

41  
Comp-05  
A1-40

THE  
**HISTORY OF INDIA**

*As Told By Its Own Historians*

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

**SIR H. M. ELLIOT**

Edited by Prof. John Dowson



**SUSIL GUPTA (INDIA) LTD  
CALCUTTA**

First Edition 1871

Second Edition 1952

Rec no 7670

B 923.1

246 H

Carl  
Linn

15-2-57

Published by S. Gupta for Susil Gupta (India) Ltd., 35,  
Central Avenue, Calcutta-12, and Printed by M. Mukerjee  
at Temple Press, 2, Nayaratna Lane, Calcutta.

MALFUZAT-I TIMURI  
OR  
TUZAK-I TIMURI:  
THE  
AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF TIMUR

A-S collection





## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This volume is made up of the two concluding articles (Nos. 18 and 19) contained in the third volume of the original work.

The first article, *Malfuzat-i Timuri* or *Tuzak-i Timuri*, is an autobiographical memoir of the Empire Timur, translated into Persian by Abu Talib, and dedicated to the Emperor Shah Jahan, who began his reign in A. D. 1628. It was translated into English partly by the Editor and partly by C. E. Chapman.

The second article, *Zafar-nama* of Sharafu-d Din. Yazdi, is a very partial biography of Timur, written A.D. 1424. It commences from the twenty-fifth year of Timur's age, and the translation is not a complete biography. It is based upon Emperor Timur's autobiography, and so far as the expedition to India is concerned, it is merely a polished reproduction of that work.

"Timur's irruption into India is fully represented by the extracts from his own memoirs and from the work of his panegyrist, Sharafu-d din Yazdi; but there is more matter in store upon this period from other writers."

"Zafar-nama" was translated into English by the Editor.



## CONTENTS

*Malfuzat-i Timuri, or Tuzak-i Timuri*

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF TIMUR

|                                                          | PAGE |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------|
| INTRODUCTION ... ..                                      | 1    |
| The History of my Expedition Against<br>Hindustan ... .. | 8    |
| The holy war against the infidels of Hindustan ...       | 13   |
| War against Kators and the <i>Siyah-poshes</i> ...       | 14   |
| Capture of the Island of Shahabu-d din ...               | 25   |
| Utter annihilation of Nusrat Khokhar ...                 | 31   |
| Conquest of Multan ... ..                                | 32   |
| Capture of the Fortress of Bhatnir ... ..                | 36   |
| Siege of Bhatnir ... ..                                  | 38   |
| Massacre of 100,000 Hindus ... ..                        | 52   |
| Defeat of Sultan Mahmud ... ..                           | 55   |
| Sack of the city of Dehli ... ..                         | 63   |
| Capture of Merat ... ..                                  | 68   |

|                                               | PAGES |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------|
| Battles on the Ganges ... ..                  | 70    |
| Victories in the Siwalik hills ... ..         | 79    |
| Conquest of the Siwalik ... ..                | 81    |
| Capture of Nagarkot (Kangra) ... ..           | 85    |
| Conquest of Jammu ... ..                      | 88    |
| <i>Zafar-Nama</i> OF SHARAFU-D DIN YAZDI      |       |
| Cause of Timur's Invasion of Hindustan ... .. | 101   |
| Contest with Shahabud-din ... ..              | 104   |
| Suppression of the Jats ... ..                | 114   |
| Massacre of Hindu Prisoners ... ..            | 120   |
| Battle with the Sultan of Hindustan ... ..    | 121   |
| Capture of Dehli ... ..                       | 125   |
| Capture of the fort of Mirat ... ..           | 130   |
| Battles with the Gabrs ... ..                 | 132   |
| Destruction of the Gabrs ... ..               | 137   |
| Kashmir ... ..                                | 148   |
| Return of Timur to his capital ... ..         | 149   |



## INTRODUCTION

THIS is an autobiographical memoir of the Emperor Timur, written in the Chaghatai Turki language, translated into Persian by Abu Talib Husaini, and dedicated to the Emperor Shah Jhan, who began to reign in A.D. 1628.

In the brief preface to his translation, Abu Talib states that he found the original Turki work in the library of Ja'far, Hakim of Yaman,<sup>1</sup> and that it consisted of a history of Timur, from the seventh to the seventy-fourth year of his age. The reticence of Abu Talib as to the authenticity of the original work, and the strangeness of the place for the discovery of a MS. in a Turki language, have given rise to the suspicion that there was no such work, and that Abu Talib made the statement to give greater authority to a production of his own. Major Davy, who first brought the work to notice, argued against this supposition, grounding his opinion on the internal evidence of the work itself, and on the improbability of an author resorting to "an artifice which could tend only to diminish his fame and his profit." The probability is that Abu Talib knew nothing more of the work than what he learned from its own pages, and that when he had turned these into Persian he had nothing to add. Timur's descendants seem to have had a partiality for writing their own memoirs, as in the instances of Babar and Jahangir; and others, who did not profess to be their own biographers, provided for a record of their lives and actions being written. This family predilection

<sup>1</sup> A person of this name was Pasha of Yaman in 1610: Astley's *Voyages* referred to by Stewart in the Preface to his translation.

is of itself something in favour of the authenticity of the work.

The fact of its being a genuine work, produced under the supervision of Timur himself, can however be proved upon more certain evidence. Only thirty years after Timur's death, Sharafu-d din Yazdi wrote his celebrated *Zafar-nama*, or Book of Victory, to commemorate the exploits of Timur, and in his preface, he details the sources from which his work was drawn and the auspices under which it was written. To establish the veracity and authority of his history, he first describes, in the following words, the way in which a record of the events of Timur's reign was kept at the court of that Emperor.

“The third recommendation (of this my work, named *Zafar-nama*) is its truthfulness—the exactness and verity of the accounts and descriptions of the various events of Timur's life, both at home and abroad. Men of the highest character for learning, knowledge, and goodness, Aighur officers and Persian secretaries, were in attendance at the Court of Timur, and a staff of them under the orders of the Emperor wrote down an account of everything that occurred. The movements, actions and sayings of Timur, the various incidents and affairs of State, of religion, and the ministers, were all recorded and written down with the greatest care. The most stringent commands were given that every event should be recorded exactly as it occurred, without any modification either in excess or diminution. This rule was to be particularly observed in matters of personal bearing and courage, without fear or favour of any one, and most especially in respect of the valour and prowess of the Emperor himself. The learned and eloquent writers having recorded the facts, their compositions were polished and finished off in verse and prose. From time to time these writings were brought into the royal presence and were read to the Emperor, so as to insure confidence by the impress of his approval. In this way the records of the various

incidents and actions of the life of Timur, whether recounted in Turki verse or Persian prose, were revised and finally recorded in prose and verse. Besides this, some of the officers of the Court wrote down the incidents of the reign of Timur, and took the greatest pains to ascertain the truth of what they recorded. Accomplished writers then moulded these productions into Turki verse and Persian prose."

Sharafu-d din then goes on to relate how his own royal patron Ibrahim, grandson of Timur, took the greatest interest in the composition of the *Zafar-nama*; how he procured from all parts of his dominions copies of the works relating to the life of Timur, in prose and verse, in Turki and in Persian; how he supplied him with men learned in Persian and Turki as assistants; how reference was made to surviving actors in the events recorded; how he wrote letters in all directions to settle discrepancies in the MSS., and how he had the work read to him in the rough draft and in the finished state.<sup>2</sup>

So the basis of Sharafu-d din's history was a work or works written under the direction or with the approval of Timur, and a comparison of the *Zafar-nama* with the *Malfuzat* proves the one to be a mere reproduction of the other. The events recorded and their succession are indetical,<sup>3</sup> and leave no doubt upon the mind that Sharafu-d din translated or wrote over again in an ornate style that history which had been compiled under Timur's direction. Like Oriental writers in general, he half conceals the true origin of his book, and so exaggerates the magnitude and importance of his own labours, but the only difference observable in the two works is,

<sup>2</sup> Petis de la Croix in his translation of the Preface of the *Zafar-nama*, which is abridged, and is less accurate than the rest of his translation, has made all this to appear as if it applied to Timur.

<sup>3</sup> So far at least as concerns the extracts in this volume.

that one is the production of a skilful and accomplished writer, the other the work of a plain, laborious and minute chronicler of events. With all the rhetoric and flourishes of the *Zafar-nama*, the narrative is shorter than that of the detailed and verbose biography.

The *Tuzukāt* or Institutes were translated into English by Major Davy, and published under the editorship of Professor White, at Oxford, in 1783, and this work was turned into French by M. Langles, and published in 1787.

The *Malfuzat* or Memories, as far as the forty-first year of Timur's age, were translated into English by Major Stewart, and were published by the Oriental Translation Fund in 1830.

The MS. used by Major Devy and Major Stewart was imperfect, ending abruptly with the forty-first year of Timur's age. This MS. is now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, which library also possesses another imperfect copy. There is a similar defective copy in the library of the East Indian office; Sir H. Elliot also procured a defective copy in India, and there are several in the British Museum. These, in all probability, were derived directly or indirectly from one MS. But the British Museum has lately secured a perfect copy from the library of the late General Hamilton, which bears the marks of having once belonged to the Royal Library at Lucknow.

Besides the Version of Abu Talib, there is another, the work of Muhammad Afzal Bukhari. The author of this later version tells us in his preface that when Amir Abu Talib's translation had been read by the Emperor Shah Jahan, it was found to contain errors and mistakes. Its statements occasionally differed from those of the *Zafar-nama* and other histories; and while omitting events recorded in the *Zafar-nama*, it added others of which no notice had been taken in that work. For these reasons he goes on to say: "In the year 1047 of the



Hijra, and tenth of his Majesty Shah Jahan's reign (A.D. 1637),<sup>4</sup> the royal orders were issued to me, the meanest of the servants of the Imperial Court (Muhammad Afzal Bukhari), to read and revise this book from beginning to end, and to assimilate it with the *Zafar-nama*, of the correctness of which no intelligent person can have a doubt, and compare it with some other trustworthy histories; to omit some things which the translator had inserted, and to insert some occurrences which he had omitted; also to translate the Turki and Arabîc sentences into Persian, and to correct several dates, which do not agree with the *Zafar-nama*. . . . . (The author) has exerted himself as much as possible in revising and correcting the said translation, and has thrown out all the unauthenticated passages which Abu Talib had inserted. He has inserted several passages that have been omitted by that translator, and he has thereby made the book conform with the *Zafar-nama*." Major Stewart observes that "It appears in Dow's History of Hindustan that Muhammad Afzal was the name of the Emperor Shah Jahan's preceptor, and so he was probably the person employed to revise this work, but he has not complied with his promise of translating all the Turki passages, although a native of Bukhara, where that language was well understood.

So the *Zafar-nama* was based upon the Turki memoirs of Timur translated by Abu Talib into Persian, and Muhammad Afzal was afterwards employed to bring these memoirs more completely into accord with the *Zafar-nama*, which was founded upon them. The alterations of Abu Talib's work are, however, made to appear greater and more important than they actually are. Major Stewart, after the translation of his fragment of Abu Talib's work, received two copies of Muhammed

<sup>4</sup> So, Abu Talib's version was finished between 1628 and 1637 A.D.

Alzal's, and he says in his Appendix: "I have minutely compared them with Colonel Davy's MS. as far as it extends, and find that the only additions they contain are extracts from Sharafu-d din's history, an explanation of some particulars omitted in the Memoirs, and an attempt to prove that Timur was of the *Sunni* sect, although there is the strongest evidence that he was a very bigoted *Shi'a*." The Editor of this work has made a comparison, though not a minute one, of the text of the following extracts as given in the MS. of Abu Talib in the British Museum, and in one of Muhammad Afzal's belonging to Sir H. Elliot, and he has found no greater differences between them than might be expected in two MSS. of the same work. So far as regards the portion relating to India the works are identically the same. The concluding sentences differ slightly in the two works, but in both Timur is made to record his own death. Muhammad Afzal, the later writer, makes him briefly say, "I arrived at the village of Atrar<sup>5</sup> and died;" but Abu Talib is more specific, saying "At night, on the 17th of the month of Sha'ban (March 19, 1405 A.D.) calling upon the name of God, I lost my senses, and resigned my pure soul to the Almighty and Holy Creator" (and pure it was if blood could make it pure!). Major Stewart has noticed this apparent record by Timur of his own death, and shows that it ought not to stamp the work as a forgery. In the fourth clause of his Testament Timur says, "I desire that this my Testament, and whatever I shall say to the last moment of my existence, shall be written in my Memoirs as if proceeding from my own mouth." This instruction has only been carried a trifle too far. The narrative given in this work of Timur's expedition to India has been closely followed by Mirkhond in the

<sup>5</sup> A large town two parasangs or leagues north of the Sihun (Jaxartes).

*Rauzatu-s Safa*, used by Price in his *Retrospect of Mahommedan History*.

Two MSS. of Muhammad Afzal's work have been used for the following extracts. One belonging to the Nawab of Jhajjar, and a copy of a portion of the work made for Sir H. Elliott from a MS. belonging to the Raja of Balamgarh. The first few pages of the translation is the production of Mr. C. E. Chapman, of the Bengal Civil Service; the remainder has been prepared by the Editor.

## THE HISTORY OF MY EXPEDITION AGAINST HINDUSTAN

ABOUT this time there arose in my heart the desire to lead an expedition against the infidels, and to become a *ghazi* ; for it had reached my ears that the slayer of infidels is a *ghazi*, and if he is slain he becomes a martyr. It was on this account that I formed this resolution, but I was undetermined in my mind whether I should direct my expedition against the infidels of China or against the infidels and polytheists of India. In this matter I sought an omen from the Kuran, and the verse I opened upon was this, “ O Prophet, make war upon infidels and unbelievers and treat them with severity.”

My great officers told me that the inhabitants of Hindustan were infidels and unbelievers. In obedience to the order of Almighty God I determined on an expedition against them, and I issued orders to the *amirs* of mature years, and the leaders in war, to come before me, and when they had come together I questioned the assembly as to whether I should invade Hindustan or China, and said to them, “ By the order of God and the Prophet it is incumbent upon me to make war upon these infidels and polytheists.” Throwing themselves upon their knees they all wished me good fortune. I demanded of the warrior chieftains whether I should direct my expedition against the infidels of Hindustan or China. At first they repeated fables and wise sayings, and then said, in the country of Hindustan there are four defences, and if any one invading this extensive country breaks down these four defences, he becomes the conqueror of Hindustan.

The first defence consists of five large rivers, which flow from the mountains of Kashmir, and these rivers unite in their course, and passing through the country of



Sindh, flow into the Arabian Sea, and it is not possible to cross them without boats and bridges. The second defence consists of woods and forests and trees, which, interweaving stem with stem and branch with branch, render it very difficult to penetrate into that country. The third defence is the soldiery, and landholders, and princes, and Rajas of that country, who inhabit fastnesses in those forests, and live there like wild beasts. The fourth defence consists of the elephants, for the rulers of that country in the day of battle equipping elephants in mail, put them in the van of their army, and place great confidence in them, and they have trained them to such a pitch that, lifting with their trunks a horse with his rider, and whirling him in the air, they will dash him on the ground.

Some of the nobles said in reply that Sultan Mahmud Subuktigin conquered the country of Hindustan with 30,000 horse, and established his own servants as rulers of that region, and carried off many thousand loads of gold and silver and jewels from that country, besides subjecting it to a regular tribute, and is our *amir* inferior to Sultan Mahmud? No; thanks to Almighty God, to-day a 100,000 valiant Tatar horsemen wait at the stirrup of our *amir*; if he determines upon this expedition Almighty God will give him victory, and he will become a *ghazi* and *mujahid* before God, and we shall be attendants on an *amir* who is a *ghazi*, and the army will be contented and the treasury rich and well filled, and with the gold of Hindustan our *amir* will become a conqueror of the world and famous among the kings of earth.

At this time the prince Shah Rukh said: "India is an extensive country; whatever Sultan conquers it becomes supreme over the four quarters of the globe; if, under the conduct of our *amir*, we conquer India, we shall become rulers over the seven climes." He then said: "I have seen in the history of Persia that, in the time of the Persian Sultans, the King of India was called

Darai, with all honour and glory. On account of his dignity he bore no other name; and the Emperor of Rome was called *Cæsar*, and the Sultan of Persia was called *Kisra*, and the Sultan of the Tatars, *Khakan*, and the Emperor of China, *Faghfur*; but the King of Iran and Turan bore the title of *Shahinshah*, and the orders of the *Shahinshah* were always paramount over the princes and Rajas of Hindustan, and praise be to God that we are at this time *Shahinshah* of Iran and Turan, and it would be a pity that we should not be supreme over the country of Hindustan." I was excessively pleased with these words of Prince Shah Rukh. Then the Prince Muhammad Sultan said: "The whole country of India is full of gold and jewels, and in it there are seventeen mines of gold and silver, diamond and ruby and emerald and tin and iron and steel and copper and quicksilver, etc., and of the plants which grow there are those fit for making wearing apparel, and aromatic plants, and the sugar cane, and it is a country which is always green and verdant, and the whole aspect of the country is pleasant and delightful. Now, since the inhabitants are chiefly polytheists and infidels and idolaters and worshipers of the sun, by the order of God and his prophet, it is right for us to conquer them.

My *wazirs* informed me that the whole amount of the revenue of India is six *arbs*; now each *arb* is a 100 *krors*, and each *kror* is a 100 *lacs*, and each *lac* is a 100,000 *miskals* of silver. Some of the nobles said, "By the favour of Almighty God we may conquer India, but if we establish ourselves permanently therein, our race will degenerate and our children will become like the natives of those regions, and in a few generations their strength and valour will diminish." The *amirs* of regiments (*kushunat*) were disturbed at these words, but I said to them, "My object in the invasion of Hindustan is to lead an expedition against the infidels that, according to the law of Muhammad (upon whom and his family be

the blessing and peace of God), we may convert to the true faith the people of that country, and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism ; and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become *ghazis* and *mujahids* before God". They gave an unwilling consent, but I placed no reliance upon them. At this time the wise men of Islam came before me, and a conversation began about the propriety of a war against infidels and polytheists ; they gave it as their opinion that it is the duty of the Sultan of Islam, and all the people who profess that "there is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah," for the sake of preserving their religion and strengthening their law, to exert their utmost endeavour for the suppression of the enemies of their faith. And it is the duty of every Muslim and true believer to use his utmost exertions in obedience to his ruler. When the edifying words of the wise men reached the ears of the nobles, all their hearts were set upon a holy war in Hindustan, and throwing themselves on their knees, they repeated the Chapter of Victory.

When I girded up my loins for the expedition, I wrote to Hazrat Shaikh Zainu-d din to the effect that I had determined on a religious expedition to Hindustan. He wrote in the margin of my letter : "Be it known to Abu-l Ghazi Timur (whom may God assist) that great prosperity in this world and the next will result to you from this undertaking, and you will go and return in safety." He also sent me a large sword which I made my sceptre.

In the meanwhile there came a petition from the Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir, from the confines of Kabulistan, the government of which country, from the boundaries of Kunduz and Bakalan and Kabul and Ghazni and Kandahar, was vested in him. When I looked at this petition it was thus written : "Since, according to your order, I arrived in this country, I have



acted towards all the people conformably to the exalted order and wisdom-increasing counsels of the great king. When I had satisfied my mind with the conquest and settlement of this kingdom, I turned my thoughts towards the acquisition of some of the provinces of Hindustan. I enquired concerning the condition of that country, and received the following account: that the city of Dehli is the capital of the sovereigns of India, and after the death of Sultan Firoz Shah, two brothers among his nobility, of whom one was named Mallu and the other Sarang, becoming very powerful, established their independence, giving the nominal sovereignty to one of the sons of Sultan Firoz Shah, by name, Sultan Mahmud, they kept the real power in their own hands, and virtually governed the empire. Mallu, the elder brother, lives at Dehli, about the person of Sultan Mahmud, and Sarang is established in the city of Multan, for the protection of that country. When I became acquainted with these matters, acting according to the practice of the great king, I wrote a letter and sent it to him (Sarang) by an ambassador, purporting that since the fame of the victories and conquests, and of the extensive empire of the great king is spread all over the world, it is certain that it must have reached him also. The great king has appointed me to the government of those provinces which lie on the borders of Hindustan, and has ordered that 'If the rulers of Hindustan come before me with tribute I will not interfere with their lives, property, or kingdoms; but if they are negligent in proffering obedience and submission, I will put forth my strength for the conquest of the kingdoms of India. At all events, if they set any value upon their lives, property, and reputation, they will pay me a yearly tribute, and if not, they shall hear of my arrival with my powerful armies. Farewell.' When the ambassador reached the presence of Sarang at Multan, he was treated with great respect and consideration; but in reply to his letter, Sarang said, 'It is diffi-

cult to take an empire like a bride to your bosom without trouble and difficulty and the clashing of swords. The desire of your prince is to take this kingdom with its rich revenue. Well, let him wrest it from us by force of arms if he be able. I have numerous armies and formidable elephants, and am quite prepared for war." With these words he dismissed the ambassador. But when this unsatisfactory answer was brought back to me, I issued immediate orders for the armies to assemble from all quarters, together with such of the nobles as were in my province, such as Amir Saikal Kandahari, and other *amirs*,<sup>6</sup> and soldiers. I got ready for the invasion of Hindustan. I plundered and laid waste the country of the Afghanis, who inhabit the mountain Sulaiman, and, marching steadily forwards I crossed the river Indus, and assaulted the city of Uch, and through the good fortune of the great king, I took it. Leaving a body of men there as a garrison, I proceeded to Multan, which I beseiged; but as Sarang had carefully fortified and strengthened this fortress, the siege has been protracted for some days, and, indeed, I am at this moment engaged in the siege, giving an assault twice every day. All the nobles have displayed great valour and intrepidity, more especially Timur Khawajah, the son of Amir Akugha, and I am now waiting for further instructions."

When I had read this letter, my previous resolution was confirmed and strengthened.

*The holy war against the infidels of Hindustan*

I acted in such a manner that by the spring of that year I had collected the soldiery from all parts of the countries under my sway; and in the auspicious month Rajab, A.H. 800 (March 1398), which may be expressed according to the rule of *Abjad*, by the words *karib fath*, appointed the prince 'Umar, the son of Prince Mirza Shah, my viceroy

<sup>6</sup> (A long string of names is given.)

in Samarkand, and leaving him some of the nobles and soldiery, I placed my foot in the stirrup at a lucky moment, and quitting my capital Samarkand, directed my course towards Hindustan. Marching on, hunting as I went, I reached Turmuz, and ordering the construction of a bridge of boats over the Jihun, I crossed that river with my whole army and encamped at the village of Khulm. Beating the drum of departure from that place, and passing in my march Ghaztik and Samankan, I arrived at Indarab, and the nobles and people of that place, high and low, pouring out in crowds to meet me, all at once set up a great cry and lamentation, demanding justice. I sent for a number of the nobles and chief men among them and instituted an enquiry into this matter.

On their knees they made representation demanding protection from the infidel Kators and Siyah-poshes, saying we have brought our petition against these oppressive infidels to the presence of the king of Islam, for the infidel Kators, and the Siyah-poshes exact tribute and black mail every year from us who are true believers, and if we fail in the least of our settled amount, they slay our men and carry our women and children into slavery, so that we helpless Musulmans fly for protection to the presence of the great king that he may grant to us oppressed ones our hearts' desire upon these infidels. On hearing these words the flame of my zeal for Islam, and my affection for my religion, began to blaze, and I addressed those Musulmans with the following consolatory words : By the help and assistance of Almighty God I will grant you your hearts' desire on these oppressive infidel Kators and Siyah-poshes, and I will relieve you who are Musulmans from the tyranny of these unbelievers. They all lifted their hands invoking blessings on me.

