letters be written out to each of the commanders and a suitable weight enclosed in each, according to the position and rank of the addressee. When those letters were written out, he ordered a messenger to go to the camping-ground of Malik Shāh and throw the bag (of letters) near the Royal Pavilion and run away, so that a party of them might see him.

The messenger went and did as directed. They took to Malik Shāh the bag duly superscribed, with its mouth tightly sewn. When it was opened, he found that it contained replies to the letters of the Amîrs and commanders of his own army. He was sorely troubled and was overtaken with fear. Nizâm-ul-Mulk who was his *wazîr* at the time, said:

"Such diplomatic tricks, are often played by ingenious kings and able ministers, so that the (rival) king may lose confidence in his Amîrs and commanders. The matter can be put to the test. The weights enclosed in the letters should be taken to the merchants and the money demanded from them. If they take the weights and give the money it is a serious

1 But cf. *Ṭabaqât-i-Nāṣirî* (tr Raverty) I 107 which says that he had a daughter who was married to Mas'ūd. If Mas'ūd married a daughter of Chaghar Beg (d. about 450 see *Rāhatas-Sudûr*, p. 116 note 4), she must have been older than Mas'ūd for he was born in A.H. 453, see *Ṭabaqât-i-Nāṣirî* (tr Raverty) I 107. According to the last authority it was Maudûd (d. 441) who married a daughter of Chaghar Beg, so also in *Badâ' unî* tr. I 49.

2. For him see Lane Poole, *Muhammadian Dynasties*, p. 151.

3. For him see Lane Poole, *Muhammadian Dynasties*, p. 290.

affair. If they refuse to pay, then it would be clear that it was a kind of deceit and a subtle trick."

All the weights were taken to the merchants, who accepted them and paid the money.

Malik Shâh said to the Wazir: "No one should know this secret, for they had nearly brought the whole of our army to destruction".¹

f.65a Next day he marched back in the direction of 'Irâq. When he had gone, the Mihtar Rashîd despatched one of his confidants, who was his deputy, towards 'Irâq, so that he might bring the bride's palanquin. The Mihtar himself went back to Ghaznîn and the King showered numerous favours and praises on him.

The messenger whom he had sent to 'Irâq was an active, able and experienced man, learned and quick at repartee. When he reached 'Irâq he waited on the Amîr, a relative of Malik Shâh, who represented the Sultân in that land and handed over to him the presents and gifts, which he had brought, and conveyed the message about the lady. In accordance with the *firmân* of Sultân Malik Shâh, they began to arrange for the dowry of that lady. In that assembly too, all sorts of things were discussed by them, with the object of reducing the messenger to a nonplus, but he returned harsh and crushing replies to their questions.

One day they held a feast which was attended by a number of nobles, grandies and renowned persons. When wine had gone round three or four times, and brought them under its influence, the boon-companions of the Amîr turned towards the messenger and said:

"In our city winter is called the '*Ghaznîchî*'², (the Ghaznavîd)." At the approach of it we say: "Close the door so that the *Ghaznîchî* may not come in".

"In our city," retorted the messenger, "urine is called the '*Irâqî*', and if any one wants to use the word urine, he uses the word '*Irâqî*' instead," and says: "He was passing the '*Irâqî*'".

All the boon-companions (of the Amîr) were put to shame, and they regretted the folly of their remark. On the day when the bride's palanquin was being seen off, a large concourse of people representing both sides had assembled, and questions were put to them, whether this or that thing was found in Ghaznîn. They replied that things like those were found there, and even a hundred times better and more beautiful ones than those. Ultimately they enquired whether *Kâsîr* (?) was found in Ghaznîn. The litter-bearers and the palanquin-carriers who are generally quick at repartee, rude, and fearless men said:

"If *Kâsîr* had been found in Ghaznîn we would not have carried it from 'Irâq."

They did not mind what they said, and returned such a rude

1. Such seems to be the sense of this doubtful passage. Or perhaps it is *دسته بردہ بود* had carried it away in one handful.

2. Ghaznîn is noted for its extreme cold, see *Bâbur Nâma* (Tr. Beveridge) p. 219

answer. When this was reported to Malik Shâh he severely punished the person who had put that sort of question and said, "If he had not put such a question, he would not have heard such a rude answer".

Such should be a messenger, so that people dare not make a fool of him nor hold him cheap. He should be able to give an adequate answer to every question, so that whoever addresses him or puts him a question, may think before he does so, and fear its answer which would be remembered for ever.

(8)

At the time when the martyred Sultân Mas'ûd¹ met this tragic end at Mârîgala², and his army suddenly fell³ upon him, all the infidels raised their heads and the Carmathians put the fort of Multân in proper repairs, and revolted. The Amîr Shihâb-ud-Dawlah⁴ Maudûd (may God's mercy be upon him!) who invented the arrow-head known after him as *Maudûdi*⁵, ascended the throne, and sent an army from Ghaznî, and nominated Sâlâr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, the *Hâjib-i-Buzurg* (Great Chamberlain) as its Commander. He appointed the Faqîh Salîṭî as Governor of Lahore, and sent him towards India. When the army of Ghaznî reached Lahore, the army of Lahore came out to receive them. The Faqîh Salîṭî appointed Abû Bakr b. Bû Ṣâliḥ as his Deputy Governor, and himself went with the army of Lahore to Multân to fight against the son of Da'ûd⁶, whom the Carmathians called the *Sheikh*. f.101b

When the army reached the fort of 'ج' (?) the Carmathians took to flight and went to Manṣûra. The inhabitants of Multân fought for a few days and defended the fort, but when they realised that the Carmathians would give them no help, they implored for quarter, and surrendered the fort of Multân to the besiegers. The *Khuṭbah* was read in the names of the Amîru'l-Mo'minin al-Qâdir Billâh and Maudûd⁷, and Moḥammad Galîmî was appointed Governor of Multân.

The Muslim army began their return journey by way of Harharâz⁸ (?)

1. He was slain in A. H. 432 (*Badd'ûnî tr.* I. 44)

2. See *Ṭ. Nâsirî* (tr. Raverty) I. 95 note 1.

3. *Durûḥ*, in Arabic means, to come upon any one suddenly and unawares (see Lane, s. v. *دروح*). This seems to be the word used in the text.

4. So also in *Tab. Nâsirî* 15. 10

5. See p. 216 for some more details about this kind of arrow-head.

6. See *Badd'ûnî tr.* I. 19.

7. This anecdote furnishes an instance of glaring anachronism and historical inaccuracy. Qâdir Billâh could not have been a contemporary of Maudûd, for he was Caliph from 381 to 422, while Maudûd reigned from 432 to 440. Maudûd was the contemporary of al-Qâ'im who was Caliph from 422 to 467.

8. This is perhaps Harhaura, the country watered by the river Suân, see map VI facing p. 121 in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*.

f.102a with booty and punished severely the infidels and the Jats. The army of Ghaznīn returned to the home country.

Sandanpāl, the grandson¹ of the Shāh of Kābul, had come from the frontiers of India on hearing of the tragedy of Mārīgala, thinking that the power of Muslims had been completely destroyed. The heads of the infidels had been swollen by haughtiness and they began to dream of kingship, and on this account Rāys, Rânās, and Thākurs of the Hill tracts, some on horse-back, some on foot, assembled and poured out from the Hills with the intention of attacking the army of Lahore and blocking the way of the other, for they thought that the army of Ghaznīn was returning home, and that the horses of the Lahore army had become exhausted (by their campaigning). [Sandanpāl], said:

“As soon as we have crushed the Lahore army, Lahore and Tākīshah² would come under our sway.”