*Account of the holy war against the infidel Kators  
and the Siyah-poshes*

I immediately selected ten battalions from my army, and



giving the command to Prince Shah Rukh, left him in charge of the remaining forces and baggage, in Tilak Ghunan, and Diktur, while I myself set my foot in the stirrup to chastise the infidel Kators. Setting spurs to my horse I marched forward in great haste, accomplishing two days journey in the twenty-four hours. When I arrived at the place called Paryan I detached prince Rustam and Burhan Aghlan Jujitar, who were reckoned among my chief nobles, against the country of the Siyah-poshes, which lay on the left hand. With them I sent some of the nobility and a body of 10,000 cavalry, while I myself pursued my march towards the mountains of Kator. When I made enquiries concerning the extent and condition of that kingdom from Muzid, who was the chief man of Indarab, he informed me that the length of the kingdom of Kator stretches from the frontier of Kashmir to the mountains of Kabul, and there are many towns and villages in this country. One of their large cities is called Shokal, and another Jorkal, which latter is the residence of their ruler. The country produces fruits in large quantities, such as grapes, apples, apricots, and various other kinds. Rice and other grains are cultivated. Much wine is made, and all people, great and small, drink of it. The people eat swine's flesh. Cattle and sheep abound in this country. Most of the inhabitants are idolaters; they are men of a powerful frame and fair complexion. Their language is distinct from Turki, Persian, Hindi, and Kashmiri. Their weapons are arrows, swords, and slings. Their ruler is called 'Adalshu.' When I arrived a Khawak I perceived a dilapidated fort which I resolved to repair, so I immediately gave orders to the soldiers to that effect, and it was speedily executed. As most of the route was rocky and precipitous, I ordered most of the nobles and all the

<sup>7</sup> (The *Zafar-nāma* writes this name "Udashu"; only one of the four MSS. admits the *I*).

soldiers to leave horses, camels and superfluous baggage in this fort. In obedience to this order most of the nobles and all the soldiers accompanied me on foot, while I, relying on the assistance of Almighty God, pressed steadily forward to the conquest of Kator, and began to ascend the mountains. In spite of the heat of the wind there was so much snow on the hills that the feet of both men and cattle helplessly sank in it. I was therefore obliged to halt during the day, but at night when the snow congealed I pursued my way over the frozen surface of the ice till I reached the top of the mountain. At day-break, when the ice thawed, carpets and horse rugs were spread upon its surface and the horses were kept upon them. At night-fall we again went on as before, and in this manner I crossed several lofty mountains, but the nobles were obliged to send back to the fort several of the horses they had brought with them. When I reached the top of a lofty mountain, such that there can be none higher than it, I found that these wicked infidels had taken up their position in the caverns of the mountain, the entrances of which were blocked up with snow, so that they were almost inaccessible, nor, in spite of all my exertions, could I find a way to descend the mountain. I was obliged to give orders to my brave soldiers to get down as best they could. The nobles and soldiery now began the descent. Some lying down on their sides and sliding over the snow, rolled themselves down to the bottom. Others fastening cords and long tent ropes to their waists and attaching one end of the ropes to the trees and rocks which were on the top, let themselves gently down. As for me, I gave orders that they should make me a basket of planks and wicker work. When they had made the basket they attached firmly to each of its four corners a rope 150 yards in length, and as I, since I undertook this expedition against the infidels, had made up my mind to

undergo all manner of trouble and fatigue, I took my seat in the basket, and a body of men taking hold of the ends of those ropes lowered away gently till the rope had all run out, and then some persons scrambling down to before where I was, cleared away the snow and ice with spades and mattocks, and made a place for me to stand upon. The first body of men then having descended to this place, again lowered me gently down as far as the ropes would reach. At the fifth repetition of this manœuvre I reached the bottom of the mountain. When in this manner all the nobles and soldiers had got down, some of the horses, my own private property, which had accompanied me, were let down in the same manner, that is, by attaching ropes to their legs and shoulders, but out of the whole number only two reached the bottom in safety, all the others being dashed to pieces. When no more of my people remained above, since my object was the extermination of the infidels, grasping my sceptre-sword in my hand I marched forward on foot one *parasang* into that rocky country, together with my nobility and troops. At the earnest petition of the nobles I again mounted, but all the chiefs, with their soldiers, kept on steadily marching on foot at my stirrup. The ruler of Kator had a fort, on one side of which was a river, and beyond the river a lofty mountain reaching down to the water. As the infidels in this fort had gained intelligence of my approach a day before my arrival, and dread had taken possession of their hearts, they had removed their wealth and property from the fort, and having crossed the river, had taken refuge in the mountain which was very lofty, and abounded in caves very difficult of access. On its being represented to me that this fort was the most important stronghold of the ruler of Kator in those parts, I resolved to subdue it. When I advanced into the neighbourhood of the fort



I did not perceive a trace of the infidels, and when I came to the place itself I saw that they had abandoned it and fled. I obtained a booty of many sheep and some other things here, and ordered that they should set fire to the houses and buildings of the city, in the midst of which the fort was built, and that they should level it with the ground. Then crossing the river in haste and pursuing the track of the enemy, I reached the skirts of the mountain on the top of which the infidels had taken up their position in defiles and other strong places. I immediately gave orders to my valiant and experienced troops to ascend. Raising their war cry and shouting the *takbir*, they rushed to the attack, and before all the rest Shaikh Arslan Aztuman Kabak Khan, who is a lion in the day of battle, mounting the hill on the left hand, commenced the fight. Leading his men upon the infidels he put them to flight, and following up the enemy entered the fastnesses of the rock and sent numbers of the impious unbelievers to hell. Tawachi Ali Sultan, also on his side, made a valiant assault upon the foe, and with his own regiment charged and routed the infidel enemy, sending numbers of them to hell. Amir Shah Malik too, on his side, displayed great valour, making a great slaughter of the infidels and driving them completely out of the mountain. Mubashir Bahadur and Mankali Khwajah, and Sunjak Bahadur, and Shaik 'Ali Salar, and Musa Zakmal, and Husain Mailk Kuchin, and Mir Husain Kur, and the other nobles, displayed great valour and used their swords well. They all proved their zeal for Islam on the unbelieving foe, and having overpowered the infidels they put many of them to death, and took possession of their fastnesses. Only a few of the enemy succeeded in sheltering themselves, wounded and worn out with fatigue, in their caverns. Of my troops only fourteen persons lost their lives, and that was in effect-

ing the passage of the mountain. Some of the infidels held out in their defiles for three days and nights, but sending my valiant troops against them I so pressed them that they were obliged to surrender and call for quarter. I sent Ak Sultan to them with the message that if they would consent to submit unconditionally and would all become Musulmans and repeat the creed, I would grant them quarter, but otherise I would exterminate them to a man. When Ak Sultan reached the infidels with this message, which he explained to them through the medium of an interpreter conversant both with their language and with Turki, they all proffered submission, and repeating the necessary formula, embraced the Muhammadan faith. Relying upon this external profession I spared their lives and property, and gave orders that no one should interfere with their lives, wealth, or country. I then clothed some of them in dresses of honour and dismissed them. I halted with my army there for that night, and these black-hearted infidels made a nocturnal assault on the regiment of Amir Shah Malik, but as this leader was on his guard, the enemy were foiled in their intentions. Numbers of them were slain, and 150 fell into our hands alive, who were afterwards put to death by my enraged solidery. As soon as it was day I ordered my troops to attack on all four sides at once, and forcing their way into the defiles to kill all the men, to make prisoners the women and children, and to plunder and lay waste all their property. In obedience to these orders, my nobles and troops making a valiant assault on all sides at once, and putting to the sword the remnant of the infidels, consigned them to the house of perdition. They made prisoners of their women and children, and secured an enormous booty. I directed towers to be built on the mountain of the skulls of those obstinate unbelievers, and I ordered an engraver on stone, who was in my camp, to



cut an inscription somewhere on those defiles to the effect that I had reached this country by such and such a route, in the auspicious month of Ramazan, A.H. 800, (May, 1398): that if chance should conduct anyone to this spot he might know how I had reached it. At this time I had received no intelligence of Prince Rustam and Burhan Aghlan, whom I had detached against the country of the Siyah-poshes, and since this same Burhan Aghlan on a former occasion, when I had appointed him to the command in a predatory incursion, had displayed great sloth and military incapacity (to retrieve which negligence I had given him the command on the present occasion), a doubt entered my mind as to what he could be doing. One night, too, I dreamt that my sword was bent, which I interpreted into a certain token that Burhan Aghlan had been defeated. I immediately appointed Muhammad Azad, who was one of those whom I had brought up,<sup>8</sup> to go and ascertain something respecting him, and I put under his command Daulat Shah and Shaikh 'Ali, the son of Airakuli Adighur, and Shaihk Muhammad, and 'Ali Bahadur, with a body of 400 men, 100 of whom were Tatars and the remaining 300 Tajiks, and gave them a native of Kator as a guide. Muhammad Azad with his band of heroes immediately commenced his march, and crossing lofty mountains full of snow and ice, and passing through narrow defiles, rolling in many places over precipices and sliding over the icy surface, finally got out of the mountains and into the open country. When Muhammad Azad having extricated himself from the mountains, reached the fortress of the Siyah-poshes, he found it deserted, for they had abandoned it from their dread of the army of Islam, and had taken refuge in their mountain defiles. Now Burhan Aghlan's adventure had been as follows: When he, with the nobles

<sup>8</sup> "*Khana-zad bachagan-i man.*"

under his command, such as Isma'il, and Allahdad, and Subakh Timur, etc. etc. and the troops reached the fort he found it empty, and incautiously following the footsteps of the enemy, came to the defiles. They had left a few troopers, and a few foot soldiers as a guard below, and the infidels rising from their ambushes, fiercely assailed the true-believers. Such was the cowardice and military incapacity of Burhan Aghlan that he threw away his arms and fled without striking a blow. When the troops saw the flight of their leader they lost heart and were defeated, and the infidels following them closely raised full many a true believer to the rank of a martyr. Of the *amirs* of the regiments, Daulat Shah, and Shaikh Husain Suchi, and Adina Bahadur displayed great valour, but after slaying many of the infidels they finally drank the sherbet of martyrdom; Burhan Aghlan, leaving many horses and suits of armour a prey to the infidels, escaped.

When Muhammad Azad with those 400 men, arrived at the deserted fort of the Siyah-poshcs, he followed the track of the enemy towards the mountain. On arriving at the scene of Burhan Aghlan's defeat and flight, he was assaulted by the infidels, who had defeated Burhan Aghlan, but he fought so gallantly that he routed them with great slaughter, and recovered all the horses and armour which these impious ones had captured from the soldiers of Burhan Aghlan, besides taking a large booty from them in the way of wealth and property. Marching homeward, he met on that very day Burhan Aghlan, each of whose soldiers recognised and had restored to him his own horse and arms. On that day they reached a pass (*kotal*), where Muhammad Azad proposed to Burhan Aghlan that they should halt, but the cowardice and inefficiency of the latter would hear of no delay, so they went through the pass. Certainly, from the days of Changiz Khan to the present time, no man of the *ulus* has shown such a lack of energy and courage.

When I had despatched Muhammad Azad from Kator, and satisfied myself with the subjugation of that country, I sent forward Ali Sistani and Jalalu-l Islam to discover a road and make clear halting places for me. In obedience to this order they went forward, clearing away the snow and ice in many places from the road. Having made a passage for me they returned. I immediately mounted and set forward, and the nobles and soldiery marched along with me on foot, and so I proceeded in triumph along the track which they had made till I reached Khawak, where I had left the horses in the fort. I had been absent eighteen days on this expedition against the infidels, and the nobles and soldiery, who had hitherto fought on foot, now regained their horses. Leaving a body of men to garrison the fort which I had built, I directed my own course towards the heavy baggage, and arrived at Tilak Ghunan and Diktur, places in that country; the princes and *amirs* of the place came out to meet me with congratulations on my victory. Burhan Aghlan and Muhammad Azad here joined my victorious camp. I however, gave orders that they should refuse admittance to Burhan Aghlan, and on no account allow him to enter my presence, for it is the decree of Almighty God that if twenty true believers engage boldly and steadily in fight with ten times the number of infideals they shall prevail against them, and yet Burhan Aghlan, with 10,000 men under his command, was routed by and fled from a small number of infidels, exposing Musulmans to disgrace and death. On the other hand, I loaded with honours and benefits Muhammad Azad, who, with only 400 men, had fought a valiant action against the greatly superior numbers of the unbelievers. I exalted his rank above his fellows, and gave him a regiment; nor did I omit to shower my princely favours on his companions in victory.



*Account of my sending Shah Rukh to the kingdom of Khurasan*

*Account of the construction of the Canal of Mahigir.*

*Arrival of Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din from Persia with magnificent presents*

*Repairing of the Fort of I'riyab.—Punishment of Musa Aghan*

*Audience of the Sergeant of Archers, etc., etc.*

....When I had arranged the conquest and settlement of the country (of the Aghanis) and the measures for the protection of the roads to my satisfaction, and had exterminated the rebellious predatory tribes of the Aghanis. I mounted my horse and spurred forward in the direction of Hindustan, and on Friday, the 8th of the month, I halted on the bank of the river Indus, in the very place where Sultan Jalalu-d din, of Khwarizm, had swum the river to escape from Changiz Khan, and where the latter encamped when he refrained from following. There I pitched my camp, and gave orders to the nobles and soldiery that they should collect boats, planks, etc. and construct a bridge over the Indus. In obedience to my order they all set to work, and in two days had constructed a bridge over this mighty river.

At this time some ambassadors arrived from various quarters of the globe, and the drift of the letters and communications of the Sultans and rulers and chief men of their respective countries and kingdoms was this: “We have placed the collar of obedience and submission, in all sincerity, on the neck of our life, and the saddle of servitude on our back; we are all anxiously expecting the auspicious arrival of the great king. When will it be that the prosperous shadow of his umbrella will, by its protection, impart felicity to this kingdom, and when will the honour of kissing the sublime footstool be attainable by us”? I wrote encouraging *farman*s, in reply to

the representations of the Sultans, and entrusted them to the ambassadors, whom I dismissed, and such men as Saiyid Muhammad Mudani, who came on the part of the chief men of Mecca, the exalted, and Medina, the blest, I treated with great respect and attention, and loaded them with abundant favours before their departure; I also gave a horse and dress of honour to the envoy of Iskandar Shah, the ruler of Kashmir, when I dismissed him, and despatched a *farman* to his master to the effect that as soon as my victorious camp arrived at the city of Dibalpur he should join me with his forces. When I had dismissed the ambassadors I crossed the Indus, on Tuesday, the 12th of Muharram, A. H. 801 (24th Sept., A.D. 1398), and pitched my camp on the opposite bank of the river, and made inquiry about the roads from some *zamindars* of the neighbourhood, who had voluntarily submitted and given in their adhesion. They represented that one of the roads lay through a fertile and well-watered district, but was circuitous and lengthy; and the other road, which was near Multan, was a route through the Chol-jarad<sup>9</sup> desert, in which neither water nor pasture were procurable for several days journey. It was by this route, through the Chol-jarad, that Sultan Jalalu-d din of Khwarizm reached Multan, after crossing the Indus, in his flight from before Changiz Khan. This desert is hence called Chol-i Jalal. When I heard this account I determined to proceed by the desert route, and issued orders that the whole army should carry with them water and provision for several days. I then advanced some days march into the desert. It was now that the princes and *Rajas* of the mountainous country of Jud, by way of perfect sincerity, planting their feet in the road of obedience and submission, sought my camp with tribute and presents, when they were honoured by kissing

<sup>9</sup> (*Jarad*, an open barren country; *Chol*, also means desert.)



the earth in my presence. Before this, prince Rustam, whom I had sent with Hamza Amir Taghi Bugha, and other *amirs*, and a numerous army towards Multan, having entered the desert by the same road, had approached the mountains of Jud, and these princes and *Rajas*, owing to their good fortune, had come before him and proffered a suitable submission, and supplied his army with provisions. Ever since then they had worn the yoke of servitude and obedience to my power on the neck of sincerity. I therefore confirmed their kings and dismissed them with favourable *farmans*, and I then marched forward and, getting clear of the desert, halted on the bank of the river Jamd (Jhilam); but it was represented to me that in the middle of this stream there was a very strongly fortified island, the ruler of which was called Shahabu-d din, and that he had collected a very considerable force. When Prince Pir Muhammad Jahan-gir was marching upon Multan, this Shahabu-d din, girding up the loins of obedience and submission, presented himself to the prince, and made an external display of the duties of servitude and dependance, and offered tribute and suitable gifts, besides remaining some time in the prince's presence. When, having received his dismissal, he returned to his home, he became arrogant, seeing the strength and insular position of his fortress and the multitude of his troops, so that he ventured on rebellion and open opposition, and, cutting a canal from the river Jamd, he brought the water of the river to that side of the city on which it was not before, so that on all four sides of his city and fort he had a moat full of water. He had also laid up a stock of provisions and munitions of war. Now when I heard this, I resolved on his entire subjugation.

*Capture of the island of Shahabu-d din*

I ACTED in the following manner. I gave immediate orders to Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din to march with his own

*tumans* and other commanders of regiments (*kushun*) towards this island, and commanded that every soldier should, by the way, take branches of trees, and that with these branches they should fill up the moat which Shahabu-d din had dug. Having, by prudence and stratagem, captured the island, they were to utterly exterminate the enemy. Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din, on that very day, being Wednesday, the 14th of Muharram, set out with his gallant army for the island of Shahabu-d din, which he reached in a short time. He and all his troops dismounted on the brink of the moat, into which they threw the branches of the trees, thereby forming a bridge, which enabled them quickly to cross the water and come to close quarters with the enemy. But a stern resistance here awaited them, and the whole day, from day-break till the time of evening prayer, was spent in furious combat. At night-fall, Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din, with his valiant troops, occupied his own ground, not yielding a single inch, and exercised the utmost vigilance and precaution. All on a sudden, Shahabu-d din, with 10,000 men, made a night attack on our troops. Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din displayed great valour and encountered the enemy with unflinching energy, and turned back the tide of the night assault upon Shahabu-d din's army; which at length, many of them having been levelled with the dust of destruction, took to flight, and many of the fugitives throwing themselves into the water of the moat became food for fishes. In that night, Mansur and Buraj Chura, with his brothers, who were born slaves of my household (*khana-zad*), gave proofs of the most intrepid courage, and were badly wounded. When, in the course of my march, I gained intelligence of Shahabu-d din's behaviour, I led an expedition against him in my own person, and halted on the edge of the moat of his fortress. It was represented to me that Shahabu-d din, in his night attack, had met with a severe repulse, and a great number of his most serviceable men had been

slaughtered; he had, in consequence, lost hope, and withdrawing his consideration from his kingdom and wealth, had embarked, broken-hearted and in a helpless condition, on 200 boats, which he had procured for such an emergency as the present, and had kept moored under his own palace. He had thus effected his escape, fleeing down the river towards Uch.

Upon this I issued a *farman* to the effect that Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din, with his nobles and retainers, should proceed along the bank of the river in pursuit of Shahabu-d din. He gallantly pursued with his brave army, and, having come up with the fugitives, engaged them with his archery, and succeeded in making great slaughter of them, and, returning in triumph, obtained the highest rewards. He was admitted to the honour of kissing my footstool, and in guerdon of the gallantry which he had displayed, I loaded him with my princely benefits. The troops also who, in the night attack, had shown such valour, and had received wounds, I distinguished with marks of favour. I ordered Amir Shah Malik to lead his troops into every nook and corner of the island, and search all the jungle and forests, so as to get into his power such of the enemy as had taken refuge in them. He, in obedience to my order, instituted a rigorous search through every nook and cranny of the island, and numbers of the enemy and Indians, who had taken refuge in it, fell a prey to his remorseless scymitar, and he returned, bringing as captives their women and children, and with a large booty consisting of their wealth and property, and many boats laden with grain. When I had burnt and overthrown the city and fort of Shahabu-d din, and levelled it to the ground, I was satisfied, and, departing thence, marched along the banks of the river Jamd (Jhilam). In the meanwhile I heard that Shahabu-d din's fleet of boats, having arrived in the environs of Multan, had encountered the troops of Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir and those of Amir Sulaiman



Shah (who had the command of Prince Shah Rukh's army), and that the fleet had been completely destroyed, and that Shahabu-d din had drowned himself, after having first thrown his wives and children into the river, which utter annihilation of his family was very pleasing to me.

After five or six days march, on Sunday the 21st of the month, I came to a place in which the rivers Jamd and Chinad (Chinab) unite, where there was a fort which they have built at the confluence of the two rivers. Here I halted and amused myself by beholding the waves and watery conflict at the junction of these great streams, and the sight of His wonders led me to reflect on the power of Almighty God. But it occurred to me that it would be difficult to cross here without constructing a bridge, and when I gave orders to the nobles and soldiery that they should commence building one, some of the *zamindars* and thief men of the country who were present prostrated themselves, and on their knees made representation that it was impossible to build a bridge over such a strong and turbulent stream, for when Turmsharin Khan came to this country, his utmost endeavours were insufficient to bridge the river, and he was finally obliged to cross by means of boats, so now the great king should also transport his army across in boats. I told them that I would cross in that manner in case I found myself unable to construct a bridge, and I immediately gave orders that my whole army should set to work to build one. Accordingly, collecting boats and connecting them together firmly with chains and cables, and driving down beams and piles into the water, they formed a bridge, and all this was completed and made excessively strong in six days, that is to say by Wednesday the 28th of the month. Mounting my horse of state, I crossed the river and gave directions that the several divisions of my army should cross in suc-



cession, and I halted another day on the bank of that river for the baggage and troops to pass.

When all my troops had crossed in safety I marched forward, and when I arrived at the city of Tulamba I pitched my camp on the bank of the river. Tulamba is about seventy miles from Multan. On the same day the *Saiyids*, and *'Ulama* and *Shaikhs*, and chief men and rulers of Tulamba came out to meet me, and enjoyed the honour of kissing my stirrup. As sincerity was clearly written on their foreheads, every one of them according to his rank was distinguished by marks of my princely favour. Marching forward I halted on Saturday, the 1st of the month Safar, in the plain which lies before the fortress of Tulamba. My *wazirs* had fixed the ransom of the people of the city at two lacs of rupees and appointed collectors; but as the *Saiyids*, who are the family and descendants of our Lord Muhammad the chosen, and the *'Ulama* of Islam, who are the heirs of the prophets (upon him and upon them be blessings and peace), had always in my court been honoured and treated with reverence and respect, I gave orders, now that a ransom was about to be levied from the citizens of Tulamba, that whatever was written against the names of the *Saiyids* and *Ulama*, should be struck out of the account, and I sent them away, having filled their hearts with joy and triumph by presents of costly dresses of honour, and Arab horses. A reinforcement of troops arrived about this time, so that my army became more numerous than the tribes of ants, and locusts, causing scarcity of provisions, so that there was a dearth of grain in my camp, though the people of the city had quantities. Since a part of the ransom, consisting of coin, had not yet been collected, and since my troops were distressed on account of the scarcity of provisions, I ordered that the citizens should make payment in grain instead of money; but they persisted in storing up their corn, totally regardless of the sufferings of my troops. The hungry Tatars, making a general assault

upon them like ants and locusts, plundered an enormous number of granaries, so numerous indeed as to be incalculable, and according to the text, "Verily, kings when they enter a city utterly ruin it," the hungry Tatars opened the hands of devastation in the city till a rumour of the havoc they were making reached me. I ordered the *Siyawals* and *Tawachis* to expel the troops from the city, and commanded that whatever corn and other property had been plundered should be taken as an equivalent for so much ransom. At this time it was represented to me that some of the chief *zamindars* of the environs of Tulamba, at the time when prince Pir Muhammad was marching on Multan, had presented themselves before him, walking in the path of obedience and submission, but when they had received their dismissal and returned to their own home they planted their feet on the highway of contumacy and rebellion. I immediately gave orders to Amir Shah Malik, and to Shaikh Muhammad, the son of Aiku Timur, to march with their *tumans* and *kushuns* against these rebels, and to inflict condign punishment upon them. Amir Shah Malik and Shaikh Muhammad, taking a guide with them instantly commenced their march, and having arrived at the jungles in which these wretches, forshaken by fortune, had taken refuge, they dismounted, and entering the jungle slew two thousand of these ill fated Indians with their remorseless sabres, carrying off captives their women and children, and returned with a great booty of kine, buffaloes, and other property. When on their victorious return they displayed in my sight the spoils they had won, I ordered them to make a general distribution to the soldiery. When my mind was satisfied with the extermination of these wretches, on Saturday the 7th of Safar I set my foot in the stirrup and marched from Tulambe. I halted at a place called Jal, which is on the bank of the river Biyah, opposite to Shahpur. It was represented to me that in this country there was a certain *zamindar*, by name

Nusrat, of the tribe of Khokhar, who, having established himself with two thousand bloodthirsty soldiers in a fortress on the bank of a lake, breathed out defiance and rebellion. Leaving a body of men in that place, I immediately marched to attack this Nusrat Khokhar.

*Account of the utter annihilation of Nusrat Khokhar*

LEAVING behind the heavy baggage with a select body of men, I commenced my march. I appointed Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din and Amir Allahbad to the command of the right wing of the army, and Amir Shah Malik and Amir Shaikh Muhammad were the leaders of the left wing. I took up my own position in the centre, placing in my van 'Ali Sultan with the infantry of Khurasan. When I arrived at the heavy swampy ground on the bank of the lake, where the God-forsaken Nusrat had taken up his position, I found that he was there with his two thousand men drawn up all ready to receive me. 'Ali Sultan, with the gallant infantry of Khurasan, immediately entered the marshy ground, and, attacking those unsainted Indians, succeeded in forcing his way half through the difficult ground, and though he and several of his men were severely wounded, kept up a spirited fight. I immediately ordered Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din and Amir Allahdad with the troops of the right wing to hasten to his support, and as soon as they had succeeded in overcoming the difficulties of the ground, they charged full upon Nusrat and his men, who, already worsted, were totally unable to stand the second attack, and were routed with great slaughter. Nusrat himself fell among the slain, but it was not known how he had been killed, or whether he effected his escape. My victorious troops entered and set fire to the residence of Nusrat Khokhar, and having plundered the wealth and property of those Indians and taking an immense booty of flocks, herds, buffaloes, etc., returned to my presence. I immediately left the place and halted at Shah Nawaz, which is a



populous village on the bank of the Biyah, where there was a great quantity of grain stored up in magazines and granaries. My soldiers and I carried away as much as ever we were able, and as for what remained I ordered them to set fire to the granaries, and detached a portion of my gallant army in pursuit of some of Nusrat's followers, who had escaped across the river Biyah. My troops crossed the stream, overtook the army, slaughtered a great number of them, and returned with many prisoners, and an immense booty. On Tuesday, the 13th of the month, I set out from Shah Nawaz, on my return to the baggage, and pitched my camp on the bank of the river Biyah, opposite to Janjan, in the place where all my heavy baggage and supplies were collected, and gave orders that my whole army and baggage should cross the river to Janjan, and that they should set up my tent on a little eminence outside the town, at the foot of which was a verdant garden, and when they had done this I myself crossed and mounted to the top of this little eminence, from whence a green pleasant plain met my view. I returned to my tent in time for mid-day prayer, after which one of prince Shah Rukh's servants, by name, Pir Malik, brought me letters from the prince in Khurasan. These letters I found to contain assurances of his own well-being and that of the country intrusted to his care.

*Account of the arrival of the news of the conquest of  
Multan*

AT the same time, intelligence arrived from my prosperous son, Pir Muhammad Jahangir, and the other nobles who were besieging Multan, "that, by the mercy of God, and the good fortune of the great king, victory has shown her face, after we have been employed six months in the siege of Multan. Sarang, the ruler of Multan, with his army and people, were reduced to such straits that nothing eatable, not even a cat or a mouse, remained alive in their city. When Sarang found himself reduced by famine to



such extremity, he was forced by sheer weakness and exhaustion to surrender, bargaining only for his life. On this condition being granted, he came out of the city and made it over to us, as has been mentioned before. Now the rainy season had by this time set in, and the rain kept continually falling in torrents, so that most of the horses of my own stable, and those of great numbers of the nobles and soldiery died, and we were obliged, by the heavy rains, to shift our quarters from our camp into the city. When some time had elapsed in this manner, and scarcely a horse remained among us, the neighbouring *zamindars* and chieftains, who, by way of obedience and submission, had entered the house of subjection, and had all come with offers of service, when they saw our apparent distress, all withdrew their feet from the highway of obedience, and many of these perfidious chiefs brought death upon themselves. Now, praise be to God, that at the time when, on account of the mortality among our horses, and the rebellious conduct of the *zamindars*, we were reduced to perplexity and distress, the report has been spready through the country of the arrival of the victorious standards of the great king, infusing joy into the heart of his servants and inspiring the wretched enemy with penitence for their evil deeds. We shall follow close upon our petition to the glorious threshold." On reading these letters from Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir, I returned thanks to Almighty God, and on the very next day, having received intelligence of the prince's near arrival, I sent out a plentiful supply of food and provision for each of the princes and nobles: I further ordered that all the nobles who were attendants on my stirrup should go forth to pay honour to Prince Pir Muhammad, and that all the nobles and army, *tuman* by *tuman*, and *kushun* by *kushun*, should go forth to meet him. This being done, the prince presented himself in my presence. First, I sent for Prince Muhammad Jahangir, and, affectionately embracing him, gave him a place before myself.

I then ordered the admittance of the nobles, who knelt and saluted me. After this, ordering the attendance of *Mushk-bashis* and *Yuz-bashis*, I saluted them all. I then entered my private tent, taking the prince with me, and stationing the other nobles outside. I alleviated the toils and fatigues which they had undergone in the Multan War, and then, after affable conversation, I dismissed them to their own tents. But keeping with me Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir, I entered into a detailed inquiry of the circumstances of the army, and the behaviour of each of the nobles, and the services which each had rendered, together with any cowardice or short-coming on their part; to all which questions I received satisfactory answers, and he gave me all the information I required concerning the behaviour of the army, and the conduct of the war, and the particulars of the conquest of the mauntain of Sulaiman, with the plundering of that country, and the passage of the river Indus, and the conquest of the city Uch, and the details of the siege of Multan, and the defeat of Sarang the brother of Mallu Khan, and various other matters which put me to sleep. I rewarded the prince for the conquest of Multan with a title and other favours, making him excessively joyful; and I honoured with princely benefits and favours all the nobles who had done good service under him. Some chiefs who, in the expedition against Khwarizm, had deserted from Jahan Shah's army and fled into Hindustan, were now, after committing sundry acts of rebellion, reduced to great distress, and at the time that Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir undertook the siege of Multan they presented themselves before him, seeking his protection,\* which he graciously accorded to them. When the prince came to my camp, he entreated my forgiveness for them, and presented them to me with a petition that their lives might be spared. To gratify him, I agreed to overlook their offences, and ordered that they should be released after the bastinado.

On Saturday, the 15th of the month Safar, I issued orders that my troops and baggage should cross the river Biyah, and then crossing over myself, I halted at Janjan, which was stated to be eight miles distant from Multan. At this place I halted four days, in order to give my troops time to effect the passage of the river, and here Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir had prepared a sumptuous entertainment, and presented me with valuable gifts, such as crowns, inwrought girdles, and money, and priceless jewels, and Arab horses, with housings inlaid with gold and jewels, and various kinds of embroidered cloths, and precious rarities, and specimens of gold and silver work, such as plates and dishes and covers and beautifully wrought urns and ewers, and these in such quantities that all the scribes attached to my retinue were employed two whole days in taking a detailed inventory of them. When I had inspected them, I distributed them among the *amirs* and others who were present at the assembly, taking care to include all in the partition.

*Account of my presenting 30,000 horses to the army of  
Prince Pir Muhammad*

Now since the nobles and the soldiers of Prince Pir Muhammad had lost all their horses during the rains, and had undergone much toil and fatigue in their march, and had presented themselves at my camp, some on foot and some riding bullocks, I gave orders to my master of the horse to produce 30,000 chargers, which I presented to Prince Pir Muhammad, thus furnishing his whole army with a remount. When all my troops, some by boats and some by swimming, had effected the passage of the river Biyah, I marched forward from Janjan and arrived at Sahwal. Leaving this place on Friday, the 21st of Safar, I arrived at Aswan, where I halted for one day; continuing my march on the next I arrived at Jahwal, where I pitched my camp. It was here brought to my notice that the *zamindars* and nobles of the city of Dibalpur had at first



come to Multan and tendered their allegiance to prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir, beseeching a governor from him. Yielding to their entreaty, he appointed Musafir Kabuli to be *Darogha* of Dibalpur, and gave him the command of a thousand men; but in the rainy season, when the horses of the soldiery were incapacitated, the people of Dibalpur entering into a conspiracy with the servants of Firoz Shah, made a sudden attack upon Musafir Kabuli, who was unprepared for any such treachery, and put to death both him, and the thousand men who were under his command; but (said my informants) now that the Great King has paid these countries the honour of a visit, these rebels have deserted their city and taken refuge in the fort of Bhatnir, which is one of the most renowned fortresses of India, and the *Raja* of the fort is an important person, famous throughout the whole country.

*Account of the capture of the fortress of Bhatnir*

On hearing this relation, the fire of my indignation was excited, and I appointed Amir Shah Malik and Daulat Timur Tawachi to march forward with a large army, by way of Dibalpur, towards Dehli, and ordered them to wait for me at Samana, which is a place in the neighbourhood of Dehli. I, myself, in the meanwhile, pushed forward upon Bhatnir with a body of 10,000 picked cavalry. On arriving at Ajodhan, I found that among the *shaikhs* of this place (who, except the name of *Shaikh*, have nothing of piety or devotion about them) there was a *shaikh* named Manua, who, seducing some of the inhabitants of this city, had induced them to desert their country and accompany him towards Dehli, while some, tempted by Shaikh Sa'd, his companion, had gone to Bhatnir, and a number of the wise men of religion and the doctors of law of Islam, who always keep the foot of resignation firmly fixed in the road of destiny, had not moved from their places, but remained quietly at home. On my arrival in the neighbourhood of



Ajodhan, they all hastened forth to meet me, and were honoured by kissing my footstool, and I dismissed them after treating them with great honour and respect. I appointed my slave, Nasiru-d din, and Shahab Muhammad to see that no injury was inflicted by my troops on the people of this city. I was informed that the blessed tomb of Hazrat Shaikh Farid Ganj-shakar (whom may God bless) was in this city, upon which I immediately set out on pilgrimage to it. I repeated the *Fatiha*, and the other prayers, for assistance, etc., and prayed for victory from his blessed spirit, and distributed large sums in alms and charity among the attendants on the holy shrine. I left Ajodhan on Wednesday, the 26th of the month, on my march to Bhatnir, and, passing by Rudanah, I halted at Khalis Kotali, which is a place ten *kos* distant. At this place I made inquiries concerning the fort Bhatnir. The people of the country informed me that Bhatnir was about fifty *kos* off, and that it was an extremely strong and well-fortified place, so much so as to be renowned throughout the whole of Hindustan. All the water used by its inhabitants comes from a reservoir, which is filled with rain water during the rainy season, and furnishes a supply for the whole year.<sup>10</sup> The *Ghol* extends for many *kos* around, and water is not to be obtained. The people who had fled from Ajodhan had come to Bhatnir, because no hostile army had ever penetrated thither. So a great concourse of people from Dibalpur and Ajodhan, with much property and valuables, was there assembled. The town and fort were full, many could find no room in the city, and remained outside with their property and goods, so that the roads were choked. Immense numbers of cattle were collected in the neighbourhood.

The *raja* of that place was called Dul Chain.<sup>11</sup> He had assembled a body of *Rajputs*, a class which supplies

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Chapman's translation terminates here.

<sup>11</sup> The *Zafar-nama* calls him "Dul Chan"; the *Chain* or *Chan* being most probably intended for "Chand."

the most renowned soldiers of India, and with these he waited ready to do battle. When I had ascertained all about Bhatnir, after noon-day prayer I mounted my horse and rode out from Khalis-Kotali. The remainder of that day and all that night I pushed on, taking no rest anywhere until I passed the *Chol*, and morning broke out. I had sent on an advance guard, which was attacked several times by the enemy's van. Shaikh Darwesh displayed much bravery, overthrowing and killing two of the enemy's men. Dul Chain's advance guard then retreated. I pursued my journey, and at breakfast time I reached Bhatnir. I gave orders that the drums should be beaten, the instruments sounded, and the war cry raised. Immediately afterwards all the vast quantities of goods and property that were outside the city were plundered by my soldiers. Rao Dul Chain, having secured the fort and walls, prepared for his defence, and I, at the same time, resolved to attack and conquer the place.

### *Siege of Bhatnir*

WHEN I came to the determination of taking the fort of Bhatnir, I appointed Shaikh Nuru-d din, Amir Sulaiman, Amir Allah-dad, and other *amirs*, to direct the attack upon the right of the fort, and to endeavour to make themselves masters of the walls. I appointed Prince Khalil Sultan, Shaikh Muhammad, son of Aiku-timur, and some other commanders of regiments, to make the assault upon the left, and try to take the fort. I, myself, led the centre of my army against the gate. My brave soldiers stormed the fort and walls in all directions, and at the very first assault the fortifications and walls (*hisar wa shahr-band*) were wrested from the hands of the Hindus and the town was taken. Many *Rajputs* were put to the sword, and all the enormous wealth and property which was in the city fell as spoil into the hands of my soldiers. My brave men showed much courage and determination in this capture of the fort. Rao Dul Chain, with his fight-

ing *Rajputs*, drew up at the gate of the fort to dispute the entrance. I then directed the generals of the division of Prince Shah Rukh, Amir Sulaiman Shah and Amir Jahan Malik to fall upon Rao Dul Chain and the men who had rallied round him. They engaged in the conflict, and showed much intrepidity and valour with their flashing swords. Jahan Malik fought like a lion, and Saiyid Khwaja cut down several of the enemy. All my officers and brave soldiers swarmed round the fort like ants and locusts; some advanced to the edge of the ditch, and some passed over it. When Rao Dul Chain perceived that his fort was being taken by the valour and prowess of my men, he raised a cry for quarter, and prayed a cessation of fighting, declaring his determination to come and make his submission to me. He sent a *saiyid* to intercede for him. When the *saiyid* came to me and represented the forlorn and miserable state of the Rao Dul Chain, my respect for the gray beard of the intercessor, and the reverence which I have for *saiyids* in general led me to give the command for my soldiers to leave off fighting, telling them that the *Rao* had determined to come and surrender on the following day. In consequence of this order the soldiers withdrew from the fort and took up their quarters outside the town. The night passed with much vigilance and caution on our part. When morning came the *Rao* broke his word, and did not come to pay homage to me. I gave the order for again attacking the fort vigorously, and I directed that every man should strive to mine the wall in front of him, and to make a passage underneath. In execution of this order, the soldiers pressed forward to make holes under the wall, and a terrible fight ensued. The besieged cast down in showers arrows and stones and fireworks upon the heads of the assailants, but my brave men received these missiles on their heads and shoulders, and, treating them as mere dirt and rubbish, pushed on their work. The enemy found themselves hemmed in on all sides with breaches open,



so fear took possession of them, their hearts fell, and they gave up resistance. Rao Dul Chain and his followers (*sipah*) came out on the top of the battlements, and with many signs of distress and trouble begged for mercy, promising that if I would graciously pardon their offences they would surrender, and faithfully wait upon me to pay their homage. I knew very well their hopeless condition, but I remembered the saying of the wise, that "Clemency is better than victory," so I granted the prayer of the enemy and returned to my camp. In the evening of the same day, Rao Dul Chain sent his son and his deputy to my tent, bringing with them some head of game and some Arab horses as presents. I received the youth with kindness and princely distinction; gave him a robe and a sword with a golden scabbard, and sent him back to his father. I enjoined him to warn his father against giving way to any suggestions of deception and false play, but to come in and make a frank submission; I would then treat him with favour. If, however, he made any delay, he should see what would happen.

The son returned to his father and told him all that he had seen and heard. Rao Dul Chain had no resource left, so on Friday, the 28th Safar, at breakfast time, he came out of his fort and approached my tent. He brought with him Shaikh S'ad Ajodhani, and, being introduced by the *amirs*, he was admitted to the honour of kissing my feet. He presented me with twenty-seven Arab horses with gold-mounted harness, and several sporting hawks. I comforted him, and bestowed on him a robe of gold brocade, a cap and girdle of gold work, and a gold-mounted sword.

A number of the *zamindars* and chiefs of the surrounding country had put to death the governors, especially the men of Dibalpur, who had slain Musafir Kabuli with a thousand other persons. These men had fled, and had now taken refuge in Bhatnir. I accordingly ordered Amir Sulaiman and Amir Allah-dad to take their



regiments into the town and to bring out all the strangers they could find, with their property and goods. In execution of the order, they went into the town, and, driving out all the refugees, they brought them, with their property and goods, to my tent. On the 29th Safar I distributed these people in lots among my *amirs*, and I confiscated all the money and valuables of these daring men for royal uses. Three hundred Arab horses, which had been taken in the fight, I distributed among my soldiers. In retaliation for the murder of Musafir Kabuli and his thousand followers, I ordered 500 men of Dibalpur to be brought to punishment (*yasak*), and their wives and children to be made slaves, that this might be a warning to other daring men. The men of Ajodhan and other places I punished according to their offences. Some received chastisement (*yasak*), and their wives and children were enslaved, others were set free.

When I had inflicted this chastisement on the malefactors, Kamalu-d din,<sup>12</sup> brother of Rao Dul Chain, and the Rao's son were stricken with dismay. Although Dul Chain was in my camp, they fled into the fort and closed the gates. As soon as I heard of their proceedings, I ordered the Rao to be placed in confinement, and the flames of my wrath blazed high. I commanded my officers and men to direct their efforts to the reduction of the fort by breaching and scaling. When the garrison perceived my men advancing bravely to assault the fort, the Rao's brother and son again raised the cry of alarm and distress and begged for mercy. They put their swords upon their necks, came into my camp to make excuses for their folly, and presented the keys of the fort to my officers. I spared their lives.

<sup>12</sup> The two MSS. of this work, and the four of the *Zafar-nama* all agree in giving this Musulman name to the Rao's brother.

On the 1st Rabi'ul awwal I gave instructions to Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din and Amir Allah-dad for realizing the ransom money, and sent them into the city. The *rais* and *Rajputs* and chiefs of the city did not act fairly in paying the ransom money, although it was a matter in which honourable dealing was necessary. Contention and fighting arose between the collectors and the evil-minded *rais*. When intelligence of this reached my ears, I directed my brave fellows to punish the infidels. In obedience to the order, the soldiers pressed towards the fort, and fixing their scaling ladders and ropes to the battlements, they carried the fort by escalade. The infidels and Musulmans in the fort now found their case desparate. The infidels shut up their wives and children in their houses, to which they set fire, and they and their families were burned altogether; those who called themselves Musulmans, but who had stayed from the Muhammadan fold, killed their wives and children with the sword, and then boldly facing death rushed together into the fight. My men entered the fort on all sides, and plying their swords and daggers fell upon the foe. The men of the garrison were young and vigorous, active and daring. They fought manfully and a desparate conflict ensued. Some of my renowned and brave men performed prodigies of valour, and received most frightful wounds. The *amirs* maintained their character with their swords, and fought and strove with manly vigour. Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din maintained, on foot, a fierce conflict with the infidels, and many fell under the blows of his sword. Several of them then joined and made a simultaneous assault upon him. The *amir* was alone and they were many, so these demons in looks and demons in temper seized him and were endeavouring to take him prisoner. Just at the critical moment Firoz Sistani and Auzan Mazid Baghdadi cut their way to the side of Nuru-d din, and after charging the infidels once and again, they forced them to fall back, and thus they

rescued their comrades from the hands of the *gabrs*. So in all directions the brave warriors of Islam attacked the infidels with lion-like fury, until at length by the grace of God, victory beamed upon the efforts of my soldiers. In a short space of time all the people in the fort were put to the sword, and in the course of one hour the heads of ten thousand infidels were cut off. The sword of Islam was washed in the blood of the infidels, and all the goods and effects, the treasure and the grain which for many a long year had been stored in the fort became the spoil of my soldiers. They set fire to the houses and reduced them to ashes, and they razed the buildings and the fort to the ground. When this victory had been accomplished I returned to my tent. All the princes and *amirs* waited upon me to congratulate me upon the conquest and upon the enormous booty which had fallen into my hands. It was all brought out and I distributed it among my brave *amirs* and soldiers; I bestowed great gifts and rewards on Mazid Baghdadi and on Firoz Sistani who had rescued Amir Nuru-d din, and I promoted them to a high rank.

When my heart was satisfied with the overthrow of the *rais* and *rajas* and turbulent dwellers of these parts, on the 3rd Rabi-u-l awwal the drums of departure sounded; I mounted my horse, and, after marching fourteen *kos*, encamped on the borders of a tank, near which was a jungle full of grass. Next day I again marched, and passing by the fort of Firoz I arrived at a town called Sirsah.

### *Conquest of the Town of Sarsuti*

WHEN I made inquiries about the city of Sarsuti, I was informed that the people of the place was strangers to the religion of Islam, and that they kept hogs in their houses and ate the flesh of those animals. When they heard of my arrival, they abandoned their city. I sent my cavalry in pursuit of them, and a great fight ensued. All these



infidel Hindus were slain, their wives and children were made prisoners, and their property and goods became the spoil of the victors. The soldiers then returned, bringing with them several thousand Hindu women and children who became Muhammadans, and repeated the creed. Of all the braves who took part in this action, 'Adi Bahadur Farrash was the only one who fell.

The following day I rested in the town of Sarsuti, and on the next day, the 6th of the month, I marched eighteen *kos*, and came near the fort of Fathabad, where I encamped. The people of Fathabad also, by the suggestion of Satan, had fled from the town and taken refuge in the deserts and jungles. I despatched some commanders of regiments after them who overtook them and slew great numbers of them. They took all their property and goods, horses and cattle, and returned to camp laden with spoil. Next day I marched from Fathabad, and passing by the fort of Rajab-pur, I halted in the vicinity of the fort of Ahruni. The people of this town and fort did not come out to meet me and make their submission so as to escape from the rigour of the army of Islam; so some savage Turks entered the town and began plundering. Some of the inhabitants who resisted they put to death; the others were made prisoners. The soldiers brought away great quantities of grain, and set fire to the houses and buildings of the town.

On the 8th of the month I marched from Ahruni, through the jungle to a village called Tohana. In answer to the inquiries I made about the inhabitants, I learned that they were a robust race, and were called *Jats*. They were Musulmans only in name and had not their equals in theft and highway robbery. They plundered caravans upon the road, and were a terror to Musulmans and travellers. They had now abandoned the village and had fled to the sugar-cane fields, the



valleys, and the jungles.<sup>13</sup> When these facts reached my ears I prepared a force which I placed under the direction of Tokal Bahadur, son of the Hindu Karkarra,<sup>14</sup> and sent it against the *Jats*. They accordingly marched into the sugar-canes and jungles. I also sent Maulana Nasiru-d-din in pursuit of them. When these forces overtook the *Jats* they put 200 to the sword and made the rest prisoners. A large stock of cattle was captured, and my soldiers returned to camp.

It was again brought to my knowledge that these turbulent *Jats* were as numerous as ants or locusts, and that no traveler or merchant passed unscathed from their hands. They had now taken flight, and had gone into jungles and deserts hard to penetrate. A few of them had been killed, but it was my fixed determination to clear from thieves and robbers every country that I subdued, so that the servants of God, and Musulmans and travellers might be secure from their violence. My great object in invading Hindustan had been to wage a religious war against the infidel Hindus, and it now appeared to me that it was necessary for me to put down these *Jats* and to deliver travellers from their hands. I consequently placed the care of the baggage and of all the plunder which had been gained in my victories in the charge of Amir Sulaiman Shah, to convey it with the heavy baggage to the town of Samana.

On the 9th of the month I despatched the baggage from Tohana, and on the same day I marched into the jungles and wilds, and slew 2,000 demon-like *Jats*. I made their wives and children captives, and plundered their cattle and property. Thus I delivered the country from the terror it had long suffered at the hands of the marauding *Jats*. On the same day a party of *saiyids*, who

<sup>13</sup> Price demurs to the sugar-canes, but all the authorities agree. (See Price iii. 248).

*bih naishakarzarha wa jarha wa jangalha dar amadaliand*

<sup>14</sup> Tokal Bahadur pisre hinduwi qarqarra (*qarqara*).

dwelt in the vicinity, came with courtesy and humility to wait upon me, and were very graciously received. In my reverence for the race of the prophet, I treated their chiefs with great honour. I gave them all valuable robes, and I appointed an officer to go to their abodes and protect them, so that none of my soldiers should do them any injury.

I marched from this place to the banks of the river Khagar, where I halted, and Amir Sulaiman Shah arrived there also with the baggage on the 11th of the month. Samana was near to this place, and as the heavy baggage had not yet come up, I halted several days. On the 13th I marched again, and halted near the bridge of Kotila,<sup>15</sup> an ancient structure over the river Khagar. At this stage Sultan Mahmud Khan, Prince Rustam and other commanders of regiments of the left wing, whom I had directed to march to India by way of Kabul, rejoined me. I received them graciously and enquired about the incidents which had happened on the march, and they informed me that wherever the people of any city, or village, or fort, made their submission and offered tribute, they gave them quarter; but whenever any city or fort offered resistance they conquered it, put the inhabitants to death, plundered the goods and property, and divided the spoil among the soldiers. I approved and applauded them.

Next day I crossed over the bridge and halted. Here I was joined by Amir Shah Malik, who brought up the heavy baggage safe by way of Dibalpur. The following day I remained in the same position, but on the 18th I marched from the bridge of Kotila and the river Khagar and encamped at the end of a march of five *kos*. Next day I reached the town of Kaithal, which is seventeen *kos* distant from Samana. I had now come near to Dehli, the capital of Hindustan, and began to prepare for its conquest.

<sup>15</sup> Distinct in both MSS. This is Feroz Shah's bridge.

*Preparations for the Conquest of Dehli*

FOR my intended attack upon Dehli I arranged my forces in the following manner: The right wing I placed under the command of Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir, Prince Rustam, Amir Sulaiman Shah and . . . . ; the left I gave to Sultan Mahamud Khan, Prince Khalil Sultan, Prince Sultan Husain, Amir Jahan Shah and . . . . Under my own direction I kept the great *tumans*, the *tumans* of *San-sir*<sup>16</sup> (?) of Amir Allah-dad, and . . . . the army, as thus distributed, extended over a distance of twenty *kos*. Being satisfied as to my disposition of the forces, I began my march to Dehli. On the 22nd of Rabi-ul awwal I arrived and encamped at the fort of the village of Aspandi. In answer to my enquiries about this place I found that Samana was distant seven *kos*. The people of Samana, and Kaithal, and Aspandi are all heretics, idolaters, infidels, and misbelievers.<sup>17</sup> They had now set fire to their houses and had fled with their children and property, and effects, towards Dehli, so that the whole country was deserted. Next day, the 23rd of the month, I started from the fort of Aspandi, and after marching six *kos* arrived at the village of Tughlik-pur. I encamped opposite the fort bearing that name. The people of the fort on hearing of the approach of my army, had abandoned it, and had dispersed over the country. From the information supplied to me I learned that these people were called *sanawi* (fire-worshippers). Many of this perverse creed believe that there are two gods. One is called Yazdan, and whatever they have of good they believe to proceed from him. The other god they call Ahriman, and whatever sin and wickedness they are guilty of they consider Ahriman to be the author of. These misbelievers do not know that whatsoever there is of good or evil comes from God, and that man is the mere

<sup>16</sup> *tuman-i-kalan wa tuman-i San-ser.*

<sup>17</sup> "Kafiran wa mushrik wa be-din, wa bad-kish."



instrument of its execution. I ordered the houses of these heretics to be fired and their fort and buildings to be razed to the ground.

On the following day, the 24th of the month, I marched to Panipat, where I encamped. I there found that in obedience to orders received from the ruler of Dehli the people had deserted all their dwellings and had taken flight. When the soldiers entered the fort they reported to me that they had found a large store of wheat amounting to some thousand *mans*. I ordered it to be weighed to ascertain the real weight, and then to be distributed among the soldiers. When it was weighted it was found to amount to 10,000 *mans* of the great weight (*sang-i kalan*), or 160,000 of the legal standard (*sang-i shara*). On the following day I marched from Panipat six *kos*, and encamped on the banks of a river which is on the road. I marched from this place on Friday, the 26th of the month, and I gave orders that the officers and soldiers of my army should put on their armour, and that every man should keep in his proper regiment and place in perfect readiness. We reached a village called Kanhi-gazin and there encamped. I issued my commands that on the morrow, the 28th of the month, a force of cavalry should proceed on a plundering excursion against the palace of Jahan-numa, a fine building erected by Sultan Firoz Shah on the top of a hill by the banks of the Jumna, which is one of the large rivers of Hindustan. Their orders were to plunder and destroy and to kill every one whom they met. Next day, in obedience to my commands, the division marched and proceeded to the palace of Jahan-numa, which is situated five miles from Dehli. They plundered every village and place they came to, killed the men, and carried off all the valuables and cattle, securing a great booty. They then returned, bringing with them a number of Hindu prisoners, both male and female.

On the 29th I again marched and reached the river



Jumna. On the other side of the river I descried a fort, and upon making inquiry about it, I was informed that it consisted of a town and fort, called Loni and that it was held by an officer named Maimun as *kotwal* on behalf of Sultan Mahmud. I determined to take that fort at once, and as pasture was scant where I was, on the same day I crossed the river Jumna. I sent Amir Jahan Shah and Amir Shah Malik and Amir Alla-dad to besiege the fort of Loni, and I pitched my camp opposite to the fort. They invested the fort which was under the command of the *kotwal* named Maimun. He made preparations for resistance. At this time a holy *shaikh* who dwelt in the town came out every wisely and waited upon me. Although the *shaikh* was greatly honoured by the people, still, they would not listen to his advice, but determined to fight rather than surrender to me. These people were Hindus and belonged to the faction of Mallu Khan. They despised the counsels of the venerable father and resolved to resist. When I was informed of it, I ordered all the *amirs* and soldiers to assemble and invest the fort. They accordingly gathered with alacrity round the fort, and in the course of one watch of the day they carried the place. It was situated in a *doab* between two rivers, one the Jumna, the other the Halin, the latter being a large canal, which was cut from the river Kalini and brought to Firozabad, and there connected with the Jumna by Sultan Firoz Shah. Many of the Rajputs placed their wives and children in their houses and burned them, then they rushed to the battle and were killed. Other men of the garrison fought and were slain, and a great many were taken prisoners. Next day I gave orders that the Musulman prisoners should be separated and saved, but that the infidels should all be despatched to hell with the proselyting sword. I also ordered that the houses of the *saiyids*, *shaikhs* and learned Musulmans should be preserved, but that all the other houses should be plundered

and the fort destroyed. It was done as I directed and a great booty was obtained.

When my heart was satisfied with the conquest of Loni, I rode away from thence on the 1st Rabi'ul akhir to examine the fords of the Jumna, and proceeded along the bank of the river. When I came opposite the palace, Jahan-numa, I found some places where the river was passable. At the time of midday prayer, I returned to the camp. I gave orders to the princes and *amirs*, and then held a council about the attack upon Dehli and the operations against Sultan Mahmud.

### *Council of War on the attack of Dehli*

AFTER much discussion in the Council of War, where everyone had something to say and an opinion to offer, it appeared that the soldiers of my army had heard tales about the strength and prowess and appearance of the elephants of Hindustan. They had been told that in the fight one would take up a horseman and his horse with his trunk and hurl them in the air. These stories had been met by suitable answers from some of the bold troopers. The Council of War at length agreed that a plentiful supply of grain must first be secured, and stored in the fort of Loni as a provision for the army. After this was done, we might proceed to the attack of the fort and city of Dehli. When the Council was over, I ordered Amir Jahan Shah, Amir Sulaiman Shah, and other *amirs* to cross over the Jumna and to forage in the environs of *Dehli*, bringing off all the corn they could find for the use of the army.