Bū Bakr b. Bū Ṣālīḥ had gone to Tākīshah with a few horsemen of Lahore, in order to meet the (Ghaznavīd) army. The Faqīh was informed about the affair of the grandson of the Shāh, who had ambitions about gaining the throne. When they reached near Qalāchūr (?) a huge and numerous army of the infidels overtook them. The Faqīh Ṣalīṭī took his place in the centre of the army, Bū Bakr ibn Bū Ṣālīḥ in the right wing, and Bu'l-Ḥasan Jarrāsh (?) who has built a monastery (*Khānqāh*) in Lahore, in the left wing.

The powerful infidels were in high spirits, for their army greatly outnumbered the Muslim army. They were charging the Muslim army fiercely and raining two-handed sword-attacks on them.

f.102b The Muslim army bore the brunt of the attacks, being unable to counter-attack or move from its place. A Turk volunteer asked the Faqīh to point out to him the infidel pretender so that he might relieve them of his mischief. The Faqīh pointed out to him a man riding on a bay³ horse above whose head they held a *chatar* (umbrella). The Turk drew his bow, pulled a poplar arrow, then coming out of the row, leapt forward and shot an arrow on the shield which they had placed before Sandanpāl. The arrow pierced through it, transfixing the *Jīwrakh*⁴, which he was wearing, and his chest, and came out at his back and the

1. *Badd'ūnī* (tr p 20) writes that Nawāsah-i-Shāh died in captivity during the lifetime of Maḥmūd while in the anecdote given above Sandanpāl *Nawāsah-i-Shāh-i-Kābul* is mentioned as living in the time of Maudūd. In the anecdote No. 10. our Author refers to Sandpāl *Nabīra-i-Shāh-i-Jaipāl* as being captured by Maḥmūd but makes no mention of his death, which shows that according to him he survived Maḥmūd. Firishtā calls the *Nawāsah-i-Shāh*, who was contemporary with Maḥmūd, as Sukhpāl (*Badd'ūnī* tr. p. 20 note 4).

2. Tākīsha seems to be identical with Tākīshar, for which see *Maḥmūd*, p. 105 note 7. It is the sub-Himalayan region of the Punjab from the Chināb westward.

3. حم apparently should be read as احم, which indicates a colour between dark and bay, inferior in depth to dark-red (see Lane, *Lexicon*).

4. Some sort of protective armour.

Pretender went to Hell. The army shouted out the *takbīr* (God is great) slaughtered innumerable infidels and won a large booty. It has frequently happened in the world, that with a single wooden arrow lost thrones have been won back.

(9)

The Omayyad Caliphs¹ never fought personally in battle except Marwān² *al-Himār* ("the ass"). As to the Caliphs of the house of 'Abbās³ they had no need to fight battles in person for all the world was and is their army and they had only to give orders. Bū Muslim⁴ the real founder of the 'Abbāsid Empire, who was an ancestor of the author of this book, fought with arrows. A *dasta* (bundle of twenty-four) of his arrows⁵ weighed twenty maunds. The Amīrs of Khurāsān and 'Irāq all fought personally in battle and conquered the world. Hajjāj⁶ b. Yūsuf, Qutaibah⁷ b. Muslim, Naṣr⁸ b. Sayyār, Yazīd⁹ b. Muhallab, Dā'ūd¹⁰ b. Muhallab, Rāfi¹¹ b. Harthama, Muwaffaq¹², Qaṭṭaba¹³, 'Amr¹⁴ b. Layth, Ya'qūb¹⁵ b. Layth, the Ṭāhirid and Sāmānid Amīrs—all fought personally in battle. f.106b f.107a

As to the Kings of the House of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Subuktagīn¹⁶ Ghāzi (God taught them their proof!) each one of them fought in battle with various weapons. The Amīr Subuktagīn fought with spear, (bow and) arrows and *qalāchūr*¹⁷ and was unique in his skill in the use of each. He

1. Reigned 41—132 H

2. r. 127—132 H

3. r. 132—656 H

4. For him see *Encycl. of Islām* I. 101.

5. Doubtful text perhaps we should read *tabar* or *naiza wa Dashna* (battle-axe or spear and dagger)

6. See *Encycl. of Islām* II. p. 202.

7. See *Encycl. of Islām* II. 1165

8. See *Encycl. of Islām* III. 873.

9. See *Encycl. of Islām* IV. 1163.

10. This Dā'ūd is apparently the individual who was Governor of Sīstān from 176 to 178. See *Tārīkh-i-Sīstān*. p. 153 seq. (with note). But Dā'ūd b. Yazīd was not a son of Muhallab but his great-great-grandson, see *Wust Tab.* 11—33.

11. For him see *Rawḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafā* (Bombay 1271.) vol. 4 p. 6. He was slain in 283 H. See *T. Sīstān* p. 253.

12. Muwaffaq is probably the famous brother of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mu'tamid b. al-Mutwakkil (d. in A.H. 278) see *Encycl. of Islām* III. 779

13. *Encycl. of Islām* II. 628

14 and 15. 'Amr reigned from 265 to 267 H. and Ya'qūb from 254 to 265. See Lane-Poole. *Muḥammadan Dynasties*. p. 130.

16. r. 366—387.

17. For *qalāchūrī*. (var. قلا حولی) see the *Oriental College Magazine* for Nov. 1937, p. 76.

had no equal in courage and fighting. He was never defeated in battle and never turned his back upon the enemy. Sultân Yamin-ud-Dawlah wad-Dîn Maḥmūd¹ fought with the sword and the *qalāchūr*, which are the arms of warriors and brave men. In archery and the use of the spear he was unique. Historians tell us that at the time when he captured the Fort of Multân, so many infidels and Carmathians were slaughtered, that a stream of blood began to flow from Lahore Gate which is towards the *Qibla* (West). The hand of the Sultân (may God's mercy be upon him!) stuck to the hilt of his sword on account of blood, and as the blood congealed, it became impossible for him to detach it. They heated some f.107b water, poured it into a basin, and he immersed his hand and the hilt of his sword in it for a long time. It was only then that his hand could be detached from the hilt. Sultân Moḥammad,² his eldest son, fought with the spear. The martyred Sultân Mas'ūd³ used to take exercise with a mace weighing seventy maunds and to fight with another, weighing forty maunds, and thereby conquered 'Irāq, Ray and Isphân. Sultân Maudūd⁴ fought with (the bow and) arrow. The *Maudūdī* arrow-heads are ascribed to him and did not exist before his time. By his order they cast these arrow-heads of gold, so that whoever be killed with one of them, his shroud and funeral requisites be provided out of it, and whoever be wounded with it, funds for his treatment be found out of it, as the poet says:

"The Sultân of the time, the King Maudūd,
Has made arrow-heads of gold for his enemy,
So that whoever is killed with it may thereby get his shroud,
Whoever be wounded with it, may thereby obtain treat-
ment."

Sultân Farrukhzād⁵ fought with a battle-axe, Sultân-i-Radî Ibrâhîm⁶, with the spear and (the bow and) arrow, Sultân Mas'ūd-i-Karîm⁷ (i.e. Mas'ūd III), with the *Bilgâtakînî*⁸ and the *qalāchūr*, and Sultân Malik⁹ Arsalân with the mace and the spear. The martyred Sultân Bahrâm Shâh¹⁰ fought with the spear, in the wielding of which he was an expert. They say that no bird could escape from his arrow, for he was an ex-

1 r. 388—421

2 r. 421-421 A.H

3 r. 421—432 H.

4 r. 432—440 H.