It now occurred to me that I would cross over the Jumna with a small party of horse to examine the palace of Jahan-numa, and to reconnoitre the ground on which a battle might be fought. So I took an escort of 700 horsemen clad in armour and went off. I sent on 'Ali Sultan Tawachi and Junaid Bur-uldai as an advance guard. Crossing the Jumna I reached Jahan-numa and inspected

the whole building, and I discovered a plain fit for a battle-field. 'Ali Sultan and Junaid, my advance-guard, each brought in a man belonging to the van-guard of the enemy. 'Ali Sultan's prisoner was named Muhammad Salaf. When I had interrogated him about the matters of Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan, I ordered him to be put to death as an augury of good. My scouts now brought me information that Mallu Khan with 4,000 horsemen in armour, 5000 infantry, and twenty-seven fierce war elephants fully accoutred, had come out of the gardens of the city and had drawn up his array. I left Saiyid Khwajah and Mubashar Bahadur with 300 brave Turk horsemen on gray horses (*sufaid sawar-i Turk*) in the Jahan-numa and withdrew towards my camp. Mallu Khan advanced boldly towards Jahan-numa and Saiyid Khwajah and Mubashar went forth to meet him. A conflict ensued, and my men fought valiantly. Immediately I heard of the action I sent Sunjak Bahadur and Amir Allah-dad with two regiments (*kushun*) to their support. As soon as practicable, they assailed the enemy with arrows and then charged them. At the second and third charge the enemy was defeated and fled towards Dehli in disorder. Many fell under the swords and arrows of my men. When the men fled, an extraordinary incident occurred; one of the great war elephants, called Bengalis, fell down and died. When I heard of it I declared it be a good omen. My victorious troops pursued the enemy to the vicinity of the city, and then returned to present themselves at my tent. I congratulated them on their victory and praised their conduct. Next day, Friday the 3rd of the month, I left that fort of Loni and marched to a position opposite to Jahan-numa where I encamped. The officers who had been sent out foraging brought in large quantities of grain and spoil.



*Timur instructs the Princes and Amirs about the conduct of the war*

I now held a Court. I issued a summons to the princes, *amirs*, *nuyans*, commanders of *kushuns*, the commanders of *tumans*, of thousands and of hundreds, and to the braves of the advance-guard. They all came to my tent. All my soldiers were brave veterans, and had used their swords manfully under my own eyes. But there were none that had seen so many fights and battles as I had seen, and no one of the *amirs* or braves of the army that could compare with me in the amount of fighting I had gone through, and the experience I had gained. I therefore gave them instructions as to the mode of carrying on war; on making and meeting attacks; on arraying their men; on giving support to each other; and on all the precautions to be observed in warring with an enemy. I ordered the *amirs* of the right wing and the left wing, of the van and the centre, to take up their proper positions. Not to be too forward nor too backward, but to act with the utmost prudence and caution in their operations. When I had finished, the *amirs* and others testified their approbation, and, carefully treasuring up my counsel, they departed expressing their blessings and thanks.

*Massacre of 100,000 Hindus*

At this Court Amir Jahan Shah and Amir Sulaiman Shah, and other *amirs* of experience, brought to my notice that, from the time of entering Hindustan up to the present time, we had taken more than 100,000 infidels and Hindus prisoners, and that they were all in my camp. On the previous day, when the enemy's forces made the attack upon us, the prisoners made signs of rejoicing, uttered imprecations against us, and were ready, as soon as they heard of the enemy's success, to form themselves into a body, break their bonds, plunder our tents, and then to go and join the enemy, and so increase his



numbers and strength. I asked their advice about the prisoners, and they said that on the great day of battle these 100,000 prisoners could not be left with the baggage, and that it would be entirely opposed to the rules of war to set these idolaters and foes of Islam at liberty. In fact, no other course remained but that of making them all food for the sword. When I heard these words I found them in accordance with the rules of war, and I directly gave my command for the *Tawachis* to proclaim throughout the camp that every man who had infidel prisoners was to put them to death, and whoever neglected to do so should himself be executed and his property given to the informer. When this order became known to the *ghazis* of Islam, they drew their swords and put their prisoners to death. 100,000 infidels, impious idolaters, were on that day slain. Maulana Nasiru-d din 'Umar, a counsellor and man of learning, who, in all his life, had never killed a sparrow, now, in execution of my order, slew with his sword fifteen idolatrous Hindus, who were his captives.

After the whole of the vile idolaters had been sent to hell, I gave orders that one man out of every ten should be told off to guard the property, and cattle and horses,<sup>18</sup> which had been captured in the invasion; all the other soldiers were to march with me. At the time of mid-day prayer the signal was given for the march, and I proceeded to the spot selected for crossing the *Jumna*, and there encamped. The astrologers who accompanied the army consulted their books and almanacs as to the time propitious for battle, and they represented that the aspects of the stars made a short delay advisable. In all matters, small and great, I placed my reliance on the favour and kindness of God, and I knew that victory and conquest, defeat and flight, are each ordained by Him, so I placed no reliance on the words of the astrologers and

<sup>18</sup> "*Burdaha*, prisoners," but see *supra*.

star-gazers, but besought the giver of victory to favour my arms.

I did not wish the war to be of long continuance; so as soon as night was over and morning came, I arose to my devotions. I said the morning prayers in the congregation, and I repeated my private prayers, then I took the holy book, which I always carried with me, and sought a *fal*<sup>19</sup> on the subject of the war. The verse which appeared was one in the chapter of the Bce.<sup>20</sup> I immediately sought the interpretation of this verse from those who were present, and they replied that the manifest meaning of it was . . . . I received this *fal* as a propitious indication, and acted in full reliance on its command and on the favour of God.

On the 5th of Rabi'u-l akhir I passed the Jumna by a ford, and pitched my tents on the (other) side of the river. I gave orders to the *amirs* and other officers to station their men as close as possible round my tent; and I also directed that the ground round the camp should be parcelled out among them, and that each one should have a deep ditch dug in front of his allotment. All the soldiers, great and small, assembled *en masse* to dig the ditch. In two watches of the day the ditch round the whole camp was complete. I rode round to inspect it, and I ordered that the trees in the vicinity should be cut down, and brought within the ditch; that their branches should be formed into a strong *abbatis*, and that in some places planks should be set up.

It had been constantly dinned into the ears of my soldiers that the chief reliance of the armies of Hindustan was on their mighty elephants; that these animals, in

<sup>19</sup> *Sortes*—

<sup>20</sup> Sale's Koran, Vol. II., chapter xvi., verse—"god propounded as a parable, etc." the application of which is not very obvious and required the exercise of some ingenuity on the part of its expounders.

complete armour, marched into battle in front of their forces, and that arrows and swords were of no use against them; that in height and bulk they were like small mountains, and their strength was such that at a given signal they could tear up great trees and knock down strongly built walls; that in the battle-field they could take up the horse and his rider with their trunks and hurl them into the air. Some of the soldiers, in the doubt natural to man, brought some little of what they had heard to my attention, so when I assigned their respective positions to the princes and *amirs* of the right and left wing and of the centre, I enquired of the learned and good men that accompanied my army, such as . . . . where they would like to be placed in the day of battle. They had been with me in many campaigns, and had witnessed many a great battle, but the stories about the elephants of India had so affected them that they instantly replied that they would like to be placed with the ladies while the battle was in progress. So to allay the apprehensions of this class of men I gave orders that all the buffalos which had been taken and placed with the baggage should be brought up; I then had their heads and necks fastened to their legs and placed the animals inside the *abattis*.

#### *Defeat of Sultan Mahmud of Delhi*

I gave orders for the camp to be carefully guarded all night to prevent a nocturnal surprise by the enemy, and the night was passed with the caution and care which are necessary in war. When the morn of victory dawned I said my prayers in the congregation, and after I had discharged that duty I gave directions for the drums and other warlike instruments to be sounded. The princes, *amirs* and *nuyans*, armed themselves completely and marched with their respective forces in regular order. I mounted my horse and rode forth to marshal my array. When I had arranged by right and left wings I placed



the right wing under the command of Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir, Amir Yadgar Birlas, etc. The left wing I put under the command of Prince Sultan Husain, Prince Khalil Sultan, Amir Jahan Shah, etc. The advance-guard I placed under Prince Rustam, Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din etc. I took my own place with the centre. When all the forces were arrayed I ordered the advance-guard to go forward and obtain some knowledge of the enemy. One of the advance-guard captured a man belonging to the enemy's van and brought him in to me. When I enquired about the position of the enemy, he told me that Sultan Mahmud had drawn up his army with the intention of fighting. His right wing was commanded by Muinu-din, Malik Hadi, and other officers. His left wing was under Taghi Khan, Mir 'Ali and others. The Sultan had taken up his own position with the centre and had appointed a body of troops to act as rear-guard. His whole force amounted to 10,000 veteran horse, and 40,000 warlike infantry. He had also 125 elephants covered with armour. Most of them carried *howdas* in which were throwers of grenades (*r'ad-andaz*), fireworks (*atash baz*) and rockets (*takhsh-andaz*). Thus they came up to battle.

The enemy's forces now made their appearance, and for better reconnoitering their order I rode to the top of a little hill which was hard by. There I carefully scrutinized their array, and I said to myself that with the favour of God I would defeat them and gain a victory. I alighted from my horse on the top of that hill and performed my devotions. I bowed my head to the ground and besought the Almighty for victory. As I did this I perceived signs that my prayers were heard. When I had finished, I mounted my horse in the full assurance of God's assistance. I returned to the centre and took up my position under the Imperial standard. I then gave orders for 'Ali Sultan Tawachi, Altun Bakhshi, etc. to march with their regiments to strengthen the right



wing. I also commanded the other officers to proceed with their men to the support of the vanguard. It so happened that just at the same time Amir Yadgar Birlas and Sulaiman Shah, who were with the right wing, and Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din and Amir Shah Malik, who were with the advance guard, had conceived the idea and had observed to each other that they should look upon any reinforcement received from the centre as a presage of victory. It was just then that the Almighty put it into my mind to send them assistance.

The two armies now confronted each other, the drums were beaten on both sides, shouts and cries were raised, a trembling fell upon that field, and a great noise was heard. At this time Sunjak Bahadur, Saiyid Khwaja, Allah-dad and others, separated from the advance-guard, and when they perceived that Sultan Mahmud's forces had drawn near, they moved off to the right, and getting secretly behind the enemy's advance-guard as it came on unsuspecting, they rushed from their ambush, and falling upon them in the rear, sword in hand, they scattered them as hungry lions scatter a flock of sheep, and killed 600 of them in this one charge. Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir, who commanded the right wing, moved forward his own forces, and with Amir Sulaiman Shah and his regiments of brave cavalry, fell upon the left wing of the enemy and poured down upon it a shower of arrows. They fell boldly upon this division of the enemy, which was commanded by Taghi Khan; and Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir with great courage and determination attacked one of the fierce elephants and cut off its trunk with his sword, so that the severed part fell upon the ground. My brave soldiers pressing like furious elephants upon this wing of the enemy compelled it to take flight.

The left wing of my army, under Prince Sultan Husain, Amir Jahan Shah, Amir Ghiyasu-d din and other *amirs*, bravely attacked the enemy's right wing, which

was commanded by Malik Mu'inu-d din and Malik Hadi. They so pressed it with the trenchant sword and piercing arrows that they compelled the enemy to break and fly. Jahan Shah pursued them, and attacked them again and again until they reached the gates of the city (of Dehli).

Simultaneously, Sultan Mahmud, with Mallu Khan and the army of the centre, with its officers and soldiers more numerous than ants or locusts, and with its strong war elephants, made its attack upon (my centre). Prince Rustam, Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din etc. met it with a brave and resolute resistance. While they were thus engaged, Daulat Timur Tawachi, Mangali Khwaja and other *amirs* came up with their respective forces and assaulted the enemy. I now gave the order to a party of brave fellows who were in attendance upon me, and they cut their way to the sides of the *amirs*, who were fighting in the front of the battle. They brought the elephant drivers to the ground with their arrows and killed them. Then they attacked and wounded the elephants with their swords. The soldiers of Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan showed no lack of courage, but bore themselves manfully in the fight, still they could not withstand the successive assaults of my soldiers. Seeing their own plight and that of the soldiers and elephants around them, their courage fell, and they took to flight. Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan reached the city with a thousand difficulties, and shut themselves up close in the fortifications.

Prince Khalil Sultan captured one of the famous elephants of Sultan Mahmud, having brought down its driver with an arrow. He brought the animal to me and I embraced the lad, and gave him some fine presents, for he was only fifteen years old though he had exhibited such courage and manliness.

The whole of Sultan Mahmud's army was defeated; part was slain, and part had found refuge in the fort, and I, exalted with victory, marched towards the fort. When

I reached its gates I carefully reconnoitred its towers and walls, and then returned to the side of the *Hauz-i khass*. This is a reservoir, which was constructed by Sultan Firoz Shah, and is faced all round with stone and cement (*gach*). Each side of that reservoir is more than a low-shot long, and there are buildings placed around it. This tank is filled by the rains in the rainy season, and it supplies the people of the city with water throughout the year. The tomb of Sultan Firoz Shah stands on its bank. When I had pitched my camp here, the princes and *Amirs* and *nuyans*, and all the generals and officers, came to wait upon me to pay their respects and offer their congratulations on this great victory. I embraced the princes and *amirs* and I praised them all for their exertions and courage which I myself had seen. When I recounted the favours and mercies I had received from the Almighty, my excellent sons, the brave and renowned *amirs*, who served under me, and the great and glorious victories I had achieved, my heart melted, and the tears burst from my eyes. I cast myself upon the ground and poured forth my thanksgivings to the All-beneficent. All who were present raised their voices in prayer, and in wishes for the continuance of my prosperity and the prolongation of my reign.

I called up the heavy baggage and here formed my camp, and I issued orders for my soldiers<sup>21</sup> to be very cautious and watchful. Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan, after their defeat, had taken refuge in the fort in a wretched state. They now repented of the course they had taken, and regretted that they had not made submission to me, and so avoided the evil which had befallen them. They saw that if they stayed in the fort they would be captured and made prisoners, so in the

<sup>21</sup> There is a sentence here which I do not understand: *kilī lashkaryan-i-budā'i bewdal-i khwud firoda-madeh*.



middle of that night, 7th Rabi'u-l akhir, Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan left the fort of Jahan-panah and fled towards the mountains and jungles. When I heard of this I immediately sent Amir Sa'id and . . . other officers in pursuit. They followed with all speed, and, coming up with the fugitives, they killed many of them, and obtained great spoil. Malik Sharfu-d din and Malik Khudai-dad, sons of Rashid Mallu Khan were taken prisoners, with many others, and brought back to my camp. On the same night that I heard of the flight of the Sultan and his generals from Dehli, I sent Amir Allah-dad and other officers to watch the gate of Hauz-rani, through which Mahmud had escaped; and that of Baraka, by which Mallu Khan had gone out. I also sent men to all the other gates, with orders not to let the people escape.

I mounted my horse and rode towards the gate of the *maidan*. I alighted at the *'id-gah*, a lofty and extensive building, and I gave orders for my quarters to be moved there, and for my throne to be set up in the *'id-gah*. I took my seat upon the throne and held a court. The *saiyids*, the *kazis*, the *'u'lama* (learned Musulmans), the *shaikhs*, and the great men and chiefs of the (Muhammadans of the) city assembled and came out to attend my Court. I had them introduced one by one, and they made their obeisances, and were admitted to the honour of kissing my throne. I received every one of them with respect and kindness, and directed them to be seated. Fazlu-llah Balkhi was *vakil* and *naib* of Mallu Khan, and he came out to wait upon me and do homage, accompanied by a party of the officials and clerks of the government of Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan. Hereupon all the *saiyids*, *'ulama*, *shaikhs* and other leading Musulmans arose, and, making the princes their mediators, they begged that quarter might be given to the people of Dehli, and that their lives might be spared. Out of respect to the *saiyids* and *'ulama*, whom



I had always held in great esteem and honour, I granted quarter to the inhabitants of the city. I then ordered my ensign (*tauk*) and royal standard to be raised, and the drums to be beaten and music played on the tops of the gates of Dehli. Rejoicings for the victory followed. Some of the clever men and poets that accompanied me worked the date of the victory into a verse, which they presented to me. Of all these memorial verses I have introduced (only) this one into my memoirs

“On Wednesday, the eight of Rabi’ the second (17th Dec. 1398).<sup>22</sup> The Emperor Sahib-Kiran took the city of Delhi” etc., etc.

I rewarded and honourably distinguished the literary men and poets who presented these verses to me.

I sent a party of men into the city to bring out the elephants which Sultan Mahmud had abandoned when he fled. They found 120 enormous elephants and several rhinoceroses, which they brought out to my court. As the elephants passed by me I was greatly amused to see the tricks which their drivers had taught them. Every elephant at the sign of the driver, bowed his head to the ground, made his obeisance, and uttered a cry. At the direction of their drivers they picked up any object from the ground with their trunks and placed it in their driver’s hands, or put it into their mouths and kept it. When I saw these mighty animals, so well trained and so obedient to weak man, I was greatly astonished, and I ordered that they should be sent to Turan and Iran, to Fars, and Azur, and Rum, so that the princes and nobles throughout my dominions might see these animals. Accordingly I sent five to Samarkand, two to

<sup>22</sup> This agrees with *Rauzat-u-s Safa*, translated by Price and followed by Elphinstone. Ferishta makes it a month later,—See Price Mahommedan History III., p. 262; Briggs’ Ferishta, I., p. 401.

Tabriz, one to Shiraz, five to Hirat, one to Sharwan, and one to Azurbaijan.

When Friday came, I sent Maulana Nasiru-d din 'Umar, with some other holy and learned men that accompanied my camp to the *Masjid-i jami*, with directions to say the prayers for the Sabbath, and to repeat the *khutba* of my reign in the metropolis of Dehli. Accordingly, the *khutba*, with my name, was repeated in the pulpits of the mosques in the city of Dehli, and I rewarded the preachers with costly robes and presents.

When the preparations for holding a court in Dehli were complete I gave orders for the princes, the *amirs*, the *nuyans*, and other of my officers, and the *saiyids*, the *ulama*, the *shaikhs*, and all the principal men of the city to attend my Court. When they had all arrived I entered and took my seat upon the throne. The Turk and Tajik musicians and singers began to play and sing. Wine (*sharab*) and sharbat, and sweetmeats, and all kinds of bread and meat were served; I bestowed rich robes and caps, and girdles, and swords, and daggers and horses, etc. etc. upon the princes, and *amirs* and other leading men of my army, especially upon those braves who had distinguished themselves by deeds of valour under my own observation. To some I gave regiments and raised their dignity. Upon the *saiyids* and *'ulama* of the city I bestowed robes and presents. I ordered my secretaries to draw up despatches announcing my victories in Hindusthan, and to circulate them with all speed throughout my dominions. And I ordered my revenue officers to make provision for collecting the ransom-money assessed upon the city, excepting the *saiwids*, *'ulama*, and *shaikhs*. The collectors proceeded about their work, and I remained in the same quarters for several days, holding courts, giving feasts and partaking of pleasure and enjoyment.

*Sack of the City of Dehli.*

ON the 16th of the month some incidents occurred which led to the sack of the city of Dehli and to the slaughter of many of the infidel inhabitants. One was this. A party of fierce Turk soldiers had assembled at one of the gates of the city to look about them and enjoy themselves, and some of them laid violent hands upon the goods of the inhabitants. When I heard of this violence, I sent some *amirs*, who were present in the city, to restrain the Turks. A party of soldiers accompanied these *amirs* into the city. Another reason was that some of the ladies of my harem expressed a wish to go into the city and see the palace of *Hazar-sutun* (thousand columns) which Malik Jauna built in the fort called Jahan-panah. I granted this request, and I sent a party of soldiers to escort the litters of the ladies. Another reason was that Jalal Islam and other *diwans* had gone into the city with a party of soldiers to collect the contribution laid upon the city. Another reason was that some thousand troopers with orders for grain, oil, sugar, and flour, had gone into the city to collect these supplies. Another reason was that it had come to my knowledge that great numbers of Hindu and *gabrs*, with their wives and children, and goods, and valuables, had come into the city from all the country round, and consequently I had sent some *amirs* with their regiments (*kushun*) into the city and directed them to pay no attention to the remonstrances of the inhabitants, but to seize and bring out these fugitives. For these several reasons a great number of fierce Turki soldiers were in the city. When the soldiers proceeded to apprehend the Hindus and *gabrs* who had fled to the city, many of them drew their swords and offered resistance. The flames of strife were thus lighted and spread through the whole city from Jahan-panah and Siri to Old Dehli, burning up all it reached. The savage Turks fell



to killing and plundering. The Hindus set fire to their houses with their own hands, burned their wives and children in them, and rushed into the fight and were killed. The Hindus and *gabrs* of the city showed much alacrity and boldness in fighting. The *amirs* who were in charge of the gates prevented any more soldiers from going into the place, but the flames of war had risen too high for this precaution to be of any avail in extinguishing them. On that day, Thursday, and all the night of Friday, nearly 15,000 Turks were engaged in slaying, plundering, and destroying. When morning broke on the Friday, all my army, no longer under control, went off to the city and thought of nothing but killing, plundering, and making prisoners. All that day the sack was general. The following day, Saturday, the 17th, all passed in the same way, and the spoil was so great that each man secured from fifty to a hundred prisoners, men, women and children. There was no man who took less than twenty. The other booty was immense in rubies, diamonds, garnets, pearls, and other gems; jewels of gold and silver; *ashrafis*, *tankas* of gold and silver of the celebrated 'Alai coinage; vessels of gold and silver; and brocades and silks of great value. Gold and silver ornaments of the Hindu women were obtained in such quantities as to exceed all account. Excepting the quarter of the *saiyids*, the *'ulama*, and the other Musulmans, the whole city was sacked. The pen of fate had written down this destiny for the people of this city. Although I was desirous of sparing them I could not succeed, for it was the will of God that this calamity should fall upon the city.

On the following day, Sunday, it was brought to my knowledge that a great number of infidel Hindus had assembled in the *Masjid-i jami'* of Old Dehli, carrying with them arms and provisions, and were preparing to defend themselves. Some of my people who had gone that way on business were wounded by them. I imme-



diately ordered Amir Shah Malik, and Ali Sultan Tawachi to take a party of men and proceed to clear the house of God from infidels and idolaters. They accordingly attacked these infidels and put them to death. Old Dehli then was plundered.

I ordered that all the artisans and clever mechanics, who were masters of their respective crafts, should be picked out from among the prisoners and set aside, and accordingly some thousands of craftsmen were selected to await my command. All these I distributed among the princes and *amirs*, who were present, or who were engaged officially in other parts of my dominions. I had determined to build a *Masjid-i jami* in Samarkand, the seat of my empire, which should be without a rival in any country; so I ordered that all builders and stonemasons should be set apart for my own especial service.

By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Dehli, by name Siri, Jahanpanah, and Old Dehli, had been plundered. The *khutba* of my sovereignty, which is an assurance of safety and protection, had been read in the city. It was therefore my earnest wish that no evil might happen to the people of the place. But it was ordained by God that the city should be ruined. He therefore inspired the infidel inhabitants with a spirit of resistance, so that they brought on themselves that fate which was inevitable.

When my mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Dehli, I took a ride round the cities. Siri is a round city (*shahr*). Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications (*kala'h*), built of stone and brick, and they are very strong. Old Dehli also has a similar strong fort, but it is larger than that of Siri. From the fort of Siri to that of Old Dehli, which is a considerable distance, there runs a strong wall, built of stone and cement. The part called Jahanpanah is situated in the midst of the inhabited city (*sahr-i abadan*). The fortifications of the three cities have thirty

gates. Jahan-panah has thirteen gates, seven on the south side bearing towards the east, and six on the north side bearing towards the west. Siri has seven gates, four towards the outside and three on the inside towards Jahan-panah. The fortifications of old Dehli have ten gates, some opening to the exterior and some towards the interior of the city. When I was tired of examining the city I went into the *Masjid-i jami*, where a congregation was assembled of *saiyids*, lawyers, *shaikhs*, and other of the principal Musulmans, with the inhabitants of their parts of the city, to whom they had been a protection and defence. I called them to my presence, consoled them, treated them with every respect, and bestowed upon them many presents and honours. I appointed an officer to protect their quarter of the city, and guard them against annoyance. Then I re-mounted and returned to my quarters.

*Campaign against the Infidels after the conquest of Dehli*  
 I had been at Dehli fifteen days, which time I had passed in pleasure and enjoyment, holding royal Courts and giving great feasts. I then reflected that I had come to Hindustan to war against infidels, and my enterprize had been so blessed that wherever I had gone I had been victorious. I had triumphed over my adversaries, I had put to death some lacs of infidels and idolaters, and I had stained my proselyting sword with the blood of the enemies of the faith. Now this crowning victory had been won, and I felt that I ought not to indulge in ease, but rather to exert myself in warring against the infidels of Hindustan.

Having made these reflections on the 22nd of Rabiul-akhir, I again drew my sword to wage a religious war. I started from Dehli and marched three *kos* to the fort of Firoz-abad, which stands upon the banks of the Jumna and is one of the edifices erected by Sultan Firoz Shah. There I halted and went in to examine the place. I

proceeded to the *Masjid-i-jami'*, where I said my prayers and offered up my praises and thanksgivings for the mercies of the Almighty. Afterwards I again mounted, and proceeded to pitch my camp near the palace of Jahan-numa. On this day Saiyid Shamsu-d din Turmuzi and Alau-d din, *naib-karkari*, whom I had sent on an embassy to Bahadur Nahir at the city of Kutila,<sup>23</sup> returned to my camp, and presented to me a letter which Bahadur had most respectfully written to me to the following effect: "I am one of the most insignificant servants of the great *amir*, and will proceed to his court to wait upon him". The ambassadors informed me that Bahadur Nahir would arrive at my court on Friday. Bahadur Nahir sent to me as a tribute two white parrots which could talk well and pleasantly. "The envoys presented them to me, and told me that these two parrots had belonged to Sultan Tughlik Shah, and that they had lived at the courts of the Sultans ever since. The sight of these parrots and the sound of their voices gave me great satisfaction, so I gave directions that they should be brought before me in their cages every day that I might listen to their talk.

Next day I crossed the Jumna and marched six *kos* to the village of Mudula. There I halted and encamped. On the following day, Friday, I again marched, and after going five or six *kos*, arrived at the village of Katah,<sup>24</sup> where I pitched my camp. Bahadur Nahir, with his eldest son, named Kalnash,<sup>25</sup> arrived to pay their respects, and I received them with due courtesy. They brought rare and suitable presents from Hindustan, but I looked upon the two parrots as the best of their gifts. After I had ascertained their sincerity from

<sup>23</sup> See note *infra*.

<sup>24</sup> Or, "Kanah".

<sup>25</sup> The different MSS. of the *Zafar-nama* have "Kal-tash", "Katash", and "Katlagh tash."



their words and actions, I honoured them with my royal favour and bounty, and having raised their dignity, I removed all doubt and apprehension from their minds. On the following day I marched, and, after going six *kos*, I arrived at the town of Baghpat, where I encamped. Next day, Sunday the 26th. I again moved, and after travelling five *kos*, arrived at the village of Asar, which is situated in a tract called *doab*

### *Capture of Mirat*

I now learned that there was in the vicinity a city called Mirat, having a very strong fort. The fortress was one of the strongest in Hindustan, and it was under the command of Ilyas Afghan and his son, Maula Ahmad Thaneswari. There was also a *gabr* named Safi, who, with a large body of *gabrs*, had gone into the fort to aid in its defence. They had also plenty of the munitions and implements of war. When I heard all this, I instantly sent Prince Rustam, Amir Taghi Bugha, Amir Shah Malik, and Amir Allah-dad against this fort of Mirat, with orders to grant terms to the place if the inhabitants showed due submission and obedience; but if not, to inform me and proceed to invest the place. These officers marched on the 26th of the month, and, arriving at Mirat, delivered my message, calling upon the inhabitants to capitulate, and to trust their lives, property, and honour to my protection. They replied that Tarmsharin Khan, with a host beyond all number and compute, had assailed their fort, but had retired from it baffled. My envoys reported to me the defiant answer of the inhabitants, and when I read the insolent reference they made to Tarmsharin Khan, who was a great king, my anger was roused, and I mounted my horse and gave orders for my forces to march against Mirat. On that same day, the 28th of the month, after mid-day prayer, I started with 10,000 picked horsemen. Halting one night



upon the road, I accomplished the distance of twenty *kos*, and arrived at Mirat on the 29th.

In the afternoon I ordered my officers to set the men of their divisions<sup>26</sup> to sap holes under the walls of the fortifications. In execution of this order they set to work, and in the course of one night each party had pushed their mine twelve yards forward under the defences. When the besieged discovered this they lost all nerve and were quite cast down and bewildered. At this time the devoted regiments (*kushun*) of Amir Allah-dad Kuchin assaulted the gate of the fort, rushing against it shouting their war-cry. Sarai Bahadur, son of Kalandar Bahadur, one of the followers (*naukar*) of Amir Allah-dad, was the first to bring up a scaling ladder, attach it to the walls, and mount to the summit. A number of brave men rallied to support him, and, with the aid of their ladders and ropes, they mounted the walls and entered the fort. They then spread themselves in the interior, and, fighting vigorously and bravely, Rustam Birlas at length encountered Ilyas Afghan and his son, Maulana Ahmad Thaneswari. He fought valiantly, and made them both prisoners; then, binding their hands to their necks, he brought them to my presence. Safi, who had fought well, was killed. The braves and soldiers of my army spread themselves over every part of the fortifications, and put all the *gabrs* and people of the place to death. Their wives and children were made prisoners, and all their property was plundered. When my mind was set at rest by this conquest of Mirat, I gave orders that the wood used as props to support the mines under the walls should be set on fire, and that all the towers and walls should be levelled with the ground. The houses of the *gabrs* were set on fire, and the great buildings were razed. Divine favour had thus enabled

<sup>26</sup> The word used is "*morchal*", which would imply that there was a special party or corps of sappers.

me to obtain an easy victory over Mirat, a place which Tarmsharin Khan, a prince of great dignity and power, had besieged with an enormous army and failed to capture. With a small force I had made a rapid march upon the place, and my brave fellows, by sheer courage and determination, had planted their ladders and scaled the walls in broad daylight, and had carried the place at the point of the sword. For this signal success I offered my devout thanks to the Almighty.

### *Battles on the Ganges*

On the 1st Jumada-l awwal I placed the left wing of the army under the command of Amir Jahan Shah, with orders to march up the Jumna, to take every fort and town and village he came to, and to put all the infidels of the country to the sword. The *amir* led off his army to execute my commands. I ordered Amir Shaik Nuru-din to take charge of the heavy baggage, and convey it to the banks of the river Kara-su.<sup>27</sup> I, myself, determined upon directing my arms against the infidels on the Ganges. I accordingly marched towards that river, which is fourteen *kos* from Mirat. Amir Sulaiman Shah, whom I had left with the baggage, came up according to order, and joined me on the march with his division. The first day I marched six *kos*, and halted for the night at the village of Mansura. Next day, the 2nd of the month, I arrived early in the morning at Piroz-pur, and then I proceeded for two or three *kos* along the bank of the river in search of a ford. At breakfast time I reached the place of transit, but found no ford. A party of my men entered the river on their horses and crossed by swimming. I also was about to guide my horse into the water to cross in the same way, when the *amirs* and *nuyans* cast themselves upon their knees, and represented that Prince Pir Muhammad and Amir Jahan Shah, with

<sup>27</sup> "Black-river", a translation of the Hindu *Kalini*.

the right wing of the army, had crossed the river near Piroz-pur, and that it was advisable for me not to cross over that day. I assented to their representation, and encamped on the bank of the river, but I ordered Amir Jahan Malik, and others belonging to the division of Prince Shah Rukh, to cross over and pass the night there. On the following day, the 3rd of the month, I marched up the river for a distance of fifteen *kos*, towards Tughlikpur, and that place was five *kos* distant, when I heard that a large body of infidel Hindus had collected at the fords of the river. I immediately ordered Mubashar Bahadur and Ali Sultan Tawachi to proceed with 5,000 horse to chastise these infidels, and I proceeded on my way to Tughlikpur. As I went on, the air and the wind affected me, and I felt a pain in my right arm, which every moment increased. It caused me much suffering, and sundry hot applications<sup>28</sup> were applied. I was now informed that there was a force of Hindus coming down the river in forty-eight boats with the intention of fighting. This intelligence acted as a cure for my pain, and eagerness for the fight made me forget my suffering. I mounted my horse, and taking with me 1,000 troopers, who were at hand, we struck our heels into the flanks of our horses and hastened to the side of the river. As soon as my braves saw the boats, some of them rode their horses into the river and swam to the vessels; then, seizing fast hold of the sides, they defeated all the efforts of the Hindus to shake them off. They forced their way into some of the boats, put the infidels to the sword, and threw their bodies into the river; thus sending them through water to the fires of hell. Some of my men dismounted, and proceeding to the ford, assailed the enemy with arrows. The occupants of the boats returned the arrows, but the vessels were at length wrested from their

<sup>28</sup> *Garm-daru*, explained as "hot spices, cloves, etc." Timur was probably suffering from rheumatism.



possession, and were brought with their contents to my presence. The enemy had lashed ten of their boats together with chains and strong ropes, and these vessels maintained the fight. My men plied them with arrows till they slew many of them; they then swam off, and boarding the boats, put every living soul to the sword, sending them through water to the fires of hell.<sup>29</sup>

When I was at leisure, after this affair with the boats, I, on the same day, marched on to Tughlikpur, and there encamped. I sent on Amir Allah-dad, Bayazid Kuchin, and Altun Bakhshi with a force as an advance-guard to cross the river and to obtain information for me of the whereabouts of the enemy. After their departure, when three watches of the night had passed, two horsemen came in from Allah-dad to report that the reconnoitring party had discovered a ford by which they had passed the river, and had found on the other side a large body of infidel Hindus, with a great amount of property and goods, under the command of a man named Mubarak Khan. Confident in their numbers, they were ready to fight. As soon as I learned this, I ordered my forces to be drawn out, and I mounted my horse and started off greatly incensed. Before morning broke I passed the Ganges with 1,000 horsemen fully equipped for service. After proceeding a *kos*, the time for morning prayer arrived, so I alighted from my horse in the plain, paid my devotions, and offered my praises. I then again mounted, in full assurance of the favour of the Almighty, and went on towards the enemy. Mubarak Khan was informed of my approach, and stood, with 10,000 fighting men, in battle array, prepared to fight.

### *Three great victories in one day*

ATTENDED by my escort, I was carefully examining and scrutinising the enemy, and the whole of my 1,000 horse-

<sup>29</sup> Timur was evidently proud of this savage jest.



men had not come up. The great bulk of the army was engaged in plundering expeditions at a distance. I had but 1,000 men, and the enemy numbered 10,000, still I put my trust in God and prayed to Him for victory. By a wonderful coincidence, just at this juncture, Saiyid Khwaja and Jahan Malik with 5,000 horse, whom I had sent on a plundering excursion, having made a sweep, came up in my rear just in the nick of time. If it had not been so I might here have said farewell, for I could hardly have escaped. I deemed their arrival a most fortunate omen, offered my thanks to God and faced the foe. I ordered Amir Allah-dad and Amir Shah Malik to make a charge upon the enemy with the thousand horsemen of my escort, and not to be dismayed by the numbers of their antagonists. When, in obedience to my command, they dashed forward, the enemy did not await their charge, but wavered and turned and fled. My brave fellows pursued and killed many of them, made their wives and children prisoners, plundered their property and goods, and secured a vast number of cows and buffalos. When, by the favour of God, I had secured this victory, I got off my horse and prostrated myself on the ground to pay my thanks.

While the soldiers were occupied in securing the spoil, I sat down to take a little rest, but some of the reconnoitring party came in with the information that there was a large number of Hindus assembled in the valley of Kutila,<sup>30</sup> on the side of the Ganges, having made that valley a place of refuge. I instantly mounted, and leaving the greater part (*tamami*) of my force to secure

<sup>30</sup> In the two MSS. of this work this name is written *Kūtila* and *Kuṭila* but the MSS. of the *Zafar-nama* generally have *Kupila*, which is an old name of Hardwar, and the description of the place *infra*, leaves no doubt of its being Hardwar. Petis de la Croix and Price also both have *Kupila*.

the spoil, I started off for the valley of Kutila with only five hundred horsemen. When I reached the place I found an immense number of *gabrs* assembled in the *darra*. Instantly I ordered Amir Shah Malik and Ali Sultan Tawachi to charge the enemy without paying the slightest heed to their numbers, although they were twenty to one. Spurring their horses, shouting their war-cry, and brandishing their swords, they fell upon the forces (*afwaj*) of the enemy like hungry lions upon a flock of sheep. At the first charge the ranks of the enemy were broken, and many of their men fell under the blows of the sword. God thus gave me victory with such a small band of followers over such a numerous host of the enemy. After many of them had been slain, those who escaped kept in the thickets and defiles (*darraha*), skulking like foxes and jackals. An immense booty was left, and my braves were busy in securing it. Only one hundred men remained with me as a guard, the other four hundred were engaged in collecting the plunder. At this conjuncture Malik Shaikha, commander of the infidels, with five hundred horse and a large force of foot, knitting their brows with hatred, advanced against me. I perceived this force coming to attack me, and my warlike spirit was roused, so, with the hundred men who supported me, I spurred on to meet the foe. When about the distance of a bow-shot remained between us, one of the horsemen, who was in advance of me, turned round and told me that it was a force belonging to Shaikh Kukar, one of my dependants and servants, who was coming to join my camp. These words, so far from the truth, reached my ears, and I was satisfied and turned back. But Malik Shaikha drew his sword, and came dashing on with his men against my followers, of whom several received wounds. When I ascertained the fact that these were foes, and not the people of Shaikh Kukar, I turned rein, and charging the enemy despatched many of them at the first attack. Malik Shaikha re-

ceived a spear thrust in his stomach, and a sword cut on the head. He fell from his horse and my men made him prisoner. They bound his hands to his neck, and brought him to my presence. Many of the *gabrs* were killed and wounded; a few escaped half dead (with fright). Malik Shaikha, a very large and powerful man, was brought before me, wounded as he was. The awe of my presence added to his wounds, took such an effect upon him that when I asked him a question, he surrendered his soul to the Lord of Hell before he could answer me. God thus granted me two great victories in one day, and I offered my thanksgivings for his favour.

Again I mounted my steed, and as I did so intelligence was brought to me that in the valley (*darra*) of Kutila, two *kos* distant, a large number of infidels and *gabrs* had collected with their wives and children, and with property, goods, and cattle beyond all estimate. The road thither was arduous, through jungles and thickets. When I heard this my first thought was that I had been awake since midnight, I had travelled a long distance without any halt, and had surmounted many difficulties. I had won two splendid victories with a few brave soldiers, and I was very tired, I would therefore stop and take rest. But then I remembered that I had drawn my sword, and had come to Hind with the resolution of waging a holy war against its infidels, and so long as it was possible to fight with them, rest was unlawful for me. Although I had only a few *amirs* and a few soldiers with me, I placed my trust in God, and determined to attack the enemy. Spurring my horse, I started, and when I had gone a little way, I remembered how three days before I had sent Prince Pir Muhammad and Amir Sulaiman Shah across the river from the village of Pirozpur, and I thought how opportune it would be if they were now to join me. But then I said how can they know that I have crossed the river, or how can they



conceive that I am engaged in this distant place<sup>31</sup> in action with the infidels. I was going along with my head bent down, engaged in these reflections, when suddenly a large body of men came in view in the distance, and every man had something to say about them. I sent forward some scouts to ascertain what force it was, and as they drew near they discovered that it was the division of Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir and Amir Sulaiman Shah. The scouts immediately proceeded to the prince and told him of the state of affairs, how I had already won two great victories that day, and that for the third time I was marching against a numerous body of *gabrs* collected at Kutila. The prince and his men had previously heard nothing of me, and now, on getting this timely information, they were very glad and turned to wait upon me. The scouts whom I had sent to reconnoitre returned, and told me that the prince with his division in martial array was coming up. They added that the prince knew nothing about me until they informed him of the enterprize I had in hand, and that he was now on the way to meet me. This information, so in accordance with my wishes, rejoiced me greatly. It was quite beyond my expectations, for I had no idea of the prince being near; so I was glad, and prostrated myself on the earth in thanks to God for having granted me what my heart desired. It was now the time of afternoon (*asr*) prayer, and it was the fourth of the month. The prince and Amir Sulaiman Shah came up with their numerous force, and were honoured with an interview. Pressing on with all haste I passed the jungles and thickets, and arrived in front of the infidels. After a slight resistance the enemy took to flight, but many of them fell under the swords of my soldiers. All the wives and children of the infidels were made prisoners, and their property and goods, gold, money and grain, horses,

<sup>31</sup> *kull zamin.*



camels (*shutur*), cows and buffalos in countless numbers, fell as spoil into the hands of my soldiers. Satisfied with this rout of the enemy, I said the afternoon prayers in public in that desert, and I returned thanks to God for that I had fought three times with enemies outnumbering my men by ten and twenty to one, and that in each battle I had gained a signal victory.

The day now drew to a close and night came on, but in that desert there was no place for me to alight and pitch my camp, so I turned back with my enormous booty, and encamped in the field where I had won the second victory. There I passed the night in repose.

At this place information was brought to me that fifteen *kos* off, up the river, and near the mountains, there was a place in which there was the image of a cow, carved out of stone, and that the river (*ab*) ran from its mouth. In the belief of the people of Hindustan the source of the river Ganges was in this same mountain. The Hindu infidels worship the Ganges, and once every year they come on pilgrimage to this place,<sup>32</sup> which they consider the source of the river, to bathe and to have their heads and beards shaved. They believe these acts to be the means of obtaining salvation and securing future reward. They dispense large sums in charity among those who wear the Brahmanical thread, and they throw money into the river. When infidels die in distant parts, their bodies are burned, and the ashes are brought to this river and are thrown into it. This they look upon as a means of sanctification. When I learned these facts, I resolved to war against the infidels of this place, so that I might obtain the merit of overthrowing them.

Information was also brought to me that all the men whom I had defeated in the valley of Kutila, before coming hither, had not been killed. The day having

<sup>32</sup> Hardwar.

drawn to a close, many had escaped and were hiding in the thickets and broken ground. Neither had all their property been plundered. So I resolved to go again next day to that valley, and to put all the surviving infidels to death. At dawn on the 5th Jumada-l awwal I said my morning prayer, and started with a suitable force for the valley of Kutila, which lies at the foot of a lofty mountain and on the banks of the Ganges. During the night all the *gabrs* who had been scattered reassembled under their chiefs, and as they had no place of refuge more secure, they resolved that if the Musulmans returned, they would fight till they died. So they were prepared for battle. When I approached the *darra* I made the following disposition of my forces for conquering the infidels. I placed my right wing under Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir and Amir Sulaiman Shah. The left wing I gave into the charge of several *amirs* of *tumans*. I gave the command of the advance to Amir Shah Malik, and I kept the centre under my own orders. Upon entering the valley the infidels at first, having drawn up their forces, put on a bold appearance and advanced to the attack. I restrained the braves of my advance-guard, and of the right and left wings, and having massed them together, charged the enemy, shouting aloud our war-cry until the hills and valleys resounded. The sounds of the kettle-drums and other warlike instruments fell upon the battle field, and at the first and second charge dismay seized upon the enemy, and they took to flight. My brave men displayed great courage and daring; they made their swords their banners, and exerted themselves in slaying the foe. They slaughtered many of the infidels, and pursued those who fled to the mountains. So many of them were killed that their blood ran down the mountains and the plain, and thus (nearly) all were sent to hell. The few who escaped, wounded, weary, and half-dead, sought refuge in the defiles of the hills. Their property and goods, which

exceeded all computation, and their countless cows and buffalos, fell as spoil into the hands of my victorious soldiers.

When I was satisfied with the destruction I had dealt out to the infidels, and the land was cleansed from the pollution of their existance, I turned back victorious and triumphant, laden with spoil. On that same day I crossed the Ganges, and said my mid-day prayers in the congregation, on the bank of that river. I prostrated myself in humble thanks to God, and afterwards again mounting my horse, marched five miles down the river and then encamped. It now occurred to my mind that I had marched as a conqueror from the river Sind to Dehli, the capital of the kings of India. I had put the infidels to the edge of the sword on both sides of my route, and had scoured the land; I had seized upon the throne of the kings of India; I had defeated Sultan Mahmud, the king of Dehli, and triumphed over him; I had crossed the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and I had sent many of the abominable infidels to hell, and had purified the land from their foul existence. I rendered thanks to Almighty God that I had accomplished my undertaking, and had waged against the infidels that holy war I had resolved upon: then I determined to turn my course towards Samarkand, my capital and paradise. On the 6th of the month I mounted and proceeded towards the heavy baggage, and having travelled several *kos*, I encamped, and sent some *yurutchis* (quarter-masters) to go and bring up the baggage.

### *Victories in the Siwalik hills*

On Tuesday I marched six *kos*, and the heavy baggage was now four *kos* distant. I now learned that an immense number of infidels had collected in the Siwalik hills. Upon inquiring into the nature of these hills, I was informed that the people of Hindustan compute this mountain region at one lac and the fourth part of a



lac.<sup>33</sup> It has narrow and strong valleys (*darra*), in which the infidels had assembled. When I received this information I immediately ordered the troops, with the baggage, to march towards the Siwalik hills, and I, myself, proceeded in that direction. Marching in the evening and into the night, I accomplished five *kos*, and then encamped in the hills. At this halt Prince Khalil Sultan and Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din, who had been with the baggage, and to whom I had issued my order, came up. When I was seated on my cushion of royalty, with all the princes and *amirs* around me, Amir Sulaiman Shah, Amir Shah Malik, Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din, and other *amirs*, rose from their places, and, coming forward, bowed their knees before me and said: "So long as we, your servants, are able to move hand and foot, we will execute your orders, but what necessity is there for our great *amir* to take all this toil and hardship upon himself, and that he should now order us to march against the infidels of the Siwalik, and to rout and destroy them?" I replied: "My principal object in coming to Hindustan, and in undergoing all this toil and hardship, has been to accomplish two things. The first was to war with the infidels, the enemies of the Muhammadan religion; and by this religious warfare to acquire some claim to reward in the life to come. The other was a worldly object; that the army of Islam might gain something by plundering the wealth and valuables of the infidels: plunder in war is as lawful as their mothers' milk to Musulmans who war for their faith, and the consuming of that which is lawful is a means of grace." When the *amirs* received this answer, they maintained silence. I now despatched some horsemen with all speed to Amir Jahan Shah, whom I had sent off a week before to plunder the forts and towns on the Jumna, ordering him to rejoin me with

<sup>33</sup> in *Kuhstan ra ahali Hindustan yak lak wa chaharum hissa lak hisab mikunand.*



all speed, that he and his men might also share in the merit of fighting against the infidels. The *amir* came in directly and joined me. Then, placing my trust in God, I mounted my charger, and, on the 10th of the month, marched towards the Siwalik hills.

In a valley (*darra*) of these hills there was a *rai* named Bahruz, the number of whose forces, and whose lofty, rugged, narrow, and strong position, made him superior to all the chiefs of the hills, and, indeed, of most of Hindustan. At the present time especially, he, having heard of my approach, had done his best to strengthen his position, and all the malignant *rais* of the country had gathered round him. Proud of the number of his men and soldiers, the height of his *darra* and abode, he stood firm, resolved upon fighting. On the other hand, I resolved upon attacking Bahruz and conquering the Siwalik hills.

### *Conquest of the Siwalik*

On the 10th Jumada-l awaal I mounted my horse and drew my sword, determined on fighting the infidels of the Siwalik. First I attended to the disposition of my forces. I gave the command of the right wing to Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir and Amir Sulaiman Shah; and I placed the left wing under Prince Sultan Husain and Amir Jahan Shah. I sent forward Shaikh Nuru-d din and Amir Shah Malik in command of the advance-guard of the centre. When my arrangements were complete, we marched; and on approaching the valley, I ordered the drums to be beaten, the instruments to be sounded, and the war-cry to be raised, until the hills and valleys echoed with their sounds. I proceeded to the mouth of the *darra*, where I alighted from my horse, and sent forward my *amirs* and soldiers. They all dismounted, and, girding up their loins, marched forward to the conflict, full of resolution and courage. The demon-like Hindus were lurking in places of ambush, and attacked my sol-

diers, but these retaliated with showers of arrows, and falling upon them with the sword forced their way into the valley. There they closed with them, and fighting most bravely they slaughtered the enemy with sword, knife, and dagger. So many fell that the blood ran down in streams. The infidel *gabrs* were dismayed at the sight, and took to flight. The holy warriors pursued them, and made heaps of slain. A few Hindus, in a wretched plight, wounded and half dead, escaped, and hid themselves in holes and caves. An immense spoil, beyond all compute, in money, goods and articles, cows and buffalos, fell into the hands of my soldiers. All the Hindu women and children in the valley were made prisoners. When I was fully satisfied with the defeat of the insolent infidels of the Siwalik, and with the victory I had gained, I returned triumphant, and encamped in the same place. This night I passed as a guest in the tents of Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir.

When morning came I ordered all the plunder that had fallen into the hands of my men to be collected, for I understood that some had obtained much and others little, and I had it all fairly divided. On that day, the 11th of the month, I marched and joined the heavy baggage. I encamped at the village of Bahrah, in the country of Miyapur. Next day I again marched, and accomplishing four *kos*, halted at the village of Shikk Sar. An enormous quantity of plunder, goods and articles, prisoners and cattle, was now collected together with the heavy baggage, and the people of the army were very heavily laden; consequently it was difficult to march more than four or five *kos* in a day. On the 13th I encamped at the village of Kandar.

On the following day, the 14th Jumada-l awwal, I crossed the river Jumna with the baggage, and encamped in another part of the Siwalik hills. Here I learned that in this part of the Siwalik there was a *rajah* of great rank and power, by name Ratan Sen. His valley (*darra*) was

more lofty and more narrow, and his forces more numerous than those of Raja Bahruz. The mountains around are exceedingly lofty, and the jungles and woods remarkably thick, so that access to the valley was impossible, except by cutting through the jungle. When I understood these facts about Ratan Sen, I felt my responsibilities as a warrior of the Faith, and I was unwilling that the night should pass in ease; so I issued a summons for the attendance of the *amirs* and other officers. When they were all present, I directed them to prepare their men for battle, and that they should carry hatchets and bills, etc., for clearing away the jungle. I directed some thousands of torches to be lighted, and the drums of departure to be sounded. So at night I mounted my horse, and when I reached the jungle, I ordered my warriors to cut away the jungle, and make a way through. They proceeded to execute my order, and all night long they were occupied in clearing a passage. I went on to the front, and as morning broke I had traversed twelve *kos* by the way that had been pierced through the jungle. When I emerged from the jungle, the dawn appeared, and I alighted from my horse and said my morning prayers. Then I again mounted, and on the morning of the 15th, I found myself between two mountains, one the Siwalik mountain, the other the Kuka mountain. This was the valley (*darra*), and it was exceedingly strong. The hills on both sides raised their heads to the clouds. In the front of this valley Raja Ratan Sen had drawn out his forces, as numerous as ants or locusts. There he had taken his stand, prepared for battle with an advance-guard, a right wing and left wing, in regular martial array.

As soon as my eye fell upon the dispositions of Raja Ratan Sen, I ordered my warriors to shout their battle-cry aloud, and the drums and other instruments to be sounded. The noise reverberated through the hills, and filled the hearts of the infidels with dismay and trem-



bling, so that they wavered. At this moment I ordered my forces to make one grand charge upon the infidels. At the first onset, the Hindus broke and fled, and my victorious soldiers pursued, slashing their<sup>4</sup> swords, killing many of the fugitives; and sending them to hell. Only a few of them escaped, wounded and dispirited, and hiding themselves like foxes in the woods, thus saved their lives. When the soldiers gave up killing the infidels, they secured great plunder in goods and valuables, prisoners and cattle. No one of them had less than one or two hundred cows, and ten or twenty slaves—the other plunder exceeded all calculation. On this day, Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir and Amir Sulaiman Shah, with the right wing of the army, and Prince Sultan Husain and Amir Jahan Shah, with the left wing, returned and joined me. By my orders they had parted from me, and had penetrated the valleys on my right and left. They had encountered and routed many infidels, and had slain great numbers of them, but they had not gained so much spoil (as my division). I was satisfied with the victory I had won over Ratan Sen and his forces, and all that he possessed had fallen into the hands of my soldiers. Day came to a close, and I encamped between the two mountains. The princes and *amirs* of the right and left wing, whose way had lain through other valleys, came in to me in the evening, which was the evening of Friday, the 16th<sup>34</sup>, and reported to me their engagements with the enemy, and the men who had distinguished themselves by feats of valour. After a night's rest, on the morning of Friday, I arose, and after saying my prayers I mounted and rode towards the valley of those two mountains, intent upon the conquest of the Siwalik hills.

<sup>34</sup> It must be borne in mind that the Muhammadan day begins at sunset.