5 r. 444—451 H

6. r. 451—492 H

7. r. 492—508 H See also p. 200, note 1.

8. The author includes it along with mace, whip and "helmet-breaker" among those weapons which are wielded by those who depend on the strength of their arm. (See the *Oriental College Magazine* for Nov. 1937, p. 78.

9 r. 509—512 H.

10 r. 512—547 H

cellent marksman, a sure shot. Then when he would take up his spear he would drive an army before him.

It is related that when his father *Sultân-i-Karîm* Mas'ûd died and his elder brother Malik Arsalân, who was a near relative of Sultân Sinjar through his mother, became Sultân, he went, by divine inspiration, which directs the actions of fortunate persons, to the court of Sultân Sinjar and took refuge with him. He remained with him day and night, whether the Sultân was halting or touring. Whenever the Sultân allotted a duty or task to anyone Bahrâm Shâh would offer himself for it and do it in a most satisfactory manner, so that the Sultân had no more to bother about it. f.108a

The result was that the Sultân became very fond of him, included him among his favourites and courtiers and made him his confidant. The Sultân used to invite him to his banquets and eventually became very well-disposed towards him, wanted to show him kindness and to find him men and means for deposing Sultân Malik Arsalân, though the latter was related to himself (Sinjar) and to place Bahrâm Shâh on the throne. His recommendations were his praise-worthy services, cultured manners and good behaviour towards the nobles and grandies of the court. But the Sultân feared that if he would help him and depose Malik Arsalân, people would blame him and say:

"He has helped a stranger and removed one of his own kith and kin from the throne."

Sultân Bahrâm Shâh behaved in such a manner towards the leaders of the army, supporters of the kingdom, and the courtiers that all became his well-wishers. The Sultân made enquiries and sought the opinion of every grandee and courtier about his affair. They said unanimously:

"It is a long time since he has thrown himself at the feet of Your Majesty, taken refuge in this court, done commendable services, and won the auspicious heart of Your Majesty by his fine qualities. To show favours to him and help him would be quite consistent with the approved habit and commendable manner of the King of Islâm." f.108b

The Sultân was relieved of his anxiety and resolved on showing him favour, finding him an army and placing him on the throne. One day he went out hunting and was going about (in search of game). His men were bringing in all sorts of game. Suddenly a pair of birds was noticed flying very high in the air. The female bird was flying lower than the male bird, which was just above it. Sultân Bahrâm Shâh (may God's mercy be upon him!) shot an arrow and transfixed both birds with it, and thus transfixed they fell in front of the Sultân's party, at which many horses shyed. The Sultân's horse had (also) started away, when he was told what the matter was. He enquired who had shot those birds. They all told him that it was the Amîr Bahrâm Shâh. The Sultân praised him immensely, and gave him a precious robe of honour. From that very day he planned to raise and equip an army, which he wanted to send

with Bahrâm Shâh and in the same week he sent him with the army.

Bahrâm Shâh went forth and expelled his brother and won the throne.

One of the grandies of the kingdom enquired from Sultân Sinjar the reason why he exhibited so much haste in sending away the army and Amîr Bahrâm Shâh and why he showed him all that honour and consideration. The Sultân said:

f.109a "I saw that all nobles, grandies and leaders of the army were his well-wishers and praised him unanimously. Further, I found him exceptionally brave, courageous and unequalled in archery. I feared that if, with his skill in archery, he shot one (arrow) at me and snatched away my kingdom, there would be none to recover it from him. So (I said) let him do what he likes with the kingdom of his own forefathers, not with mine."

Thus the cause of his recovering that great kingdom was only a wooden arrow.

Sultân-i-Halîm Khusraw¹ Shâh fought with the spear, and was a sure shot as a bowman. The martyred Sultân Khusraw² Malik fought with the spear and he had no equal in archery. A poet has thus referred to his skill in archery:—

"The arrow which Khusraw shoots in the dark night,

"He shoots at the bosom of an ant and the eye of a snake.

"He desires to shoot at the same arrow again,

"So he shoots another into the notch of the first arrow."

Sometimes he (Khusraw Malik) fought with the battle-axe also.

It is so related that at the time when he captured Sukarwâl (?), a Hindû horseman wearing defensive *gadar*(?) armour, was showing great boldness and delivering repeated attacks, so much so that the archers became helpless against him. Suddenly the Sultân made an attack and struck that infidel wearing *gadar*(?) with a battle-axe, which slashed his head, neck, arm and shoulder, and cut him in two.

f.100b The Kings of the House of Ghor³ mostly fought with the sword and the spear. The martyred Sultân Moḥammad-i-Sâm (may God's mercy be upon him!) used to shoot arrows very well. Once this well-wisher, the author of this book, was in Parshawar⁴. The Sultân had just dismounted from his horse after playing polo. when a washerman came into the polo-ground complaining that his donkey had been killed by a lion under the Bridge of Bû Aḥmad. The Sultân at once remounted his

1. According to the *Ṭabaqât-i-Nâsiri* (p. 26) Khusraw Malik the son of Khusraw Shâh was called '*Shâh-i-Halîm*'. He reigned from 547 - 555.

2. r. 555 - 582

3. r. 543 - 612

4. Peshâwar was taken by Muḥammad-i-Sâm in the year 574. The incident mentioned above must have happened between that year and 602, the year of Muḥammad's death, see *Ṭab. Nâsiri*, p. 116¹⁵.

horse. He returned after less than an hour, and they brought in three lions on camels. The author enquired from a horseman as to who had killed those lions and was told that the first arrow had been shot in each case by the Sultân himself.

When the Sultân received a wound in the hand, he could no longer shoot arrows as before. And there was no need for him to fight personally either, for his slaves conquered the world and defeated powerful Râys. All have gone to the mercy of God, and only their names are left behind to remind us of them. May God (exalted be He!) forgive all just kings. Amen. O Lord of the World!

(10)

One should be like Yamîn-ud-Dawlah Maḥmūd Ghâzî (may God's f.120a mercy be upon him!) as regards generalship, vigilance, bravery and promptitude. When the Khânids came into Khurâsân and spread all over the country, he pursued them and they fled before him from place to place, till he went to Ṭûs and they remained in Balkh and Ṭukhâristân as a large and formidable army, feeling secure that Yamîn-ud-Dawlah Maḥmūd was in Ṭûs. In the meanwhile Sandpâl, the grandson of Shâh Jaipâl, revolted in India on account of the Sultân's stay in Khurâsân and the Khânids' inroad into that country. He said to himself: "The Sultân is busy, he will not be able to come this way any more".

The Sultân dashed away from Ṭûs and reached Merv¹ within two days and three nights, while the army of the Khânids lay encamped securely in Balkh and Ṭukhâristân. From Merv he reached Balkh² within seven days through a desert which even a ghoul could not cross, and went in pursuit of them to Ṭukhâristân. He defeated and slew a large number of them and scattered away the rest. In the same month he went post-haste to India from Balkh and captured Sandpâl³ and achieved what he wanted, as is testified by accounts and narratives contained in historical works, and is well-known.

(11)

They say that in the year 408 Sultân Yamîn-ud-Dawlah Maḥmūd f.121b Ghâzî (may God illumine his grave!) appointed Qarâtagîn-i-Dânishmand⁴

1. For the road from Ṭûs to Balkh see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 431 and map VIII

2. From Merv the ordinary road went by a circuitous way through Merv-ar-Rudh to Balkh, see the map referred to in note 1. above.

3. The incidents referred to in the anecdote, happened in A. H. 398, see *Maḥmūd* pp. 51 and 98. The *Navâsah-i-Shâh* is, however, called Sukhpâl there.

4. He is probably identical with Abû Mansûr Dawlati Qaratagîn the ruler of Gharjîstân, to whom Farrukhî has addressed a *qasîdah*, see *Diwân-i-Farrukhî*, p. 328.

as the commander of the army of Ghâzis, which had come from Transoxiana. He raided the country upto Jâllundur and took much booty. From the hills of Jâllundur¹ he went to Sunnâm, plundered it, and captured the Fort of Amrû'i (?) at Sarasutî.

The ruler of Sarasutî planned to deliver a night attack on his army, but Qarâtagîn-i-Dânishmand got wind of it and under his orders, his army divided itself into two sections, which left their camping-grounds and lay in ambush at two different places. When the ruler of Sarasutî came out and reached their camping grounds, both sections of the army of Qarâtagîn came out from their hiding places and surrounded the infidel army from all sides. Then they cut them with their sabres, brought their zeal for religion into play, slew most of the infidels and returned successful and victorious.

(12)

f.122a History tells us that when Chach² b. Behind(?), the ruler of Lahore,³ in fact its founder, passed away, he left a son behind him, called Banrat(?) He was a just man and his subjects enjoyed comfort and peace under him. He built an idol-temple at the site now occupied by the Ḥabashî mosque in Lahore, and at his command they made an idol of stone, which he named after the sun. He was a worshipper of the sun. He was a long-lived man, reached the age of ninety-three years, and ruled Lahore for seventy-five.

As he lived for a long time his son called Thanrat, who was rash and iniquitous, arrested and imprisoned him in the Fort of Lahore. This Thanrat was a vain man, who became conceited on account of his wealth and army. He built a fort in the city of Lahore at the site now

1. I.e. the sub-Himalayan region East of Jallundur

2. The original has چچ The following genealogical table of the descendants of Chach son of Behind ruler of Lahore, can be constructed from the narrative given by our author

Behind

Chach

Banrat (ruled for seventy-five years).

Thanrat

Jinderat (ruled for nine years, captured in 389)

(Jaipâl becomes the ruler of Lahore).

The text and translation of this anecdote has already appeared in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1927, p. 485 but the article was not available to me, when the above translation was made. I have added variants of the text subsequently in my MS. of the text.

3. Always called Lohûr in our text.

occupied by the 'Arab quarter and named it Thanpūr. He also founded a village called Thanpūr on the bank of the River Byâh. He was fired with the ambition of capturing the Fort of Nandnah and all the neighbouring country and wrest the salt (region) of Nandnah, the Jhelum and Tākīshar¹ districts from Shâh Jaipâl. He raised an army and marched towards Tākīshar. The officers of the Shâh gathered together in Tākīshar and wrote letters to him informing him that Thanrat, the ruler of Lahore, was marching against Tākīshar and Jhelum. Shâh Jaipâl sent his son Anandpâl with a large army to oppose the advance of Thanrat. On the day when Thanrat crossed the River Chandrâhah (Chinâb) and reached Tākīshar, Anandpâl too reached there, at midnight and went to his own army. At dawn they beat the royal drum in his camp. This drum was peculiar to Shâh Jaipâl, the King of the Brahmans, and was called *Singhnâd*, (lit. the lion's roar). Just as they gave the first f.122b stroke to the drum, the army of Lahore was frightened as they supposed that the Shâh had arrived. A large number of the irregulars of the Lahore army took to flight, and the regulars were demoralised. At the breakfast time when the two armies met, most of the army of Lahore had already fled away. Anandpâl defeated Thanrat, and captured him, and crossing the river Chandrâhah, reached Lahore and went to Sathân². They imposed on him an indemnity which he paid out of what he had, the rest was levied from the notables and the common people of Lahore. He made Thanrat his vassal, gave him a robe of honour and restored him to the rulership of Lahore.

This Thanrat had a son called Jinderat. When he saw that his father had returned vanquished and defamed, he arrested and imprisoned him, just as Thanrat had done with his own father and said to him:

"You have gone mad. You are not fit for kingship. Why did you entertain designs against the territory of the Shâh and bring dishonour to yourself?"

So he became the ruler of Lahore, and founded a village called Jinderatpūr, after himself, at the ford of the Byâh, in the neighbourhood of the Fort of Phillaur³. He was a tyrannical and cruel man. Shâh Jaipâl was much annoyed when he heard at Parshâwar that Jinderat had arrested his own father and imprisoned him. He ordered his son Anandpâl to equip an army, go and capture that iniquitous tyrant. f.123a

"Do not forgive him this time," said he [to Anandpâl]. "If you vanquish him, slay him, and make suitable arrangements for the administration of the Kingdom of Lahore, and appoint your own men, because those iniquitous people who revolt against their own parents are not fit to rule."

1. See p. 214, note 2.

2. Is it the quarter of Lahore still known, by that name?

3. The original has بلور. Was Phillaur at the time on the right bank of the Sutluj? The author does not mention the Sutluj.

Anandpâl raised an army and marched towards Lahore and halted at the village of Sâmûtala(?). Jinderat came out with an equipped army from Lahore, and sent a messenger to Anandpâl with the following message:

"How have you dared to enter this kingdom? Did you suppose that I have grown mad like my father, who entered a foreign territory with an army that deserted him and fled, leaving him a prisoner in your hands?"

"I have dared to enter this kingdom," replied Anandpâl, "because I am obedient to my father—not like you who revolted against his father, who, in his time, had behaved similarly towards his own father. For that reason God made me victorious over him and will again make me victorious over you, make you suffer disgrace, and punish you for your evil deeds?"

f.123b When Jinderat reached Jandi(?) he went out for a hunt. From the army of Anandpâl a detachment of five hundred horsemen had come out secretly for patrolling and lay in ambush in the jungle, Jinderat, unaware of them, remained engaged in the pursuit of game, till the time of afternoon prayers, when his horses were dead tired. He alighted from his horse and rode on elephant. Suddenly the horsemen of Anandpâl emerged from their hiding place, attacked Jinderat, surrounded his elephant, and captured him. The sons of Jinderat took to flight, and went towards Jâllundur, and sought shelter with Sâmâ Kûra¹, the Rây of Jâllundur.

Jinderat was ruler of Lahore for nine years. Then Anandpâl took the territory of Lahore, wresting it from the descendants of Chach, the rule passing to Shâh Jaipâl in the year 389. In the same year al-Qâdir-Billâh, the Prince of the Faithful, sent to Yamin-ud-Dawlah Maḥmûd Ghâzî a robe of honour and a diploma of appointment as the Caliph's deputy and gave him 'Irâq, Khwârizm, Khurâsân, Nîmroz, Sind and Hind.²

(13)

f.124b Once the author of this book was going for some business from Parshâwar to Batnîgrâm (*sic*) and Sinâbû (*sic*). An old man, who was one of the notables of Parshâwar, accompanied him. He was looking right and left in that plain, picking up pebbles, examining and throwing them away. "As this process was repeated too often," states the author, "I enquired from him the cause of his looking so much to right and left, and of his picking up the pebbles, examining and throwing them away".

"I am astonished," replied the old man, "at this tract of land and this plain, for all pebbles and clay here are mixed together, and the ground is so level that one cannot make it so by hand".

1. *Kûrah* seems to be the same as Kanwar (cf. *Badd'ûnî tr* p. 23, note 4.)