*Capture of Nagarkot (Kangra)*

When I entered the valley on that side of the Siwalik, information was brought to me about the town (*shahr*) or Nagarkot, which is a large and important town of Hindustan, and situated in these mountains. The distance was thirty *kos*, but the road thither lay through jungles, and over lofty and rugged hills. Every *rai* and *raja* who dwelt in these hills had a large number of retainers. As soon as I learned these facts about Nagarkot and the country round, my whole heart was intent upon carrying the war against the infidel Hindus of that place, and upon subduing the territory. So I set spurs to my horse, and wended my way thither.

The left wing of my army, commanded by Amir Jahan Shah, had obtained no booty on the previous day, so I ordered his division to the front to battle with the infidels, and to capture spoil to compensate them for the deficiency of the previous day. I sent Sain Timur with a party of soldiers forward as an advance-guard, and then I followed. At breakfast time Sain Timur, the commander of the vanguard, sent to inform me that there was a very large force of infidels in front drawn up in order of battle. I instantly ordered Amir Jahan Shah, whom I had sent to the front with the forces of the left wing and the army of Khurasan, to attack the enemy. The *amir*, in obedience to my order, advanced and charged the enemy. At the very first charge the infidels were defeated and put to flight. The holy warriors, sword in hand, dashed among the fugitives, and made heaps of corpses. Great numbers were slain, and a vast booty in goods and valuables, and prisoners and cattle in countless numbers, fell into the hands of the victors, who returned triumphant and loaded with spoil.

A horseman belonging to the *kushun* of Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din and 'Ali Sultan Tawachi now came galloping in to inform me that upon my left there was

a valley in which an immense number of Hindus and *gubrs* had collected, and were crying out for battle. Vast herds of cattle and buffalos were grazing around them, in numbers beyond the reach of the imagination. As soon as I heard this, I proceeded to the place, and having said my mid-day prayers with the congregation on the way, I joined Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din, and I ordered him, with 'Ali Sultan Tawachi, to march with their forces against the enemy. In compliance with this order they went boldly forward, and by a rapid march came in sight of the infidels. Like a pack of hungry sharp-clawed wolves, they fell upon the flock of fox-like infidels, and dyed their swords and weapons in the blood of those wretches till streams of blood ran down the valley. I went to the front from the rear, and found the enemy flying on all sides, and my braves splashing their blood upon the ground. A party of the Hindus fled towards the mountain, and I taking a body of soldiers pursued them up that lofty mountain, and put them to the sword. After mounting to the summit I halted. Finding the spot verdant and the air pleasant, I sat myself down and watched the fighting and the valiant deeds my men were performing. I observed their conduct with my own eyes, and how they put the infidel Hindus to the sword. The soldiers engaged in collecting the booty, and cattle, and prisoners. This exceeded all calculation, and they returned victorious and triumphant. The princes and *amirs* and other officers came up the mountain to meet me, and to congratulate me on the victory. I had seen splendid deeds of valour, and I now promoted the performers and rewarded them with princely gifts. The enormous numbers of cows and buffalos that had been taken were brought forward, and I directed that those who had captured many should give a few to those soldiers who had got no share. Through this order, every man, small and great, strong and feeble, obtained a share of the spoil. I remained

till evening on the mountain, and after saying evening prayer I came down. I encamped in the valley where there were running streams. Several times when I encamped in these mountains great numbers of monkeys came into the camp from the jungles and woods, both by night and day, and laid their claws upon whatever they could find to eat, and carried it off before the faces of the men. At night they stole their little articles and curiosities.

Since the 14th Jumada-l awwal, when I entered the Siwalik hills, I had fought the enemy several times, I had gained victories and captured forts. From that time to the 17th Jumada-l akhir, one month and two days, I had been engaged in fighting, slaying, and plundering the miscreant Hindus of those hills, until I arrived at the fort of Jammu. I reckoned that during those thirty-two days I had twenty conflicts with the enemy, and gained as many victories. I captured seven strong celebrated forts belonging to the infidels, which were situated two or three *kos* distance apart, and were the jewels and beauties of that region. The people of these forts and countries had formerly paid the *jizya* (poll-tax) to the Sultan of Hindustan; but for a long time past they had grown strong, and casting off their allegiance to those sovereigns, they no longer paid the *jizya*, but indulged in all sorts of opposition.

One of these eight forts belonged to a chief named Shaikha, a relation of Malik Shaikh Kukar. The people of the fort made some Musulmans who were dwelling amongst them their meditators, and sent offers of submission and service. But I saw looks of deception and treachery in the faces of the people of the fort. When my ministers had settled the amount of the ransom money, and the officers proceeded to collect it, these bad people evaded payment. On being informed of this, I gave orders that all kinds of articles should be taken at a good price instead of money and specie (*jins*).



When this was understood, they brought forth all sorts of things and gave them over at a high valuation, so it came to pass that all the bows and arrows and swords that they possessed were surrendered instead of money. I now issued an order that forty of the Hindus of the fort should come out to serve Hindu Shah, my treasurer. Being of a disobedient rebellious spirit they resisted, paid no respect to my order, and even killed some of the Musulmans who were in the fort. Directly I heard this, I gave orders for the *amirs* with their respective forces to advance boldly against the fort. In execution of this order all my forces assembled *en masse* to storm the place. They assailed it on every side, and fixing their scaling-ladders they mounted the walls and penetrated to the interior. The men of the garrison having been guilty of conduct worthy of death, were killed. Two thousand thus perished and were sent to hell. The women and children were made prisoners, and the buildings were levelled with the ground. By the favour and grace of God my heart had thus been gratified with the overthrow of the vile infidels of the Siwalik. I had subdued their strongholds, and there remained no other contumacious *rai* or *raja* to conquer. I inquired of the people who were acquainted with this region if there were any more infidels in the vicinity against whom I could carry the scourge of holy warfare.

### *Conquest of Jammu*

In answer to my inquiry I was informed that the castle of Jammu was near, that it was connected with the Siwalik and Kuka mountains, and that the inhabitants were not submissive and obedient to the Sultans of Hindustan. These facts being made known to me, I on the 16th Jumada-1 akhir 802, marched from the village of Mansar determined to carry my arms against the infidels of Jammu. After marching six *kos* I encamped at the village of Baila, in the territory of Jammu. I sent



Amir Shaikh Muhammad, son of Amir Aiku-timur, and some other officers, at the head of a body of horse against the village of Baila. The people in that village confident in their numbers, in the density of the jungle, and in the altitude of the position, had placed themselves in ambush in many places along the borders of the jungle prepared to give battle and offer resistance. The *amirs* who had gone on in advance reported these facts to me, and asked for permission to attack and defeat the enemy. I returned answer that I myself was desirous of sharing in the merit of the holy fight, and, therefore, the battle must be deferred till the morrow until I should arrive. When my orders reached them they postponed operations for that day. On the next day, the 17th, I marched towards Baila. When the eyes of the enemy fell upon my royal banners, and the cries of my warriors sounded in their ears, they wavered and fled, seeking refuge in the dense jungles and thickets. I directed the *amirs* in the front to advance and seize the mouths of the jungle and woods so that the troops might enter the village of Baila and plunder it in security. No man was to enter the jungle and woods. The *amirs* carried out these orders and the soldiers obtained great quantities of grain, sugar and oil. After that they set fire to the houses and destroyed the buildings.

The same day I advanced four *kos* and then encamped. Uljah Timur Tunkatar, Fulad Bahadur, and Zainu-d din whom I had sent as ambassadors from Dehli to Shah Iskandar, king of Kashmir, now returned to me with the Shah's envoys, bearing a letter from him, I read the letter from beginning to end. It was couched in the most respectful terms, the king declaring himself to be my humble servant, and stating his intention to follow his letters and to be honoured by waiting upon me. The Shah's ambassadors bent the knee, and after offering their benedictions, informed me that their

master had come as far as the village of Jahan to meet me.

*Iskandar, King of Kashmir*

I was now informed that Mulla Nuru-d din, the ambassador of Shah Iskandar, who had been in attendance upon me, had returned without leave to his master at the village of Jabhan, to inform him that my ministers of finance had determined that when he should arrive at my court there should be demanded from him a contribution of 30,000 horses and a *lac* of silver *tankas* each *tanka* weighing two and a half *miskals*. Shah Iskandar, in order to provide for this payment, had returned from Jabhan to Kashmir. When I heard this I called for my financial officers and told them that they had put too heavy a burden on the neck of Shah Iskandar, that the tax and tribute to be demanded of every country ought to be in proportion to its income and cultivation, and that they had exhibited their own ignorance in making such a demand. I immediately reassured the ambassador of the Shah, gave him a robe and presents, and sent him with Mu'atamad Zainu-d din to his master with a message that he was not to consider himself bound by the demand made by my officers, but to trust in my royal favour and to return without fear. It was then the 17th of the month, and when twenty-eight days had passed, on the 15th of the month of Rajab, he must come to my camp upon the banks of the Indus.

At the foot of a mountain in the vicinity of my camp there was a flourishing village, and I sent a force to plunder it. When they reached it, the Hindus of the place who were numerous, assembled to resist, but on the approach of my men fear fell upon their hearts, and they set fire to their houses, and fled to the mountains. My victorious soldiers pursued them and slew many of them. A large booty in grain and property fell into our hands. There were two other large villages in the vicinity of this

village. These also were plundered and a large amount of spoil was secured. On this day Ra-timur was wounded.

On the 19th I again marched, and came up opposite to the city of Jammu, and there encamped, my royal tents and canopies being set up. The five or six *kos* which I traversed in this day's march was entirely through a cultivated country; nowhere did I see any dry (*khushk*) or waste (*khali*) land, and so in the place where I encamped there was no necessity for any man to go out into the fields in search of fodder for his horse or camel, for there was grain and grass enough between the tents to feed the animals. On the next day, the 20th, after resting for the night, I again moved with the intention of attacking the town of Jammu. I came into the valley where the source of the river of Jammu is situated, and there I pitched my tents; but I sent my army over the river to the foot of a mountain, on the left of the town, and to the village of Manu on the right. When my forces had secured these positions, the demon-spirited Hindus sent off their wives and children from their villages to the tops of the mountains, and they fortified themselves in their village. Their *raja*, with his warlike *gabrs* and athletic Hindus, took his post in the valley, where they howled like so many jackals. I commanded that not a soldier should go towards the mountain, or have anything to do with these *gabrs*, but that they should attack and plunder the town of Jammu and the village of Manu. Accordingly my forces fell to plundering, and secured an enormous booty in grain, goods of all kinds and cattle. I returned victorious to the baggage, where I entered my tents, and passed the night in pleasure and rest.

As soon as morning broke the drums sounded. I selected certain *kushuns* which I placed under the command of experienced veteran *amirs*, and I intrusted them to go and conceal themselves in the jungle, while I marched away with drums playing. The Hindus and



*gabrs*, who had fled to the hills in alarm at my approach, would then come down from the mountains in fancied security, and my troops in ambush might fall upon the infidels and cut them to pieces. In execution of this order the troops went and concealed themselves, and I mounting my horse crossed the river of Jammu, and marched four *kos*. All this distance was through arable land, and a green and fertile country. I encamped on the banks of the Chinawa<sup>35</sup> on a piece of cultivated ground, and set up my tents with all the baggage around. Some horsemen now arrived in haste from the *amirs*, whom I had left in ambush, to inform me that, after I had marched away, the Raja of Jammu and other devilish *gabrs* came down confidently from the tops of the hills. When they reached the plain the *amirs* rushed suddenly from their ambush upon the infidels, and killed a great number of them. A few of them, worn out and wounded, had escaped to the jungle and woods. The Raja of Jammu, who was ruler of the country, with fifty *Raos* and *Rajputs* had been made prisoners by Daulat Timur Tawachi Husain Malik Kuchin and others belonging to the *tuman* of Amir Shaikh Nurud-d din, and the whole force was coming up with the prisoners. I gave thanks to Almighty God that the enemies of the Muhammadan religion had been smitten down by the men of the faith, or had been made prisoners. The day before, proud of their numbers and confident in the density of the jungle and the altitude of the hills, they had raised their cries of defiance, and now, by the grace of God, they were prisoners in my hands. I immediately gave orders that the fifty prisoners should be put in bonds and chains. When my eyes fell upon the Raja of Jammu, who was wounded and a prisoner, fear took

<sup>35</sup> The Chinab. The spelling earlier was *Chinad*. It is now *Chinawa*, and the *Zafar-nama* favours this orthography.



possession of his heart, and he agreed to pay certain sums of money and to become a Musulman if I would spare his life. I instantly ordered him to be taught the creed, and he repeated it and became a Muhammadan. Among these infidels there is no greater crime and abomination than eating the flesh of a cow or killing a cow, but he ate the flesh in the company of Musulmans. When he had thus been received into the fold of the faithful, I ordered my surgeons to attend to his wounds, and I honoured him with a robe and royal favours.

On the 23rd Jumada-l akhir I remained stationary, and messengers arrived from Prince Pir Muhammad and Prince Rustam and Amir Jahan Shah, whom I had sent some days before with a force to Lahor. They brought me the information that the princes and *amirs* had arrived at Lahor upon the business on which I had sent them. Malik Shaikha Kokhar was brother of Nusrat Kokhar, who was formerly governor of Lahor on the part of Sultan Mahmud of Dehli. After I had defeated his brother Nusrat Shaikha Kokhar, he had been the first of all the *zamindars* and governors of Hindustan to wait upon me and make his submission. From my capture of the city of Dehli till my passage of the Junna he remained in attendance on me. In the middle of the Doab he asked permission to return home to Lahor. I had always perceived the signs of hypocrisy upon his countenance, and I knew well that he had submitted from necessity and was false in his professions. Still he was the first to yield, and I was very considerate for his subjects, and whenever any *zamindar* of that country represented himself to be a dependant of Shaikha Kokhar, I protected him from the assaults of my followers, and from pillage and plunder. When I gave him permission to leave he proceeded to Lahor, and there forgot his protestations of service and devotion, and the duties imposed upon him by my favour and kindness. He kept not the promises he made when he waited upon me, but

when a party of my followers, such as Maulana Abdullah, etc., passed through Lahor on their way from Samarkand to join me, he showed them no attention, and never asked them why are you come? Where do you come from? or where you are going to? The defection of Shaikh Kokhar had become clear to me, and I had sent the princes and *amirs* to take that ungrateful man prisoner, and to levy a ransom from the city of Lahor.

When I read the letters from the princes and *amirs*, I found that in execution of my orders they had gone to Lahor, and had fixed the amount of ransom to be levied from the inhabitants. They had found Shaikha Kokhar remiss and negligent in raising the contribution, and so in compliance with my order they had made him prisoner. They had collected the whole of the ransom and were coming up to join me. In reply to their report I wrote that as Shaikha had proved false to his engagement and had acted inimically, his country was to be plundered and he himself should be sent in chains to my presence. This order I sent off by the hands of messengers.

Next day the 24th of the month, I crossed the river China<sup>36</sup> and after a march of four or five *kos*, I encamped in a verdant plain. Some messengers now arrived from Prince Miran Shah in Azarbaijan (*reporting all was well*). On the 25th I again marched. There was a river in the way, which I crossed over and encamped. On this day some of the sick men (*za'ifan*) were drowned in crossing the river, so I directed that all my own horses and camels should be used for carrying the sick and feeble over. On that day all my camp crossed the river, and on the same day messengers arrived from Persia. . . . . I sent my treasurer Hindu Shah to Samarkand to announce my return home, and I also issued a notification

<sup>36</sup> Sic., but the Chinab is intended.

to the princes and *amirs* of the army, recounting how I had achieved great victories in Hindustan; how I had taken Delhi the capital of the Sultans, and other cities, towns and renowned fortresses; how by the grace of God I had overrun the country and the hills, and how my men had secured an immense booty in money and gold, jewels and stuffs, high-bred horses and elephants, and cattle in countless numbers. We had returned thus far, and I had sent off messengers to all parts of my dominions to announce my return home, so that the princes might come out to receive me as quickly as possible. I now thought it would have been better not to have sent the messengers, and that, having left the baggage behind, I should go on in advance. Accordingly, mounting my horse I crossed the river which lay in my route. On the 27th I travelled six *kos* and encamped on the edge of a jungle. The men of my advance-guard brought me information that there was a brake near at hand in which there was a large tiger. When I arrived there my daring fellows surrounded the brake on all sides, and Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din quickly sprang forward and attacked the beast with his sword and slew it. I loudly praised the prowess of that brave man.

When I returned from the hunt Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir, Prince Rustam, Amir Sulaiman, and Amir Jahan Shah returned from Lahor with much wealth and property and were received with all honour. The plunder which they had obtained at Lahore in money, goods, and horses they presented to me, and I divided and gave all the goods and effects among the *amirs* and councillors who were in attendance at the court. . . . .

#### *Timur holds a Court*

On the same day I ordered preparations to be made for holding a splendid court. . . After bestowing many rewards, robes and girdles, swords, and quivers upon the *amirs* and others, I ordered that the right and left wings



of the army should march towards home by certain prescribed routes. The *saiyids*, and *'Ulama*, and *zamindars*, and gentlemen, natives of Hindustan who had joined and accompanied my camp, all received presents and tasted of my royal bounty. I then issued orders for them all to return home. Khizr Khan, who was one of the principal men of Hindustan, had been made prisoner by Sarang, the governor of Multan, and kept in confinement. But he escaped from prison and took refuge with Ahodan, governor of Bayana, who was a Musulman and an honest man. When I was marching victorious through Hindustan, Khizr Khan hastened from Bayana to wait upon me, and I received him with honour and kindness and took him into my suite. I now appointed him governor of Multan (*and after bestowing the usual marks of honour*) I sent him thither.

#### *Hunting of the Rhinoceros etc.*

. . . . On Friday, the 26th of the month I again marched, and after accomplishing eight *kos*, arrived at the village of Jabhan, in the territories of Kashmir.

#### *Description of Kashmir*

At this stage I made inquiries about the country and city of Kashmir from men who were acquainted with it, and from them I learned that . . . . Kashmir is an incomparable country. . . . In the midst of that country there is a very large and populous city called Naghaz. The rulers of the country dwell there. The buildings of the city are very large and are all of wood, and they are four or five stories high. They are very strong and will stand for 500 or 700 years. A large river runs through the middle of this city, as large as the Tigris at Baghdad, and the city is built upon both sides of it. The source of this river is within the limits of Kashmir in a large lake, some *parasangs* in length and breadth, which is called Vir-nak. The inhabitants have cast bridges over the



river in nearly thirty places. These are constructed of wood, stone, or boats; seven of the largest are within the city, and the rest in the environs. When this river passes out of the confines of Kashmir, it is named after each city by which it passes; as the river of Dandana, the river of Jamd. The river passes on and joins the Chinab above Multan. The united waters pass below Multan and then join the Rawi. The river Biyah comes down through another part and joins them, and the three united rivers fall into the Sind or Indus in the neighbourhood of Uch. All these (united) rivers are called the Sind or the Panjab, and this river falls into the Persian Gulf near Thatta. . . . .

On the 29th Jumada-l akhir, I started from Jabhan and marched five *kos* and encamped on the banks of the Dandana. There I ordered a number of boats to be collected and a bridge to be formed. I ordered Amir Shah Malik and Jalalu-l Islam to take their post at the head of the bridge and carefully superintend the passage of the army. When all the soldiers and baggage had crossed in safety, I also passed over and encamped. Next day, the 1st Rajab, I placed the heavy baggage in charge of certain *amirs*, who were to follow in the rear. Then I started for the seat of my empire, intending to travel rapidly. That day I accomplished twenty *kos*, and rested at the village of Sambast, in the Jud mountains. On the 2nd I again started, and travelling one and a half watch of the day, I reached the vicinity of the fort of Baruja, where I halted for an hour, and after saying moonday prayers, I again started and entering the Chol-i Jalali, I continued my course until, at the time of evening prayer, I emerged from the desert, and encamped on the margin of a lake which had been filled by the rains of the rainy season. On the 3rd I again set off, and at breakfast time reached the banks of the Indus. I had sent orders to Pir Ali Salandoz, and other *amirs* who had charge of this territory, to construct a strong bridge of timber and

boats over the river. They had executed my orders, and I passed over the bridge immediately. I ordered Amir Allah-dad to guard the bridge for the transit of the forces and baggage which were coming up. I halted by the river till noon-day prayer, which I said in public; then I again started, and travelled ten *kos* more before halting for the night. On the 3rd I marched again, and travelling rapidly, I reached the fort of Banu, and there encamped. . . . .

## ZAFAR-NAMA

of

SHARAFU-D DIN, YAZDI

“The Book of Victory” by Maulana Sharafu-d din Ali Yazdi, who died A.D. 1446. This work, which Mirkhond declares to surpass everything that had up to his time enlightened the world in the department of history, is a very partial biography of Timur, written A.D. 1424. It is interspersed with fables, and is well known to the Orientalists of Europe by the accurate French translation of M. Petis de la Croix (*Histoire de Timur Bec*, Paris, 1722, 4 vols., 12mo.), which is one of Gibbon’s chief sources respecting this hero.

The translation of M. Petis de la Croix does not contain the second and third parts of the *Zafar-nama*, nor does it contain the supplement of the original written by Taju-d din Salmani, who continued the history to the time of Shah Rukh, A.D. 1410; and as the *Zafar-nama* does not commence till the twenty-fifth year of Timur’s age, the translation is by no means to be considered a complete biography, more especially as it is an abridged rather than a full version of the original. The French version was translated into English by J. Darby in 1723. There is also an Italian translation by Bradutti.

(As stated in the foregoing notice of the *Malfuzat-i Timuri*, the *Zafar-nama* is based upon that autobiography, and so far as the expedition to India is concerned, it is merely a polished reproduction of that work. This fact may be seen on a comparison of the following Extracts with those which precede this from the *Malfuzat-i Timuri*. So identical are they that the Extracts which follow might be dispensed with. But the

*Zafar-nama* enjoys such a high reputation, and has been so largely used and quoted as an authority by writers, both in the East and in Europe, that it cannot be passed over in a comprehensive work like the present.

(The translation has been made by the editor, and he has had the use of four MSS. belonging to the Library of the India Office. In one of these (No. 985), the work has been stripped of much of its florid and redundant ornament—in fact, it has been subjected to a treatment closely resembling that which Petis de la Croix found to be necessary in making his French translation. This abridged MS. does not appear to give any account of the writer by whom it was prepared, but the following extract of a letter to Sir H. Elliot from the late Professor Duncan Forbes in all probability refers to this same work. “Another curiosity (in the British Museum) connected with Timur is a very plain and sensible paraphrase of the *Zafar-nama*, done by command of Jahan-gir, by ‘Abdu-s Sattar Kasim in the city of Ajmir, A.H. 1024 (1617 A.D.). The doer of the thing says very sensibly in his introduction that Yazdi’s book is very flowery and pedantic, written in the *‘ibarat-i munshiyana*, which we may felicitously translate the Jedediah Cleishbotham style, which he, ‘Abdu-s Sattar aforesaid, improves marvellously by leaving out all Arabic and Persian verses that are not to the point, and enriching the narrative from other sources.” The editor has, in general followed this MS., but he has constantly referred to the other copies, and has occasionally introduced from them names and passages which seemed worthy of notice.)<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> A translation of part of the *Zafar-nama*, by Major Hollings, was published in the *Dehli Archæological Journal*, 1862, but I have not seen it.—ED.



## EXTRACTS

### *Cause of Timur's Invasion of Hindustan*

Timur, the invincible and world-conquering, had given to Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir the provinces of Kunduz, Bakalan, Kabul, Ghazni, and Kandahar, with all their dependencies as far as the confines of India. The prince accordingly took possession of these territories, and ruled with justice and liberality. Under the orders of the Emperor he collected the troops of his provinces, and marched forth to conquer other countries with a large army and valiant chiefs. . . . He plundered the Aghanis of the Koh-i Sulaiman, and crossing the river Indus he took the town of Uch by storm. From thence he marched to Multan and laid siege to it. Multan at that time was governed by Sarang, elder brother of Mallu Khan. After the death of Sultan Firoz Shah these two brothers raised his grandson Sultan Mahmud to the throne, and seized upon the government of Hindustan. Mallu remained at Dehli in attendance on the Sultan, and Sarang had taken possession of Multan. The prince's forces having invested Multan, they every day made two vigorous assaults. The intelligence of these proceedings being carried to Timur was the cause of his going to Hindustan. Just at that time he had resolved to assemble forces from all his dominions, and to march against China,<sup>38</sup> with the intent of destroying the idol temples, and of raising mosques in their places. He had previously heard that the standards of the faith of Islam had been raised in Dehli and other places, and that its profession of faith was impressed upon the coins, but that the country in general was polluted by the inhabitants being infidels and idolaters. Impelled by the desire of waging a religious war;

<sup>38</sup> "Khitai".

he resolved to march against Multan and Dehli. He consulted with his nobles and chiefs, and they concurred in the propriety of making the invasion.

In the month of Rajab, 800 H. (March 1398, A.D.) nearly corresponding to the year of the Leopard, he began his march towards Hindustan, with an army as numerous as the leave of the trees. . . . When he arrived at Indarab, the chiefs of that . . . When he arrived at Indarab, the chiefs of that country came and cast themselves at his feet, saying that they were Musulmans, and that the infidel Kators and Siyah-poshes exacted sums of money every year as tribute from them; and in default of payment, the infidels slew the men, and made their women and children prisoners, Their statements kindled the anger of the emperor, and he resolved to suppress these infidels. . . . He arrived at Khawak, and ordered the fort of that place, which was in ruins, to be repaired. The soldiers and many of the *amirs* left their horses there, and ascended the mountain of Kator on foot. . . The infidels of this country are tall, stout, and vigorous. They generally go about naked. Their chiefs are called 'Uda and 'Udashu.<sup>39</sup> They have a very peculiar language, different from Persian, Turki and Hindi. Most of them know no language but their own. If men of the neighbourhood had not mixed with them and learned their language so as to be able to interpret, no one would know anything about this language. . . . After three days' continuous fighting Timur's troops prevailed, and the enemy sued for quarter. Timur sent to them Ak Sultan, proposing that if they would surrender and become Musulmans, he would spare their lives and property, and confirm them in the possession of their country. When they were informed of these terms by means

<sup>39</sup> This name is very carefully written in two of the MSS, and they agree with the reading of Petis de la Croix.

of interpreters they, on the fourth day, hastened with Ak Sultan to the court of Timur, made their profession of the faith, and with tears offered excuses for their conduct. They declared themselves to be his slaves, and ready to obey his commands. Timur, in his kingly generosity, gave them robes and dismissed them. When night came on, these black-hearted renegades made an attack upon Amir Shah Malik. Some few of them, wounded and maimed, escaped, but 150 of them were taken prisoners, and were despatched to hell with the sword. The whole army of Islam then ascended the mountain and put all the men to the sword, and carried off the women and children. On the summit of the mountain pyramids were built with the heads of these infidels, who had never bowed their heads in adoration of God. An account of the victory was engraved upon stone, with the date of the month Ramazan 800 H., together with the date used in the locality. . . . .

### *Passage of the Indus*

Timur marched from Banu, and on the 8th Muharram he reached the banks of the Indus, at the place where Sultan Jalalu-d din Khwarizm Shah flying from Changiz Khan cast himself into the river and swam over. Changiz Khan did not pass the river, but halted there and then returned. Timur gave orders for the construction of a bridge over the river. The work was immediately commenced, and in the course of two days a safe bridge constructed of three-legged trestles (*sih-payah*) and boats was completed. . . . .

On Monday, 12th Muharram 801 H (24th Sept. 1398) crossed the river with his army and encamped on the borders of the Chol,<sup>40</sup> which is a large desert, called in books of history the Chol-i Jalali in consequence of

<sup>40</sup> One MS. says, "at the Jud mountain which is the Chol desert."



Sultan Jalalu-d din's escape thither. The *rais* and chiefs of the Jud mountain came respectfully to pay homage to Timur and make presents. Some time before this Amir Rustam Taghi Buka Birlas, under the orders of Timur had marched towards Multan. He passed near the mountain of Jud and remained there some days. The *rais* had then carefully attended upon him and had supplied him with provisions. This was the reason why Timur now treated them with such favour. They returned home happy and full of joy.

*Contest with Shahabu-din Mubarak Shah Tamini*

Shahabu-d din was ruler of an island<sup>41</sup> on the banks of the river Jamd. He was rich and had numerous followers and soldiers, by means of which he was distinguished above the *Rais* of Hind. When the Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir arrived in the vicinity of Multan he came in and paid homage. He was received among the adherents of the prince and was treated with great kindness. For some time he remained in attendance on the prince, but after a while he obtained leave of absence and returned to his government. He was deluded by the devil, and being puffed up with pride of the strength of his place and the river, he set himself in opposition. When the army had crossed and was encamped on the banks of the Jamd, this revolt was communicated to Timur. He then ordered Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din to march with his *tuman* against the island, and to exterminate the whole band of rebels. When the Amir arrived near the island, he found that Shahabu-d din had dug a deep ditch and had raised high walls as means of defence. There was a

<sup>41</sup> *Jazira*, lit., an island, probably formed by a bend or branch of the river, connected as the text describes with a lake. The *Tuzak-i Timuri* (supra) says it was "in the middle of the river;" but the words here used are "*bar kinar-i ab-i Jamd*."



large lake there, but the assailants plunged instantly into the water and kindled the flames of war. A fierce conflict followed which lasted till night, and the assailants then retired to take rest. During the night Shahabu-din fell upon the camp of the besiegers with 10,000 men and a great fight took place. Amir Shaikh Naru-d din met the attack with a determined resistance, and the assailants being disheartened by this vigour fell back dispirited. Some of them cast themselves into the water and with difficulty brought the ship of life to the shore of safety.

Timur then came up with his army and encamped near the island. Shahabu-d din by a prudent precaution had kept 200 boats ready for such an emergency. When he retreated beaten from his night attack upon the besiegers he embarked with his family and followers in the boats, and proceeded down the Jamd towards Uch. which is one of the towns of Hind. Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din, under the orders of the emperor, pursued them with his victorious forces along the banks of the river, and killed a good number of them. On this return Timur bestowed rewards and honours upon those who had fought so valiantly and had been wounded in repulsing the night attack. When Shahabu-d din came near Multan, the Prince Pir Muhammad and Amir Sulaiman Shah with their detachment opposed his progress and cut many of the fugitives to pieces. Shahabu-d din cast his wife and children into the river and with great difficulty brought them half-dead to land. Timur sent Shah Malik into the jungles in pursuit of the fugitives. He killed a great many of them and their allies, and returned laden with booty and with boats full of corn to the royal camp. The Emperor marched from thence, and in five or six days arrived on the banks of the Chinawa<sup>42</sup> (Chinab) where that river unites with the Jamd. He

<sup>42</sup> *jinareh*

encamped near the fort of Tulambi, and ordered a bridge to be thrown across the river. It was finished in three days.

### *Conquest of the Fort of Tulambi*

Timur passed over the bridge with his army and pitched his camp on the bank of the river near the town. The *maliks* and *rais* of the place with the *saiyids* and learned men came forth to wait upon the emperor. They paid their homage and were well received. On the 1st Safar 801 H. in the plain of Tulambi the officers and ministers being assembled a ransom of two *lacs* was demanded from the inhabitants of the city, but orders were given that the *saiyids* and learned Musulmans should be exempted from payment. The collectors busied themselves in the work of collection, but the whole was not realized, when a large division of the army arrived in great want of grain and provisions. The royal order was given that they were to take grain wherever they found it. With savage feelings the soldiers entered the town on the pretext of seeking for grain, and a great calamity fell upon it. They set fire to the houses and plundered whatever they could lay their hands on. The city was pillaged, and no houses escaped excepting those of the *saiyids* and learned Musulmans.

Timur was now informed that a party of the chiefs of Tulambi who had formerly submitted to Prince Pir Muhammad had broken out into revolt and open violence. This greatly incensed him, and he sent Shah Malik and Shaikh Muhammad Aiku-tamur with their *tumans* to chastise these revolters. These chiefs accordingly entered the jungles and killed about 2,000 of them. Then they returned laden with booty to the royal camp. On the 8th Safar the army again took to the march and pitched their camp near Jal, upon the Byah river, opposite the town of Shah-nawaz.

*March against Nusrat Kukari (Khokhar)*

While encamped on the river the emperor was informed that Nusrat Kukari, brother of Shaikha Kukari with 2,000 men had constructed a strong river fortress (*rud-khana-i' azim*) on the banks of the river and was there posted. Timur instantly marched against him with a strong force. The right wing he placed under the command of Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din and Amir Allah-dad; and the left under Amir Shah Malik and Amir Shaikh Muhammad Aiku-tamur. Ali Sultan Tawachi at the head of the infantry, marched with the centre in battle array. Nusrat Kukari with great presumption and ignorance had collected a force of 1,000 Indian warriors, and had drawn them up to meet Timur on the banks of a lake.<sup>43</sup> Ali Sultan Tawachi attacked them with his infantry of Khurasan, and after several assaults he overthrew them and put them to flight. Shaikh Nuru-d din and Allah-dad pursued the fugitives and slew many of them. He who bore the names of Nusrat (victory) could not save himself from this disaster, but went to hell with many of his followers. The soldiers secured great booty, and they set fire to the houses of the enemy. On the 10th Safar the army marched by a difficult road to Shah-nawaz through mud and dirt. This is a considerable village where large stores of grain were found. The men carried off all they could, and under the royal command set fire to what was left, so that it might not benefit the infidels. From thence the army marched to the river Biyah, and encamped opposite to the village of Janjan,<sup>44</sup> where the baggage was collected. Here an opportunity of crossing

<sup>43</sup> "*Bar kinar-i ab-i-kol*" One MS. has "Kunu". "*Kol*" means lake, but here it may possibly be the name of a river.

<sup>44</sup> Var. "*Manjan*".



was found, and Timur availing himself of this advantage, ordered his forces to cross the river.

*Arrival of Prince Pir Muhammad from Multan*

It has already been recorded how Prince Pir Muhammad had besieged Multan, and how his forces were assaulting the place twice daily. The contest had lasted six months. Provisions had become so scarce in the place that not a dog or a cat was left, and the inhabitants being compelled to abandon the place, the prince had obtained possession of the country. He immediately sent a despatch of this victory to the royal camp. At this time heavy rains came on and lasted for several days, it being the season which in Hindustan is called the *Barsh-kal*. This caused a great mortality among the men and horses of the prince, and so he entered the city with all his forces. The chiefs and rulers of this country of Hind who had made their submission, now conceived ideas of throwing off the yoke. They killed the governors of several places, and the soldiers being dismounted were unable to move against them. This gave the prince great annoyance and he was a prey to constant anxiety, when the news of the emperor's approach struck dismay into the hearts of the enemy.

The prince being thus delivered from his difficulty proceeded with his officers and followers to the royal camp. On the 14th Safar he reached the camp on the banks of the Biyah, when the emperor received him honourably and affectionately. . . . On the 15th Safar the emperor crossed the Biyah, and encamped under the fort of Janjan. There he remained four days. During these days all the men of the army crossed, some in boats and some by swimming, and not one individual was lost.

. . . As the soldiers of the prince had lost their horses in the rainy season, and through the hardships of the campaign had been reduced to ride on bullocks and to walk, the emperor presented them with thirty thousand



horses. The royal army then marched from Janjan to Sahwal; on the 21st it proceeded to Aswan, where it rested one day, and then marched to Jahwal.

The chiefs of Dibalpur had previously made their submission to Prince Pir Muhummad, who sent Musafir Kabuli, with a thousand men, to act as governor of the place. When the army of the prince was reduced by the effects of the rainy season, the men of that place, combining with the soldiers of Firoz Shah, put Musafir and his thousand men to death. Upon the intelligence of the emperor's progress to Multan and Dehli reaching this neighbourhood, all men from the highest to the lowest were in the greatest consternation. Fearing for their lives they abandoned all else, and fled to the fort of Bhatnir. At Jahwal the emperor left Amir Shah Malik and Daulat Timur Tawachi with the baggage, with orders to proceed by way of Dibalpur, and to join him at Samana, near Dehli. He set off with 10,000 men, and by forced marches hastened to Ajodhan, which he reached early in the morning of the 24th Safar. Previous to this Shaikh Munawwar and Shaikh Sa'd, both men of evil character, had seduced the people of this place from their allegiance, and had incited them to leave their country. Some of them went off with Shaikh Sa'd to Bhatnir, and others accompanied Shaikh Munawwar to Dehli. But the Saiyids and learned Musulmans of the place had heard of the kindness of Timur, and resolved to remain patiently at home, and await the course of events. As soon as they were informed of his arrival they went to wait upon him, and were received with great favour. Timur appointed Maulana Nasiru-d din 'Umar and Muhammad, son of Khwaja Muhammad Shahab, to be governors of the town, and enjoined them not to allow the *saiyids* and learned Muhammadans to be hurt by the people of the army.

*Capture of the city walls (shahr-band)<sup>45</sup> and  
the fort of Bhatnir.*

*Extermination of the inhabitants of that place*

The fort of Bhatnir was extremely strong, and was celebrated as one of the strongest in Hind. It is situated far out of the road on the right hand, and it is surrounded by the desert of Chol. For fifty or a hundred *kos* round there is no water. The inhabitants obtain their water from a large lake at the gate of the city which is filled in the rainy season. No foreign army had ever penetrated thither, nor had any sovereign of India ever led his forces to that place. So the inhabitants of Dibalpur, Ajodhan, and other places fled thither for refuge from the invading army. A very large number of people thus assembled there, so much so that the city would not contain them, and carts and vehicles with large quantities of goods and furniture had been left outside in the vicinity of the fort. On the 25th Safar, Timur reached Ajodhan, and paid a visit to the shrine of Shaikh Farid Shakar-ganj. From thence he started for Bhatnir, and crossing the river,<sup>46</sup> he arrived at Khalis-

<sup>45</sup> Petis de la Croix took this to be a proper name, and translated it "the city of Band."

<sup>46</sup> The French version says, he "crossed the river of Dena", and there is sufficient warrant for this in the MSS., no two of which agree. The true reading appears to be "*az rud guzashta*," "he crossed the river"; but the word *rud* (river) is written also "*rudad and rudu*". Two of the MSS., and both those of the *Malfuzat-i Timuri*, insert the negative, and say *az rud nah guzashta*, "did not cross the river," which was evidently the reading of Petis de la Croix's MS., but this is manifestly wrong, as the Gharra runs between Ajodhan and Kotali. Chapman, in his translation of the *Malfuzat* (supra), read, "*az Rudanah guzashta*" and translated it, "passing by Rudanah;" but this may be read "*az rud nah guzashta*," "not crossing the river" though, as above observed, the negative is certainly wrong.

kotali, two *kos* from Ajodhan, and fifty from Bhatnir. Three *kos* is equal to one legal *farsakh* or *parasang*.

Timur said his mid-day prayers at Khalis-kotali, and then mounting he travelled the remainder of the day and the whole of the night without resting, thus accomplishing this long distance in one march. On the next day, at breakfast time, he was within sight of Bhatnir. The drums were beaten and the shouts of the warriors rent the air. All that was outside of the city was plundered. The prince of that country and city was called Rao Dul Chand,<sup>47</sup> *Rao* being a Hindi word meaning brave (*bahadur*). He had a large number of soldiers, and the whole neighbourhood was under his command. He used to levy tolls from travellers, nor could merchants and caravans escape from his exactions. When Timur approached the city the *Rao*, confident in the strength of his fortress and the number of his followers would not submit. The army was at once brought up, and fiercely attacked the city both on the right and on the left. At the first assault the walls of the city were taken and many Hindus were slain. Great booty fell into the hands of the soldiers. The officers leading on their men with axes and pikes advanced to attack the fort. Rao Dul Chand, with his brave Indian warriors, drew up ready for combat at the gate of the fort. Amir Sulaiman and other intrepid officers of the *tuman* of Shah Rukh went forward sword in hand and fought most valiantly. The fort was on the point of being taken when fear and despair fell upon the heart of Dul Chand, and he sent out a *saiyid* to beg an armistice for that day, promising to come out on the day following and make his submission to Timur. The emperor, relying on the promise brought by the *saiyid*, a descendant of the Prophet, granted the demand. He withdrew his men from the walls, put a stop to the fighting, and went out to his

<sup>47</sup> "Chan" in the text.



tents. When the next day came Rao Dul Chand failed to keep his promise, and orders were given that each *amir* should sap the wall in front of his position. They set diligently about the work, and bravely persevered, although fire and stones, and darts and arrows were rained down upon them from the top of the walls. When Rao Dul Chand and the chiefs of his party beheld these proceedings they were filled with dismay. They came to the tops of the bastions, and with cries and lamentations called aloud for mercy. They acknowledged their fault and admitted they had done wrong in not submitting to the emperor, but they begged his forgiveness. He was graciously pleased to grant their petition. On the same day the *Rao* sent out his son and his deputy with splendid presents and valuable offerings. Timur gave the young man a robe of value, a sword-belt, etc., and sent him back to his father. Next day Rao Dul Chand, being encouraged by this kindness and generosity of Timur, came out of the fort accompanied by Shaikh Sa'du-d din Ajodhani, on the 28th Safar, and throwing himself upon the ground before the royal tent, he presented several fine animals and three Arab horses with golden saddles. Timur graciously accepted these presents, and in return gave him gold-embroidered robes, etc. A large body of people from many parts of India, especially from Dibalpur and Ajodhan, had taken refuge there from the arms of the conqueror, so Amir Sulaiman Shah and Amir Allad-dad were careful to guard the gate. On the next day they brought out to the royal camp the strangers who had taken refuge in the town. Five hundred men belonging to Dibalpur, who had taken part in the murder of Musafir Kabuli and of a thousand other servants of Prince Pir Muhammad, were put to death in retaliation. Their wives and children were made slaves. Several men of Ajodhan also had deserted the standards of Timur, and had fled for security to Bhatnir. Some of



these were brought to punishment, others were made prisoners, and their property was plundered.

Kamalu-d din<sup>48</sup> brother of Rao Dul Chand, and his son, when they saw Timur's severity towards the guilty, being filled with terror; lost their judgment. On the 1st Rabi-u-l awwal, although Dul Chand was in Timur's camp, they closed the gates of the city, and opened the gates of sorrow and trouble for themselves. The wrath of Timur was kindled; he ordered his soldiers to again invest the place, and to carry on their mining and scaling operations. The men set zealously about the work, and the besieged soon perceived that there was no hope for them, and that it was useless to struggle against their fate. The brother and son of the *Rao* went forth humbly from the town, and hastened to cast themselves upon the earth before Timur, and implore his mercy. They gave up the keys of the town to the servants of the emperor. On the 2nd of the month Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din and Amir Allah-dad went into the city to receive the ransom money, but the evil-minded *rais* resisted payment of the tribute. There were in the city many *gabrs* and bad men who set themselves in opposition and made open resistance. When Timur heard of this he issued a stringent order for his men to attack the fort, and put the occupants to the sword. The soldiers accordingly scaled the place by means of ladders and ropes. The *gabrs* set fire to the place, and cast their wives and children into the fire and consumed them. A party of them who called themselves Musulmans, cut off the heads of their wives and children like so many sheep. The two parties then joined and prepared for a desperate resistance. They were very numerous, and very resolute and savage. According to command the soldiers entered the city, and shouting their war cry fell upon the defenders. A desperate conflict ensued, and many of the assailants

<sup>48</sup> All the MSS. agree in this Muhammadan name.

were slain and many wounded. Amir Shaikh Nuru-din had entered the city on foot, sword in hand, to fight with the infidels. He was surrounded by a number of infidels and was in imminent danger, when Auzan Mazid Baghdadi and Firoz Sistani rushed to the rescue, and despatching several of the infidels they rescued him from his peril. Victory at length favoured our arms. Ten thousand of the infidels were slain, the houses were set on fire, and the whole place was destroyed. Nothing was left but a few heaps of ashes. The gold and silver, and horses and spoil of every sort that fell into the hands of the captors was by order of Timur divided among the soldiers. He solaced the wounded by his royal munificence, and he showed great favour and liberality to Auzan Mazid and Firoz, who had rescued Amir Nuru-din at the risk of their own lives.

*March of Timur against other cities of India, and suppression of the Jats*

After the destruction of the town of Bhatnir the air was polluted by the putrefying bodies of the slain, so on the 4th of the month Timur ordered his army to march against other places of India. Having advanced fourteen *kos*, it reached a place called Kinara-i-hauz (brink of the reservoir), and there encamped. On the 5th it again marched and came to the fort of Firozah, from whence it proceeded on the same day to the town of Sarsuti. The inhabitants of this town were for the most part infidels, and kept pigs, whose flesh they ate. On hearing of the approach of Timur they took to flight. A detachment was sent in pursuit, which overtook them and put many of them to the sword, and plundered the property which they had carried off. The detachment returned safe to camp with its plunder, all except Adil Farrash who was killed in the fight. Timur rested one day at Sarsuti and on the following day marched eighteen *kos* to Fathabad where he encamped. The inhabitants of this

place had also abandoned their homes and fled towards the desert. They were pursued by a party of our men who overtook them, killed many of them, and plundered their goods. On the 7th of the month Timur marched by the fort of Rajab-nur and came to the fort of Ahruni where he pitched his camp. This place did not contain any men of sufficient sense and intelligence to come out and secure protection by making their submission, so, some of the inhabitants were killed and others were made prisoners. The soldiers set fire to the fort, plundered the houses, and carried off the grain. Not a house was left standing.

On the following day the army marched into the desert to a village called Tohana. A body of the people called *Jats* had made themselves masters of this neighbourhood and for a long time had committed depredations on the roads. They had cast aside all the restraints of religion, plundering the caravans and merchants with violence and murder. When they heard of the advance of Timur's victorious host to Hindustan, they fled into the deserts and into jungles filled with sugar-canes (*nai-shakar*). Orders were issued for pursuing them, and Amir Tokal Hindu Karkarra<sup>49</sup> and Maulana Nasiru-d din were sent in command of the detachment. They penetrated the jungles and killed 200 of them, and having taken many prisoners they returned with the cattle and other spoil to the royal camp.

#### *March against the Jat robbers*

One of Timur's chief objects was to break up the bands of robbers and to make the roads secure. On the 9th of the month he left Tohana, and he sent on Amir Sulaiman Shah with the baggage and with the plunder that had been collected towards Samana. On the same day he himself passed the fort of Mung towards Samana

<sup>49</sup> The *Tuzak-i Timuri* say "Amir Tokal son of Hindu Karkarra," see *supra*.



and encamped. From this place he made a rapid march against the retreats of the Jats in the deserts and jungles; and falling upon these wild demon-like men he put 2,000 of them to the sword, their wives and children he took captive, and their cattle and effects he plundered. He thus delivered the country from the fear of these robbers which had so long oppressed it.

In that neighbourhood there was a party of distinguished *saiyids* who had taken up their abode in a certain village and sustained the honour of their religion. They came full of hope and confidence to wait on Timur who received them kindly and bestowing on them his princely bounty, he gave them a governor to protect them from the violence of soldiers.

On the 10th Rabi'ul awwal Amir Sulaiman marched with the baggage from the vicinity of Mung to the neighbourhood of Samana. He halted for the night and on the 11th reached the river Khagar. Timur who had made a forced march against the *Jats* rejoined the army on the banks of the Khagar which is near Samana. He rested there four days awaiting the arrival of the heavy baggage. On the 15th he marched from thence and halted at the bridge (*ful*) of Kubila.<sup>50</sup> Here he was joined by the princes and nobles of the left wing of his army whom he had sent by another route through the valley (*murgh-zar*) of Kabul by the ordinary road to India. Whenever in their march they came to a hostile town or fort they subdued and plundered it. They now rejoined the imperial standard. On the 16th Timur marched, and crossed the bridge of Kubila. The heavy baggage and the remainder of the army coming up from Dibalpur under Shah Malik, here joined the main army. On the 17th Timur halted, but on the 18th he marched from the bridge of Kubila, and having march-

<sup>50</sup> Var. "Kupila," "Kawila." The *Malfuzat* (*supra*) says, "Kutila". Price and Petis de la Croix have Kubila. though in the latter it is somewhat disguised as "Foul-couple".



ed five *kos*, arrived at the bridge of Yararan<sup>51</sup> where he rested. On the 19th he marched to the town of Kaital. The distance between Kaital and Samana is seventeen *kos*, i.e., five legal *farsakhs* and two miles<sup>52</sup>.

### *Array and March of the Army*

When the princes and *amirs* of the army who had under the imperial command marched by different routes, had all joined the imperial standards, every officer of the right and left wing was ordered to his own post. The Princes Pir Muhammad, Rustam, and Sulaiman Shah with several *amirs*, were placed over the right. Sultan Mahmud Khan, the Princes Khalil Sultan, and Sultan Husain with *amirs* were in command of the left. In the centre were the *tumans* of Allah-dad, of 'Ali Sultan Tawachi, and of other *amirs*. A march of six standard *farsakhs* and two miles towards Dehli was made. On the 22nd they arrived at the fort of Asandi, seven *kos* from Kaital. The inhabitants of Samana, Kaital, and Asandi who were mostly fire-worshippers, burned their houses and fled to Dehli, so that none of them were met with. On the 23rd they marched from Asandi and arrived at the fort of Tughlikpur, six *kos* distant. The infidels of this place belonged to the religion of the Magi (*sanawiya*) whose eyes had never been enlightened with the rays of the true religion. In the belief of these people there are two gods, one called Yazdan the other Ahriman whom they typify by light and darkness. They suppose all good to proceed from the one and all evil from the other. The people of this place who were also called *Salun*, had left it empty and fled. The soldiers set fire to the place and reduced it to ashes.

On the 24th the army arrived at the town of

<sup>51</sup> "*Ful yakran*" or "*ful bakran*".

<sup>52</sup> This stage is not mentioned in the *Malfuzat*, neither is it noticed in the revised MS., No. 985.

Panipat, a distance of twelve *kos* from Tughlikpur. The inhabitants of this place also had taken flight and not a soul was found there. In the fort there was a store of wheat more than 10,000 heavy *mans* in weight or 160,000 of the legal or standard *man*. This was given to the soldiers. On the 25th Timur marched six *kos* from that place and encamped on the river of Panipat. On the 26th the *amirs* put on their armour ready for battle. On the 27th the order was given for the generals of the right wing to proceed to Jahan-numai, a building erected by Firoz Shah on a hill two *farsakhs* from Dehli. The river Jumna runs at the foot of this hill. They accordingly ravaged the country from the village of Kanhi-gazin to Jahan-numai. The people were killed or made prisoners and great booty was carried off to the camp.

On the 29th Timur passed the Jumna near the village of Palla and marched towards the fort of Loni which is in a great pasture country. This fort is situated in the *doab* between the rivers Jumna and Halin. The latter is a large canal which Sultan Shah brought from the river Kalini, and it joins the river Jumna near Firozabad. Amir Jahan Shah, Amir Shah Malik and Amir Allah-dad under Timur's orders, advanced to the foot of the hill of Jahan-numa. Maimun Maishum the commandant of the fort, unmindful of Timur's strength, would not capitulate, but prepared to offer resistance. As soon as Timur approached, a wise and venerable old man came out and surrendered, but the other inhabitants who were *gabrs* and servants of Mallu Khan in their folly and presumption resolved to defend the place. The soldiers were immediately ordered to invest the fort and to take it by mining the walls. They accordingly commenced sapping in various places, and towards evening they took it. The *gabrs* had previously set fire to their houses in the fort and had burnt them with their wives and children. Timur remained outside of the fort that

night. On the last day of Rabi'ul-awwal he gave orders that such of the servants of Naukar Khan and of the inhabitants of the place as were Muhammadans should be set aside, and that all the rest, *gabrs* and infidels, should be passed under the sword of Islam. All the inhabitants of the place were plundered except the *saiyids* who had been glorified with the light of the faith. The fort was burnt and laid waste.

On the 1st Rabi'u-l akhir, Timur mounted his horse and leaving the fort of Loni he went forth to reconnoitre. He proceeded to the river Jumna near Jahan-numai, and carefully examined the fords. He then returned to the camp, and as Dehli was near he held a council with the princes and nobles as to the manner of besieging it. The decision arrived at was that plenty of grain and fodder should first be provided for the supply of the army and that then the siege should be entered upon. In pursuance of this plan Amir Sulaiman Shah, Amir Jahan Shah, and others were sent out to plunder the environs of Dehli and bring in corn. On the following day he determined to pay a visit to the palace of Jahan-numai. He set out with 700 men clad in armour, and passing the river Jumna he carefully examined the palace. Firoz Shah had given to the place the name of Jahan-numai by inspiration as it was to become illustrious by the visit of the Sovereign of the world.

After inspecting the place he looked around to discover the ground most suitable for a battle-field. 'Ali Sultan Tawachi and Junaid Bur-uldai who had marched with the advance-guard now returned; the former brought in Muhammad Salaf, and the latter another person as prisoners. After questioning them Muhammad Salaf was put to death. At this juncture Mallu Khan was descried with 4,000 horse, 5,000 infantry, and twenty-seven elephants issuing from the groves near the city. They drew near, and Timur passed over the river to his camp. The advance guard of the army, 300 men,



under the command of Saiyid Khwaja and Mubashar met and attacked them, leading them to the side of the river where a warm conflict took place. Timur ordered Sunjak Bahadur and Allah-dad to support Saiyid Khwaja. They crossed the river with the utmost celerity, and joining their comrades they attacked the enemy with showers of arrows. When the enemy saw the boldness and vigour of their assailants, they could not hold their ground, but broke and fled at the first charge. Saiyid Khwaja pursued and killed many of them. In the flight a war elephant fell down and died; an incident from which wise men drew an augury of victory.