2. Cf. *Zaimu'l-Akhbâr* pp. 62-87, which shows that our author has mixed up the events of A.H. 389 and 417.

"During the reign," continued he, "of Sultân Yamin-ud-Dawlah Maḥmūd Ghāzī (may God's mercy be upon him!), an Afghân called Udairā, who was both *Shihna*¹ and *Kotwāl* of Nardari(?) had cause to fear Shāh Jaipāl. The cause was as follows: f.125a

He was one day attending the court of Shāh Jaipāl when the King turned to him and said:

"Udairā! do you eat beef?"

"No, I don't," replied Udairā. "But as my forefathers did, it is as good as if I have eaten it myself."

"Shāh Jaipāl cast such an angry look at him that Udairā feared lest some day he should arouse abhorrence in the King's mind, and he might slay, or imprison him in a fort. For the King was a Bhatt² (sic) and Bhattis(?) abhor beef. And whomsoever the Shāh imprisoned, that man never came out alive from the imprisonment. So the Afghân managed to escape from the place, reached Ghaznīn, embraced Islām at the hand of the Sultân and led him³ till his army reached this plain. The people of Parshāwar did not hear the noise of the beating of the drum and no one knew that the Sultân had arrived. Shāh Jaipāl was in the fort of Begrām⁴. He went to fight against the Sultân with thirty thousand horsemen and three hundred elephants. The combatants delivered so many attacks and fought so fiercely that each pebble in this plain was broken into two or three pieces under the hooves of the horses. Now that I am passing this way I cannot find, even if I desire, a single pebble in its proper condition. They drove the infidel army from here to the plain of Jānī and there too, the pebbles are in a similar condition and not one of them is whole. And that is how a field of battle should be, for had the pebbles been not embedded in clay, they would have been turned into dust and would not have borne the brunt of all that attack and retreat and would be destroyed at once.⁵" f.125b

"Ultimately God (Exalted be He!) led the Sultân to such a victory

1 *Shihna* was the Chief Civil Officer, and the *Kotwāl*, the Commander of a fort, see *Maḥmūd*, p. 150.

2. [According to Al-Bêrûnī, *India* 11, 13, the rulers of the Hindû-Shāhhiyya Dynasty were Brahmins, but Dr. Nāẓim (*Sultân Maḥmūd*, p. 194 note 3) describes them as Bhattis, apparently on the basis of this very anecdote. How could the rulers of the dynasty be both Brahmins and Bhattis at the same time? Cunningham remarks in the *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 19, that the religion of the population of Eastern Afghānistān in this period was Buddhism. He does not definitely say that the Kings were also Buddhists, but it is conceivable that they were cf. *The Kābul* No. 70 p. 6 (on the authority of *Ibnul-Faqīh* p. 323). In the text above the word is written as بهت in the singular (in the second Ms as بهت) and not as بهتی. In the plural one Ms. has بهتيان but the other has, more consistently, بهتان. One is tempted to think that بهت may rather be an equivalent of "Budh" than "Bhatti" M S]

3. Text doubtful. Possibly it is از راه followed by a place name. The reading in the second Ms suggests از راه بوجهار but I cannot trace any بوجهار.

4. For it see *Bābur Nāmah* (tr. Beveridge) p. 230 note 2—apparently Peshāwar is meant here.

5. That seems to be the sense of this doubtful passage.

that the Shâh, his three hundred elephants and, all his thirty thousand horsemen were captured and not even one escaped. All this was due to the fact that the field of battle was good and the Sultân could get a good view of the movements of the enemy and the Shâh, and could do as the situation demanded."

The battlefield should be spacious so that it may contain even an army of a hundred thousand horsemen and they should be able to fight in it properly. The choosing of a proper battlefield, suitable as a fighting ground, is the sign of skill, ability and sagacity of a king and a commander. It is for God (exalted be He!) to give victory there to whomsoever He liketh!

f.126a One should build a village, or a guard-house and a town there and establish a pious foundation at that place, like as the just Amîr Nâsir-ud-Din Subuktagîn Ghâzî (may God's mercy be upon him!) did when he defeated and worsted Shâh Jaipâl in the plain of Kindî¹, for he built there a guard-house called Amîr Kindî which became a resort for Muslims and Ghâzîs, and thereby he left a good name behind. In that very district Sultân Shihâb-ud-Dawlah Maudûd (may God's mercy be upon him!) demanded vengeance from the murderers of his father Sultân Mas'ûd the Martyr (may God purify his dust!), defeated that army, worsted and routed it and at the site he built a guard-house which he called Fathabâd². This place attracted a large number of people and developed into a town which became famous in Muslim lands and grew into a resort of the Ghâzîs.

May God (exalted be He!) forgive those just kings, who left behind good names in the world! So long as a single brick of those places is in its place, their names also shall live, as an inducement to other kings to leave behind pious foundation, so that their names also may become immortal, for the philosophers regard this kind of surviving fame as a second life.

(14)

f.148a They say that at the time when Muḥammad-i-Bâ Ḥalîm³ re-

1 Probably the same place as mentioned by Bêrûnî, see *India* I 317.

2 See *T Nâsirî* (tr. Raverty) p 97 note 2

3 Raverty thought (see *T Nâsirî* tr. p 110, note 4) that Bâ Ḥalîm was "a strange name for a Musalmân". This remark seems hardly justified [Rûnî, has several qaṣîdahs in praise of Zarîr Shaibânî, and Mas'ûd-i-Sad-i-Salmân refers to the revolt and death of this Abû Ḥalîm Zarîr Shaibânî a Jâjarmî by origin (see *Dîw* ed. Abu'l-Qâsim Khwânsârî, 1296). According to Mas'ûd he revolted against Ibrâhîm (r 451-492). That being so, Muḥammad of the text may have been his grandson—I do not say his son as Bahrâm Shâh has good things to say of the father of Muḥammad and refers to his meritorious services (see *infra* towards the end of the anecdote) which he could not be expected to say if Muḥammad's father had died by strangulation after being captured on the battlefield, as Mas'ûd tells us of Bû Ḥalîm Zarîr. But if Bahrâm Shâh's remarks are only diplomatic talk, then

volted¹ and withdrew himself from obedience and submission, and became haughty and conceited, he gathered together a large number of Rânâs, Thâkurs and chiefs of India from Bâkaz² (or Bakar?) and other places. He mustered seventy thousand horsemen of different nationalities.³ From Hindûstân he marched to meet the auspicious Sultân Yamîn-ud-Dawlah wa'l-Dîn Bahrâm Shâh⁴ (may God purify his dust!). In the territory of Multân there is a village called Kîkyûr(?). It is surrounded by a very spacious prairie land. Muḥammad encamped there and flooded a portion of that prairie land so that by remaining under water it may be converted into a marsh and morass⁵ and the army of the Sultân might sink in that morass and marsh. He grew haughty, in the midst of that crowd of foot soldiers whose number exceeded a lakh or two. The Sultân with about ten thousand horsemen came from his capital Ghaznîn and crossed the River Sind.

He (Muḥammad) had a son called Mu'tasîm, who was very brave and manly, a mighty man who used to fight with a mace weighing forty maunds. He said to his father:

"Allow me to go and defeat the whole army of the Sultân with this scourge weighing four maunds."

"Be patient," replied his father, "till they (the Ghaznavid hosts) have crossed all the rivers. They have not so far crossed even one. They will hear of your arrival and fly back. Let them cross the River Chand-râhah (Chînâb). Then half of their army will be disposed of by the morass and the other half by us. Thus we will defeat and rout them all."

f.148b

He failed to think of his rebellion and ingratitude which God would punish him for, and grew haughty on the strength of his infidel irregulars, horse and foot, and drew his sword against the Sultân of the time and the army of Islâm. The result of it was that divine aid forsook him.

The auspicious Sultân Yamîn⁶-ud-Dawlah Bahrâm Shâh (may God's

Muḥammad may be a son of Bâ Ḥalîm—which is the more obvious meaning of محمد با حليم .

1. This is the second rebellion of Muḥammad-i-Bâ Ḥalîm. He first revolted in 512 A.H. see *Ṭabaqât-i-Nâsirî*, p. 24

2. *Târikh-i-Firishtah* p. 50 and *Ṭabaqât-i-Nâsirî*, p. 24 state that Bâ Ḥalîm had built a fort at Nagor Is Bakaz a corrupt form of Bâgar? Compare Cunningham. *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 283.

3. Cf. *Târikh-i-Firishtah* (Lucknow, 1281 H.) p. 50²²

4. r. 512 to 547. For his title see p. 196, note 1

5. [Both Mss. write the word as بری and A. vocalizes it as *Burâni* In the *Ṭabaqât-i-Nâsirî* p. 24 in similar passage occurs the obscure phrase در زمین بریسی لوری which Raverly reads as در زمین بریسی or در زمین بریسی (see his Tr. of the *Ṭabaqât-i-Nâsirî* I. 110 note 4). The meaning of the word بری or بری according to him is "a ditch, a marsh, a place where water stagnates" Steingass gives *brîn*, as meaning fetid water, a sink. In the *Târikh-i-Firishtah*, p. 50 we have زمین بری instead of *Zamin Burâni* It may be added here that لوری (varr. لوزی and لورینی) in the *T Nâsirî* may possibly be لوزی which is given in the *Ā'in* (tr. Jarrett) II 326 as a name of the joint streams of the Byās and the Sutlej, thus locating the battle-field near the Ghâra Ms.].

6. See note 4, above.

mercy be upon him!) conveyed the following to him by a messenger:

"Desist from your rebellious course and return to obedience, for you were brought up surrounded by our favours and you have been nurtured under our fostering care. We do not want to uproot the sapling which we ourselves have planted in the courtyard of our kingdom and nourished with the water of favours and kindness, for though you deserve to be supplanted, we do not deem it proper to supplant you due to our generosity and forgiveness. So take the robe of honour and wear it, for we give the whole of Hindustân to you and entrust you with the military command of the whole of Hind. Desist from your evil course and do not bring disgrace upon yourself, for your father had rendered meritorious services to this kingdom and received favours befitting those services. We shrink from his shade!"

When the messenger delivered this message, he (Muḥammad) replied thus:

"What is the use of all this talk, for tomorrow my head will be either under the hooves of the horse of the Sultân or on the throne of the kingdom."

f.149a When the messenger heard these words he took them as a good omen, for he (Muḥammad) himself had given utterance to such expressions. The messenger returned and repeated that expressions before the King. (The Sultân said) "An omen is taken from something which has happened. Tell the army to mount their horses."

The drums were beaten and the army ranged itself in battle order. The ungrateful Moḥammad-i-Bâ Ḥalîm spread his umbrella and delivered an attack on the centre. In the very first assault they threw him down and a few of his sons had placed his head on the spear.¹ God (Exalted be He!) so desired that the tract which he had flooded with water in order that it should turn into a morass and engulf the army of the Sultân that very tract was visited by a wind-storm such that in it, it is narrated, they saw riders wearing green apparels and riding grey horses, who drove the whole of the army of Moḥammad-i-Bâ Ḥalîm in that direction, until they all were engulfed in that very morass, none escaping out of it.

One of his sons called Ibrâhîm who was desirous to serve the Sultân—and سیوزیان (Var. Sûdozaiyân) are his descendants—escaped unharmed, while Moḥammad, along with his seventeen sons, was slain in battle and they all received punishment and retribution for their ingratitude just as God (to Whom belongs might and majesty!) says²: "*An evil artifice shall not beset any save the author thereof.*"³

In that tract upto this day when one digs a canal, or a reservoir, or

1. Cf. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 24 (tr. Raverty I, 110) and *Firishtah* p. 50, both of which mention that Muhammad-i-Bâ Ḥalîm and his sons sank in a morass.

2. *Qor* 35.41

3 Lane. *Lexicon* s.r. حيق

a well, one finds, embedded in the earth, decayed skeletons of men and horses, rusty and torn armour, and coats of mail. Such is the end which awaits an army of irregulars. One should think over it and should not grow haughty on account of the irregulars.

(15)

They say that at the time when Malik 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Husain Ghori marched towards Ghaznî and the auspicious martyred Sultân Bahrâm Shâh (may God have mercy on him!) went towards Hindustân¹, taking all the nobles and grandies of his court with him, 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn perpetrated all that was possible in the way of plundering, mulcting the people, and levying from them fines too heavy to bear, and of ruination and destruction. He put to death over sixty thousand Muslims of pure belief, men and women, by different kinds of tortures such as flagellation, wounding, burning, and placing on the rack. He took away from them whatever they possessed so that they all became destitute. He showed no sign of fear of God or of responsibility (for his misdeeds) on the day of Resurrection and committed all possible cruelties. Matters came to such a pass that all those who used to wear brocade before, now began to wear felt and skins. (Eventually) he himself went back to Ghor, leaving behind an army commander called Amîr Khân, a very cruel and impious individual, with five thousand horse, with instructions to burn and devastate the whole city of Ghaznî so thoroughly that if a person would ever pass that way, he should say: "There might have been a city here at one time".

This Amîr Khân invited all the Imâms, judges and notables of the city and communicated to them the orders he had received from Malik 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn and told them to lead their wives and children (out of and) away from the city.

"There is no one in the city," they said, "who has a complete suit of clothes. All the women and children are entirely deprived of clothing and have not got even footwear. If they spend a night out of their homes, they are sure freeze to death."

"Give us a respite for one week so that we may contrive to provide ourselves somehow with shreds and patches and footwear of a sort."

But he did not agree (and said); "If you will go, well and good, otherwise I will set fire to your houses and burn you all up with them."

They begged a respite for five days, but he was adamant. "I will give you a respite for three days," said he, "so that you may attend to your needs".

All the citizens were dazed and bewildered and said to one another: "How shall we save ourselves from this man?"

1. See *T. Nâsirî* p. 24. *T. Firishtan* p. 50 seq.

"Where shall we go?" "Where shall we take our wives and children to?" "Where shall we leave them?" "Who would give us shelter?" In their distress they said: "Come, let us go crying to the street of the Khwâja, the Imâm, the chief of the saints, the sun of the Gnostics, Abu'l-Mu'ayyad (may God have mercy on him!) and tell him our story and seek a remedy from him for this trouble and see what he suggests".

At breakfast time all the citizens went to that miracle-working saint, related before him the story of their own helplessness and misery and of the tyranny of that oppressor, and appealed to him for help.

He was greatly perturbed and began to ponder over the matter. Then he asked those men to go back and to grieve no longer, and consoled them by saying that God would defend them from the wickedness of that tyrant.¹

This holy man had a pupil called Imâm Aḥmad Khayyât (the tailor), who was one of his servants and a particular friend of his house. He said to him: "Go under yonder mulberry tree and bring a new potsherd and a piece of charcoal". Aḥmad accordingly went there and brought a potsherd and a piece of charcoal and placed them before the saint.

The Khwâja, Imâm Abu'l-Mu'ayyad took the charcoal and made a mark on that potsherd, the meaning of which he alone knew and none else. He then gave it to the Imâm Aḥmad and said:

"I want you to set out at once for Gardiz, to the tomb of the Shaikhu'l-Islâm Qashûr(?). But you must make ablutions first, then pray two *rak'ats*, and entering the mausoleum, visit the tomb, and after conveying my greetings hold this potsherd towards the tomb. Then wait and see."

f.171b

He (the Khayyât) set out as ordered. On account of his miraculous intervention God (Exalted be He!) so shortened the rough road, nine leagues long, (covered) with deadly snow, and made the journey on it so light, that he reached Gardiz in the short winter days between the time of two prayers. He made ablutions, as ordered by the Khwâja, prayed two *rak'ats*, went inside the mausoleum, stood away from it out of respect, visited it, conveyed the Khawâja's *salâm* and held out that sherd. At once the grave shook and opened up and he (the Khayyât) saw the Shaikhu'l-Islâm Qashûr(? may God have mercy upon him!) sitting up² in it. He was an old man, with white beard, moustaches, and eyebrows and long hair overhanging upon his eyes. He said:

"On thee also peace and mercy of God"! Give my greetings to the Khwâja Abu'l-Mu'ayyad and tell him that the wickedness of these tyrants has been averted and the people have been set free from their grave trouble. God (to Whom belong might and majesty!) has heard the

1. Lit. would suffice them in respect of the mischief of that tyrant, repel it from them, hence defend them from it

2 [The author is showing much credulity in this narrative M.S.] The original has *بحال* in the next sentence which I cannot make out. Perhaps it is *خياي* — "having a large beard", but the word is not traceable in dictionaries

lamentations of the Muslims!".

Saying this he went back into his grave, which closed over him as before.

When the Imâm Khayyât saw this, he swooned and lost all consciousness and remained in that state till the time of the evening prayer.....

.....After a while he came to his senses, stayed there for the night, and on the next day started and reached the city [of Ghaznî] at the time of the afternoon prayer. f.172a

The Khwâja Imâm enquired from him as to what he had seen there. He related to him whatever he had seen and heard, and said: f.172b

"The Shaikhu'l-Islâm (may God have mercy on him!) has sent you greetings and says: 'The wickedness of this tyrant is averted and the people have been freed from their grave trouble'."

"All Praise be to God"! said the Khwâja Imâm.

After a while the noise of the beating of the drums was heard by the citizens who went upon the roofs of their houses to see what the matter was. They saw that the whole plain round about was full of horsemen, flags, and different kinds of ornamented cloth (*ṭirâz*)¹. They were surprised at what they saw. That [tyrant] Amir Khân was so terrified that he rode on his horse bare-footed and his men left their tents, baggage, furniture and cauldrons as they were, and fled in such haste that no one knew to which side they had gone. It was only on the following day that the citizens came to know of their flight and dispersion. God saved them from the wickedness of that tyrant.

That (saintly) Khwâja Imâm Abû al-Mu'ayyad lived for a hundred and fifteen years, out of which for ninety years he acted as an Imâm. For thirty years he led the prayers at their earliest hour, for the next thirty at the middle, and for the last thirty at the last hour, but not even once did he miss his prayer with the congregation. He performed several other miracles. You should recognise it as a fact that the saints have power to perform miracles. Much can be said on the subject, but this much suffices here, so that the book may not become too long.

(16)

They say that during the reign of *Sultân-i-Halîm*² Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah Khusraw Shâh (may God purify his dust!) a *Darwesh* entered the Audience Hall³ bare-footed, wearing a black haired goatskin with its fur on the outside, and a cap also of goatskin along with the horns, and holding a staff in hand in which had been inserted rings and perforated dice and to which had been attached large and small bells. Habited and f.174a

1 *I e*, cloths and garments with inscriptions embroidered, woven or stitched on them, indicating the majesty of the ruler (see *Encyclop. of Islâm* s v. *Ṭirâz*).

2. For this title see p. 218, note 1.

3. *Ṣuffa* is really a building like a portico open in front, with a long roof (Lane, *Lexicon*)

equipped in the manner described above he went to the open space in front of the Audience Hall and sat with his back towards the throne. No one stopped him or annoyed him in any way. In fact they showed him respect because of their pure faith, and paid no heed to his appearance and dress. They went up to him respectfully and enquired from him as to whence he had come and as to what he wanted.

He said:

"Go, and say to that man who claims kingship that *Darweshes* and spiritual persons have sent me with the following message to him:"

"'You must send us some money for our expenses. You must send us at once three hundred thousand '*adli*¹ *dirams* so that we may set our table nicely, otherwise we shall put the kingdom out of your reach. Keep (the money if you will) and let the kingdom go out of your hand.'²"

f.174b The attendant who was a favourite of the King at once reported to the King what he had seen of the *Darwesh's* dress and appearance and communicated his message and demand. Due to the purity of his faith, the King ordered his men to take the *Darwesh* to the Treasury and to give him as much money as he expected and tell him that they (the *darweshes*) should not in any case put the kingdom out of his reach, rather they should come whenever they needed anything and take away whatever they wanted.

The attendant came out, took the *Darwesh* to the Treasury, weighed out a *biri*³ (bag?) of *haftâdgânis*⁴ of the weight of 5,000 *dirams*, and loaded it on the head of a servant of the Treasurer. He offered many excuses (to the *Darwesh*) and accompanied him up to the Maidân Gate. No one saw that *Darwesh* afterwards.

The King, so long as he ruled, had no enemy and no worry and his subjects and army spent their lives in peace and security. When this King passed away, his army and subjects led lives of ease no more.

(17)

f.184a They say that at the time when Sultân Yamîn-ud-Dawlah Maḥmûd Ghâzî (God taught him his proof!) determined to raid India in the year

1. ['*Adali*' was a sort of good money, according to Steingass. But the word seems to be '*Adli*' and apparently these coins were so called because of the word '*Adl*' inscribed on them, see the coins of Maḥmûd and his successors in Roger, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum*, pt IV, p. 154 sqq. See also a coin of Khalaf ibn Ahmad of Sistân dated 355 in the *J.R.A.S.* Vol. 17, p. 151 M.S.]

2. This seems to be the meaning of this vague sentence, or perhaps the text is *یارو کوتاه کن* i.e., bring the money and shorten the speech.

3. *Biri*, according to the dictionaries is a bed, cushion or carpet but the context requires the word to mean a bag

4. *هفتاد گانی* must have been some coin having seventy units in it. The Persian particle *گان* is added to numerals and the final *ی* signifies "holder" or "container", see O Spies, *An 'Arab account of India in the 14th Century* (Delhi 1935) p. 51

422,¹ twelve Râys and many crowded and powerful armies gathered together and joined Tûjaipâl² (*sic*) son of Shâh Jaipâl, so that they might turn out the Sultân from India and Bâtûjaipâl³ (*sic*) should become the ruler of Lahore. When Sultân Yamîn-ud-Dawlah reached Sanbar⁴ he received the news that the infidel army was on the Râhut⁵ (*sic*), so he crossed the Rivers Jawn (Jumnâ) and Ganges⁶ and pursued them. The infidel army halted and began fighting and God (Exalted be He!) gave Maḥmûd victory so that he defeated the infidels and captured one hundred and seventy elephants⁷. The wife of the son of the Shâh⁸ called آم ديك (*sic*) was captured, but they had wounded her. The Sultân looked after her and when she recovered, presented her with a robe of honour and golden bracelets and sent her to the son of Shâh in a *howdah*. Thence he marched to Qanauj where the infidel army were gathering together. When he reached at a league from Qanauj he halted and set up piquets. That day it was the turn of Aḥmad of Bûshang, Master of the Horse, to do piquet duty. He was an expert in feats of horsemanship and was unequalled in bravery. When he went out for piquet duty, the best horsemen⁹ of the Rây of Qanauj Râjaipâl Bodî¹⁰(?) also had come out for the same purpose. f.184b

A horseman from amongst them was showing great foolhardiness and making an attack every moment. Aḥmad son of 'Alî of Bûshang untied his lasso from his saddle-straps, and when the horseman attacked him, he threw his lasso, and bound tightly the neck of the horseman with the neck of his horse, and carried the man and the horse in the same condition with their necks tightened, before the Sultân. When the horsemen of the infidels saw that, they took to flight and told the

1. This is an anachronism because Maḥmûd died in 421 A.H., while the invasion in question took place in 410, for a full description of which see *Maḥmûd*, pp 94, 110 and 204

2. Properly Trilochanpâl son of Anandpâl, see *Maḥmûd*, p. 111 Farrukhî (*Diwân Tehrân* 1311) p. 64 calls him, روحبال

3. This seems to be the same place which Farrukhî (*Diwân* p 64) calls سربل. See also *Maḥmûd* p. 94, note 7. Possibly the place is to be identified with Sanbhal. It had a brick fort in Akbar's time, see *Ā'in* (tr. Jarrett) II, 290.

4. Properly Râhv : *e.* Râmganga.

5. Doubtful text. According to *Farrukhî* p 63¹⁷, Maḥmûd's army crossed the Ganges on horseback while the Hindûs crossed it apparently on elephants. The River Râhv was similarly crossed by the Hindûs on elephants (cf. *Farrukhî* 64⁸), but we are not told by the poet whether Maḥmûd's army crossed it on horseback or by swimming (cf. *Farrukhî* 64¹⁷). See also *Maḥmûd* p 95.

6. *Farrukhî* p. 65⁴ has 200.

7. Cf. *Farrukhî* p 65⁴

8. The second Ms. has اندل which, according to a Sanskrit scholar may possibly be Anand Lîla.

9. The word *sar* in some compounds means the best or choicest part of anything, *e.g.*, *sar-ghazal* the best poem in a *diwân*

10. Apparently Trilochanpâl is meant. Râyjaipâl had already been slain in battle, see *Maḥmûd* p. 111.

Rây of Qanauj that a people had come who had the faces like those of other men but whose fight was not like theirs. They threw lasso and carried away men along with their horses.

f.185a When the infidels heard this, they left standing as they were, forty thousand tents of various kinds, and twelve pavilions, and all the twelve Râys and several thousand horsemen took to flight.

The Sultân pursued them, defeated them at Qanauj and got gold and silver coins and bullion in such quantities that no one took anything else except gold and brass vessels. When he returned from that battle, he ordered a Friday mosque to be built in چنڊیر (sic Chandîr¹ for Chandîrî?) and a minaret in the Fort of Lahore as a memorial of his victory.

May God (Exalted be He!) forgive that king and all other kings who wage war on the infidels. (I have narrated this story) in order to show that skill in throwing lasso at the proper time stands one in good stead. One should learn it well, and should not keep a lasso away from one's saddle-straps, for it would be helpful some day and one would become famous thereby, capture one's enemies and put their mischief out of one's way.

(18)

f.186a The author of this book states that once in his boyhood he saw an old man in Multân called Khwâja 'Alî Kaznâbâdî. He had a wound behind his neck which was four fingers deep. The author asked him about the wound and he replied thus:

"At the time when a battle was fought at Takinâbâd² on the Âb-i-Garm between *Sultân-i-Halîm* Khusraw Shâh³ (may God's mercy be upon him!) and Malik 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ghori, the army of Ghaznî suffered defeat and a party of their leaders and commanders fell into the victor's hands. I was also among them. Under 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ghori's order his men were decapitating our men in troops before him, then I⁴ received such a blow of the sword on my neck, that the bones of my neck joints were completely severed, but the two jugular veins were not cut and the throat and a little skin that held it firmly was not severed more than half. I fell unconscious among the slain and as the blood clotted up on account of the heat of the sun and the blowing of the

1. Doubtful text. Perhaps the author is telling us that minarets were added to several Friday mosques (چندین مسجد آدیہ). Chandîrî is situated on the Betwâ Bâbur went from Chanderî to Qanauj in about 25 days (*Memoirs of Bâbur*, tr. Beveridge) p. 598 seq.

2. Same as Takinâbâd. cf. *Ṭabaqât-i-Nâmrî* p. 115¹⁴.

3. The account of the historical events given above generally agrees with that given by Raverty in his translation of the *Ṭabaqât-i-Nâmrî* I. 112 note 3.

4. Lit. this old man etc. The author uses the 3rd person in this one sentence, in the whole of this anecdote.

wind, it flowed no more. That day I remained continuously unconscious till two-thirds of the night had passed away. When it was about dawn the morning breeze began to blow upon me, and I came to my senses. Opening my eyes I found my head bent upon my bosom. I made an effort, held my head with both hands, and raised it upwards towards the neck. I found that all the blood had clotted up, so I held my ears with both hands, and having bandaged my head like that, I went creeping to a village nearby. As I had been born and bred in the town of Takinâbâd every one knew me. I went to the door of the headman¹ of this village and sat there, till at the time of the morning prayers, the man came out to say his prayers. He saw me in the above-stated condition and was frightened at first, but when he looked at me more carefully he recognised me and called his men out. They came out and took me into the house. Then he sent for a skilful surgeon and said to him:

f.186b

“ ‘If you heal the wound of this man and save his life I will give you ten thousand *dirhams*.’ ”

At the order of the surgeon, they immediately boiled some water. He washed the wound nicely, joined the severed parts together evenly, cut a fresh twig² of the size of my back from an almond tree and inserted it into the two vertebræ of my neck. Then he sewed the skin over it, applied some ointment and bandaged it with a piece of clear cotton cloth. After this he seated me, supporting me with a pillow. Some hot soup of minced-meat was brought in, which they poured with a spoon into my mouth so that it slowly went down. They treated me in this manner five or six times a day and the surgeon dressed the wound once or twice a day. He withheld from me neither desire for my good nor tender sympathy for me. After three days God (Exalted be He!) gave me back my speech, and in twenty days' time the wound was completely healed and filled up. For twenty days more they continued to nourish me in the same manner till I gained strength, made water, and recovered my health.

The headman brought a suit of clothes and a turban, placed them before me and offered many apologies. I put on those clothes and went back to my home, where my family members had already mourned me, offered alms (for the benefit of my soul), and given me up as dead. The army of 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn had returned to Ghor and evacuated the kingdom. My reappearance became a source of intense joy for my people and all my relatives and friends offered alms (in thanksgiving). Once again I occupied myself with my usual business, and God (Exalted be He!) blessed

f.187a

1. The context requires some such sense of the word حوط but this meaning is not traceable in the dictionaries. Yule (*Hobson-Jobson* London 1903) gives the word *Khot* in almost the above sense, but calls it a Marhatti word, though he thinks it to be traceable to the 'Adil Shâhis. *Steingass* explains حوط as "a corpulent man".

2. [The author is again drawing too much on our credulity]

me with children. Later when the Ghuzz captured Ghaznî and went to Takînâbâd, they hauled up every man and fined and tortured him. As I had once experienced affliction and misery at the hands of a foreign army, I took to flight by way of Quzdâr and Mustang and came here to Multân".

From that event to the day in question, fifteen years had gone by, but as God (Exalted be He!) had not decreed his death that ghastly wound, of his was healed and he lived for a long time after that. But when the time of his death approached he was sitting one day, and sneezed; then a crackling sound was heard from his neck and the piece of wood which the surgeon had inserted between his vertebræ, broke, for it had become wornt out. He rolled down at that very place, and gave up his ghost.