*March to the east of Loni—Massacre of Hindu Prisoners*

On the 3rd Rabi' u-s sani Timur marched from Jahan-numai, and pitched his camp to the eastward of Loni. All the princes and *amirs* who had been engaged in different expeditions assembled here under the royal banner (and Timur harangued them on the operations of war).

On the same day Amir Jahan Shah and other *amirs* represented to Timur that from the time he crossed the Indus a hundred thousand Hindu prisoners, more or less, had been taken, and that these *gabrs* and idol-worshipers were kept in the camp. It was to be feared that in the day of battle with the forces of Dehli they might join the enemy. This opinion was confirmed by the joy which the prisoners had exhibited when Mallu Khan marched against the imperial forces at Jahan-numai. Timur considered the point, and deeming the advice of his officers to be wise, he gave orders for all the Hindu prisoners to be put to death. Every one who neglected to comply with this command was to be executed, and his wives, children, and goods were to become the property of the informer. In pursuance of this order 100,000 infidel Hindus were put to the sword. Maulana Nasiru-d din a most distinguished ecclesiastic, had fifteen



Hindus in his train, and he who had never caused a sheep to be slaughtered was obliged to have these fifteen Hindus killed. Timur also issued an order that one man out of every ten should be left in camp to guard the wives and children of the prisoners, and the captured cattle.

On the same day Timur resolved upon marching to Dehli, and setting off after mid-day prayer he encamped on the banks of the Jumna. The astrologers and sooth-sayers disputed with each other as to whether the stars and presages were favourable. Timur placed no reliance on their predictions, but put his trust in God, without whose pleasure nothing happens. Next morning, after prayers, he took the holy book and opened it for a *fal*. The verse which came out was favourable to his enterprise. Trusting in this omen he crossed the river Jumna, and encamped on the other side on the 5th Rabi'u-s sani. The soldiers by way of precaution intrenched their camp, which was near a little hill called Pushta-bihali, and they fenced it in with branches of trees and palisades. In front of the ditch they fastened buffalos together by their feet and necks, and inside the fence they raised pent-houses (*khamha*).

#### *Battle with the Sultan of Hindustan*

On the 7th Rabi'u-s sani Timur settled the array of his army. Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir, Amir Yadgar Birlas, and others were placed over the right wing. Prince Sultan Husain, Prince Khalil Sultan, Amir Jahan Shah, and others, had command of the left wing. The van-guard was placed under the command of Prince Rustam, Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din, and others. Timur himself commanded the centre. In this order, full of spirits and courage, the soldiers marched to the battle-field.

The enemy also came out in battle array. The centre was under Sultan Mahmud, grandson of Sultan

Firoz Shah, and Mallu Khan. The right was commanded by Taghi Khan, Mir Ali Hauja, and others, and the left by Malik Mu'inu-d din, Malik Hani, and others. The enemy's army consisted of 12,000 veteran horsemen and 40,000 infantry, with all the appliances of war. Thus they advanced to the field of battle. The enemy's great reliance was on his enormous war elephants, 120 in number. They were covered with armour, and on their backs was a kind of litter or cage, in which cross-bow men and discus throwers were concealed. Sharp poisoned points were fastened firmly to their tusks. Rocket-men (*takhsh-afgan*) and grenade-throwers (*ra'd-andaz*) marched by their sides.

Although the army of Timur was weak compared with this Indian army, still his soldiers did not rate their enemy very highly. But although they had fought in many a battle, and overthrown many an enemy, they had never before encountered elephants. They had heard by report that the bodies of these elephants were so hard that no weapon would pierce them; that they could tear up strong trees with the wind (*bad*) of their trunks; that they could knock down strong houses with the pressure of their sides; and that in battle they could lift horse and horseman from the ground with their dragon-like trunk and raise them in the air. Exaggerations like these had raised apprehensions in the hearts of the soldiers. When Timur proceeded to appoint the places for the various officers of the court, he, in his princely kindness, asked the learned doctors of the Law who accompanied the army in this invasion where he should place them. They, terrified with the stories they had heard of the elephants, answered: "In the same place as the ladies and women."

When Timur perceived this terror and alarm of his followers, to allay their fears he directed that they should fix palisades, and dig a trench in front of the army. In front of these he ordered buffaloes to be placed side by side, and fastened firmly together by the neck and feet

with leather thongs. He had strong iron claws made and given to the infantry, who were ordered to throw them on the ground in front of the elephants. Maulana Shahabu-d din Jami has celebrated these devices in one of his odes. Heaven was always favourable to Timur, and now gave him success without using any of these stratagems. He had on horseback ascended an eminence between the two armies, and examined all around. When he saw the opposing forces he alighted from his horse, and turning the face of supplication to heaven he offered his prayers, and begged for victory over his enemy. It was not long before a sign was given of the acceptance of this prayer. While Timur was offering his prayer to heaven, it came into the minds of Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din, and the other officers in command of the van-guard, that if Timur sent a reinforcement to the right wing and to the advance guard it would be a sure presage of victory. When Timur had finished his prayer, he sent Sultan Ali Tawachi and others from the centre to the support of the right wing, and another party to the support of the van-guard. These movements cheered up the spirits and strengthened the courage of the men. They drew their swords and rushed fearlessly on the enemy. The elephants of mighty form and craven spirit ran off, and Timur thus obtained the victory.

The vanguard under Sunjak Bahadur and other officers, when they saw the enemy advancing against the right wing, placed themselves in ambush, and when the advance-guard of the enemy had passed by, they rushed out in their rear with swords drawn and arms uplifted, and in one charge killed more than 500 of them. On the right wing the Prince Pir Muhammad having advanced his men charged the enemy. He was supported by Amir Sulaiman Shah, and aided by fortune he used his swords upon the elephants.<sup>53</sup> The men of the right wing with

<sup>53</sup> Petis de la Croix here describes the defeat of the



one accord advanced against the left of the enemy, which placed its reliance on the bravery of Taghi Khan, and drove it back as far as the *Hauz-i Khass*, which is a wide and deep well, one of the works of Firoz Shah. The left wing, under Prince Sultan Husain and others, charged with such force and bravery the enemy's right wing under Malik Mu'inu-d. din, that it was broken, and Amir Jahan Shah pursued its scattered fugitives to the very gates of Dehli. The centre of the enemy supported by the elephants advanced to attack in good order, but Prince Rustam and his coadjutors met them and made a stout resistance. The various officers brought their men into action and cut their way to the elephants. They killed the drivers, wounded the trunks of the animals with swords and arrows, and despatched them.

The soldiers of India fought bravely for their lives, but the frail insect cannot contend with the raging wind, nor the feeble deer against the fierce lion, so they were compelled to take to flight. Sultan Mahmud Khan, and those who fled with them, entered the city and closed the gates. Prince Khalil Sultan, of the right wing, notwithstanding his youth, attacked one of the monster elephants, cut down his driver, and led the animal, as a husbandman drives a buffalo in the plough, to Timur.

When by the favour of God the enemy was defeated and put to flight, Timur advanced to the gate of Dehli. He carefully examined the walls and bastions of that noble city, and then returned to the *Hauz-i Khass*. This is a reservoir constructed by Sultan Firoz Shah, so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other. It is filled by the rain in the rainy season, and the people of Dehli obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Firoz Shah is by its side. Timur encamped there and the princes and nobles and officers waited

elephants but his account is not to be found in any one of the four MSS. I have used.



upon him and offered congratulations upon the victory. They then praised the bravery and reported the valiant exploits performed by the princes and officers. Timur on hearing these reports was moved to tears and gave thanks to God who had distinguished him above other manarchs by granting him such valiant sons and such faithful servants. . . .

*Flight of Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan:*

*Capture of Dehli*

After their defeat, Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan went to Dehli and repented of the course they had pursued and of the rashness they had displayed. But repentance after a disaster is of no avail. No resource but flight was left. So in the darkness of the night Sultan Mahmud left the city by the gate of Hauz-rani and Mallu Khan by the Baraka gate, both of which are to the south of the Jahan-panah. They fled into the desert. When Timur was informed of their flight he sent Amir Sa'id and other officers in pursuit of them. These officers captured many fugitives and secured a large booty. They also made prisoners of Mallu Khan's sons, Saif Khan entitled Malik Sharfu-d din and Khudaddad. On the same evening orders were given to Allahdad and other officers to take possession of the gates of the city and to prevent the escape of any one.

On the 8th Rabi'u-s sani, Timur hoisted his victorious flag on the walls of Dehli. He then went to the gate of the *maidan* and took his seat in the *'Idgah*. This gate is one of the gates of Jahan-panah and opens towards the *Hauz-i-Khass*. There he held his court; and the *saiwids*, the *kazis*, the nobles and the great men who were in the city, hastened to pay their homage to him. Fazlu-llah Balkhi, deputy of Mallu Khan, with all the officers of the *diwan*, proceeded to make their submission. The *saiyids*, the *'ulama*, and the *shaikhs* sought for protection through the intervention of the princes and

officers. Prince Pir Muhammad, Amir Sulaiman Shah, Amir Jahan Shah, and others interceded for them in due season, and gained their object. The standard of victory was raised and drums were beaten and music played to proclaim the conquest to the skies. A poet also wrote some lines containing the date of the victory,—8th Rabi' u-s sani, 801 (Dec. 17th, 1398.)

The elephants and rhinoceroses were brought forth with their trappings and paraded before the emperor. The elephants all in token of submission bowed their heads to the ground and raised a cry altogether as if they were asking for quarter. There were 120 war elephants captured, and on the return home of the army some were sent to different parts of the empire for the use of the princes, and the others were sent to Samarkand. . . . Maulana Nasiru-d din was ordered to go with other learned doctors and great men into the mosque on the Sabbath, and proclaim the name of the Sahib-kiran Amir Timur Gurgan in the *khutba*, in the same way as the name of Firoz Shah and other Sultans had been proclaimed. . . .

On the 16th of the month a number of soldiers collected at the gate of Dehli and derided the inhabitants. When Timur heard of this he directed some of the *amirs* to put a stop to it. But it was the divine pleasure to ruin the city and to punish the inhabitants, and that was brought about in this way. The wife of Jahan Malik Agha and other ladies went into the city to see the palace of the Thousand Columns (*Hazar-sutun*), which Malik Jauna had built in the Jahan-panah. The officers of the Treasury had also gone there to collect the ransom money. Several thousand soldiers, with orders for grain and sugar, had proceeded to the city. An order had been issued for the officers to arrest every nobleman who had fought against Timur and had fled to the city, and in execution of this order they were scattered about the city. When parties and bands of soldiers were going

about the city, numbers of Hindus and *gabrs* in the cities of Dehli, Siri, Jahan-panah, and Old Dehli, seeing the violence of the soldiers,<sup>54</sup> took up arms and assaulted them. Many of the infidels set fire to their goods and effects, and threw themselves, their wives and children, into the flames. The soldiers grew more eager for plunder and destruction. Notwithstanding the boldness and the struggles of the Hindus, the officers in charge kept the gates closed, and would not allow any more soldiers to enter the city, lest it should be sacked. But on that Friday night there were about 15,000 men in the city who were engaged from early eve till morning in plundering and burning the houses. In many places the impure infidel *gabrs* made resistance. In the morning the soldiers who were outside, being unable to control themselves, went to the city and raised a great disturbance. On that Sunday, the 17th of the month, the whole place was pillaged, and several palaces in Jahan-panah and Siri were destroyed. On the 18th the like plundering went on. Every soldier obtained more than twenty persons as slaves, and some brought as many as fifty or a hundred men, women and children as slaves out of the city. The other plunder and spoils were immense, gems and jewels of all sorts, rubies, diamonds, stuffs and fabrics of all kinds, vases and vessels of gold and silver, sums of money in '*ala'i tankas*, and other beyond all computation. Most of the women who were made prisoners wore bracelets of gold or silver on their wrists and legs and valuable rings upon their toes. Medicines and perfumes and unguents, and the like, of these no one took any notice. On the 19th of the month Old Dehli was thought of, for many infidel Hindus had fled thither and taken refuge in the great mosque, where they prepared to defend themselves. Amir Shah Malik and Ali Sultan Tawachi, with 500

<sup>54</sup> This sentence is found only in one copy.



trusty men, proceeded against them, and falling upon them with the sword despatched them to hell. High towers were built with the heads of the Hindus, and their bodies became the food of ravenous beasts and birds. On the same day all Old Dehli was plundered. Such of the inhabitants as had escaped alive were made prisoners. For several days in succession the prisoners were brought out of the city and every *amir* of a *tuman* or *kushun* took a party of them under his command. Several thousand craftsmen and mechanics were brought out of the city, and under the command of Timur some were divided among the princes, *amirs*, and *aghas* who had assisted in the conquest, and some were reserved for those who were maintaining the royal authority in other parts. Timur had formed the design of building a *Masjid-i jami* in Samarkand, his capital, and he now gave orders that all the stone-masons should be reserved for that pious work. . . . .

The three cities mentioned are thus described—Siri is surrounded by a round wall. Old Dehli by a similar wall, but larger. From the wall of Siri on the north-east to the wall of Old Dehli on the south-west, a wall has been erected on both sides, and the space between is called Jahan-panah. It is larger than Old Dehli. Three gates of Siri open towards Jahan-panah and four towards the open country. Of Old Dehli five gates open into Jahan-panah and thirteen<sup>55</sup> to the outside. Jahan-panah has thirteen gates, six to the north-east and seven to the south-west, making in all thirty gates to these three cities known by the common name of Dehli.

<sup>55</sup> *Sic.* in two MSS., but the number of the gates of old Dehli is not given in the other two. According to the *Malfuzat*, *supra* the gates of Old Dehli were ten in number and this makes the total (30) of the three cities complete.



*Timur marches from Dehli to other places in Hindustan*

Timur remained at Dehli fifteen days, and then marched out to conquer other places in India, and to put down idolaters and rebels. When he was about to depart he directed that all the *saiyids* and *kazis* and doctors and *shaikhs* should assemble in the great mosque of Jahan-panah, and he appointed one of his own officers to be their keeper and prevent their being molested by the soldiers of the army. On the 22nd Rabi'u-l akhir, 801, in the morning, Timur began his march and proceeded three *kos* to Firozabad. He halted there for an hour to view the beauties of the place. He then went to the mosque of Firozabad, which is built of hewn stone, on the banks of the Jumna, and there performed his devotions, after which he mounted his horse and went outside of the town.

Saiyid Shamsu-d din Turmuzi and Alau-d din deputy of Shaikh Kukari, whom he sent as envoys to the city of Kupila, now returned, and reported that the prince of that place, Bahadur Nihar, had made his submission, and would come in on the Friday to pay his respect. Timur encamped beyond Jahan-nimai, near Wazirabad. There his envoys presented to him two white parrots, which had been sent by Bahadur Nihar. These two parrots survived from the time of Sultan Tughlik Shah, and had often exhibited their powers of speech in the assemblies of kings. Timur considered this offering as very auspicious, and graciously accepted it. The distance from Dehli to Wazirabad, is six *kos*. On the 23rd he marched from Wazirabad, and, crossing the Jumna, he proceeded six *kos* to the village of Mudula. On the 24th he marched six *kos*, and encamped at Katah. Here Bahadur Nihar and his son, Kaltash<sup>56</sup> arrived with tribute and presents. They

<sup>56</sup> This is the reading of one MS. The others have

were admitted to an audience when they paid their homage, and were treated with favour. On the 25th he made a day's march to Baghpat, six *kos* distant. On the next day he proceeded to the village of Asar, which is situated between two rivers, and there encamped.

### *Capture of the Fort of Mirat*

The fort of Mirat was one of the most famous in India. On the 26th Rabi'u-l akhir Timur sent Rustam Taghi Bugha, Amir Shah Malik, and Allah-dad from Asar to the gates of that fort. On the 27th those officers reported that Ilyas Aghani and his son, Maulana Ahmad Thanesari, with a *gabr* named *Safi*<sup>57</sup> and a body of *gabrs* had fortified themselves in the place and had raised the standard of resistance, boasting that Tarmsharin Khan had attacked the fort, but was unable to take it. This defiance greatly incensed Timur, especially the reference to the failure of Tarmsharin Khan. On the same day, after mid-day prayer, he mounted his horse, and, taking with him 10,000 men, he marched rapidly to Mirat. That night he halted midway, and on the following day, the 29th, in the afternoon, he arrived at Mirat. He immediately issued orders to the commanders of regiments that each should begin mining the wall in front of his position, and when night came on it was found that an extent of ten to fifteen *gaz* had been sapped under each bastion and wall. The *gabrs* perceived this, and were so frightened that they lost all courage and ceased to defend themselves. Next day Amir Allah-dad with his regiment of *Kuchins*,<sup>58</sup> called "the faithful," advanced to the gate

"Kalyash" and "Katash," and one "Katlagh tash" see *Supra*.

<sup>57</sup> or "Safai".

<sup>58</sup> A tribe of Turks.

of the fort, shouting the cry of victory. One of his followers, named Sarai, son of Kalandar, a brave young fellow, first raised a scaling ladder against the battlements and mounted the wall. Other brave men followed him. They soon took Ilyas Aghani and his son 'Thanesari, the commanders of the fort, and, putting ropes round their necks, brought them to Timur. Safi, the *gabr*, one of the chiefs of the fort, was killed in the engagement, and was punished by the fire he in error adored.<sup>59</sup> Next day, the remaining *gabrs* were brought out and put to the sword. Their wives and children were made slaves. By the imperial order fire was then placed in the mines and the bastions, and the walls were thrown down and levelled with the ground. . . .

<sup>59</sup> Sir H. Elliot, in his Glossary, Vol. I., p 119, quotes a passage from the *Habibu-s siyar* as proving, beyond dispute, that this man was a fire-worshipper. That passage is derived directly or indirectly from the one before us, and there is no mistaking its words. Timur, in his autobiography, however, simply calls the man "a *gabr*", which, as Sir H. Elliot says, has come to mean "an infidel in general." The words of Sharafu-din then ought only be regarded as a rhetorical flourish, and although subsequent writers have copied them in earnest, they are too vague to be depended on. In Timur's Memoirs, however (*supra*) there is a much more precise statement, where the infidels are not only called fire-worshippers, but their tenets are described; and this passage is reproduced in the *Zafar-nama* (*supra*). But, for all this, I am sceptical as to there being fire-worshippers in this part of India in Timur's days. *Gabrs* were infidels, and so, Musulman intolerance and contempt made all infidels *gabrs*. Thus it was easy for one man to call the Hindu infidel by the opprobrious term *gabr* or *sanawi* in a loose general way, meaning nothing more than anti-Musulman, and for another to understand those terms in their true literal meaning.



Thus the fort which Tarmsharin Khan had failed to capture had been taken by a detachment of the imperial army at the first assault. . . .

*Battles with the Gabrs on the Ganges*

Timur having reduced the fort of Mirat on the 1st Jumada-l awwal, gave orders for Amir Jahan Shah to march with the left wing of the army against the upper parts of the river Jumna, to plunder the country and vex the infidels. He accordingly set off with all speed, and his baggage was sent after him, under Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din, with orders to proceed along the river Kara-su. Timur himself marched towards the Ganges, fourteen *kos* distant from Mirat. On his march he was joined by Amir Sulaiman Shah. Resolved upon carrying the war against the *gabrs* of those parts, he proceeded six *kos*, and rested for the night at a village called Mansura. Early in the morning of the 2nd, he again set off towards the Ganges, and at sunrise reached a village called Pirozpur. He marched three *kos* along the bank seeking a place to cross. At breakfast time the place of transit was found, but there was no ford offering an easy passage. Some horsemen passed over by swimming. Timur was about to cross in the same way, but the *amirs* who were present fell upon their knees and represented that Prince Pir Muhammad and Amir Sulaiman Shah had passed the river with the right wing of the army near Pirozpur. It would therefore be better for his majesty to remain for a day on that side of the river. Timur consented to this proposal, but gave orders that some brave men should cross. Saiyid Khwaja, and several other bold men belonging to the division of Prince Shah Rukh, accordingly crossed. Timur then marched two *kos* on the bank of the river, and encamped. On the 3rd he marched towards Tughlikpur, which is situated on the upper part of the Ganges, at twenty *kos* distance. When he had made



fifteen *kos*, a report was brought in that there was a Hindu force assembled by the side of the river. He then directed Amir Mubashir, Ali Sultan, and other chiefs to march against them with 5,000 horse, while he went on to Tughlikpur. As he proceeded he was taken ill suddenly, and a swelling rose in his arm. The doctors and attendants exerted themselves to alleviate the malady.

While he was in this condition intelligence was brought that a large body of *gabrs* was coming on the river in forty-eight boats. When he heard this, the prospect of fighting against the infidels made him forget his malady. He mounted his horse, and, with a thousand of his guards, went to the bank of the river. When they caught sight of the enemy some of Timur's brave followers, heedless of their own safety, threw themselves into the river and swam to engage the enemy. Others kept up a discharge of arrows against the enemy from the banks of the river, who, in their ignorance, did nothing but put up their shields over their heads and discharge arrows in return. The body of men who had entered the river on horseback and swam off to the boats now reached them and grappling the sides with their hands they boarded them. Having thus taken most of the boats they put the men to the sword, and made prisoners of the women and children. With the captured boats they made the best of their way to the remaining boats, ten<sup>60</sup> in number. These the enemy lashed together in the middle of the river, and prepared for resistance. But our men engaged them, and despatched all the infidels either with their arrows or their swords.

<sup>60</sup> One copy says "two" only.

*Timur makes three Attacks upon the  
Enemy in one Day*

As soon as Timur had defeated these Loats on the Ganges, he left the river and marched to Tughlikpur, where he encamped. On the same night, the 4th of the month of Jumada-l awwal, two persons arrived from Amir Allah-dad, Bayizid Kuchin and Altun Bakshi, commanders of the advance-guard, bringing intelligence that they had found a good ford and had crossed the Ganges. There they had found a large body of the enemy, confident in numbers, and prepared to fight, under the command of a leader named Mubarak Khan. As soon as Timur heard this, he resolved to march against the infidels, and, before break of day, he mounted his horse, and crossed the river with a thousand horsemen. After marching a *kos* he halted for the morning prayer, and his men harnessed on their cuirasses, in readiness to encounter the enemy. As they approached, they found Muhammad Khan, with 10,000 men, horse and foot, drawn up in battle array, ready for the fight, with drums beating and banners flying.

Timur perceived that the foe, the enemies of religion, were numerous and bold, while his own followers were few. The two wings of the army were far away, and there was no help for it but to put his trust in God and fight bravely. While he was thus in anxiety, 5,000 horse belonging to the *tumans* of Prince Shah Kukh, who had crossed the river with Saiyid Khwaja and Jahan Malik, now came up and joined him, as if by arrangement. Such was the special mercy of God. Timur first offered his thanksgivings. Then he ordered Amir Shah Malik and Amir Allah-dad to attack the enemy with a thousand horsemen of his guard, and to do so without any fear of their number and strength. These *amirs*, without hesitation, drawing their swords and placing themselves at the head of their thousand men,

rushed towards the enemy. This bold charge filled Mubarak Khan and the enemy with fear, so that they turned and fled without waiting for the attack. They made for the jungle, but our men pursued them and killed a great number, and brought in their wives and children as prisoners, as well as vast spoil in cattle.

Timur halted there for a little while, but intelligence was soon brought to him that there was a large body of *gabrs* assembled in the valley of Kupila,<sup>61</sup> on the banks of the Ganges. He set off thither immediately with 500 men, leaving the rest of the army occupied in securing the spoil. When they approached the valley of Kupila, they perceived a large body of the enemy. Amir Shah Malik, and Ali Sultan Tawachi, notwithstanding their scanty followers, charged the enemy boldly sword in hand and cut many of them down, so that, notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy, they were defeated and put to flight, and large booty was found. While the men were engaged in securing the spoil, Timur was left with only a hundred of his guards, when an officer of the *gabrs*, by name Malik Shaikha, with a hundred<sup>62</sup> men, horse and foot, made a charge upon him. Timur faced his assailant and hastened to meet him, but when they were about an arrow's flight apart, one of the soldiers, without having well ascertained what he asserted, told Timur that it was Shaikh Kukari, one of his faithful adherents, who was advancing to meet him. Timur consequently turned back towards the hill. The *gabr* Shaikha then cut down several of the soldiers, and Timur, perceiving this, turned against his enemy.

<sup>61</sup> Hardwar See note *supra*.

<sup>62</sup> Here one MS. and that the most sober one, magnifies the assailants into "several thousand desperate men sword in hand."

Shaikha was wounded in the belly with an arrow and cut down with a sword. He was then bound with a cord and brought into the presence of Timur, who wished to interrogate him, but he died before he could reply.

Intelligence was now brought that about two *kos* distant in the valley of Kupila, there was a large body of infidel Hindus assembled. The way thither lay through a jungle which was thick with trees and hard to traverse, such as the morning breeze could hardly penetrate. Timur had already undergone the toil of fighting twice before that day and wanted a little rest, but by the will of God, being thus again summoned, he set off with a party of guards and several commanders of regiments, and marched against the enemy in full reliance upon Divine support. The road to the valley was difficult, the enemy numerous, and his followers few. Reviewing these circumstances,, Timur could not help thinking how fortunate it would be if his son Pir Muhammad and Amir Sulaiman Shah should come up. Three days before Timur had detached them to ravage the country and plunder the infidels and fire-worshippers. They had crossed the Ganges at Pirozpur, and had no knowledge of Timur having also crossed and being near them. But soon after afternoon prayer the wish which Timur had conceived was realized, and the prince came up with his detachment and joined his father. They advanced together against the *gabrs*, assailing them with arrows and the sword. They killed a great many of them and secured a large booty, including a vast number of camels and cattle. In that one day Timur had fought in three different engagements. When the day drew to a close he found himself victorious and the infidels discomfited, but there was no place in the jungle where he could encamp, so he returned with his spoil to the place where he had won his second victory.



*Destruction of Gabrs in the Vally of Kupila—Account of a Stone Cow worshipped by the Gabrs*

The valley of Kupila is situated at the foot of a mountain by which the river Ganges passes. Fifteen *kos* higher up there is a stone in the form of a cow, and the water of the river flows out of the mouth of that cow. The infidels of India worship this cow, and come hither from all quarters, from distances even of a year's journey, to visit it. They bring here and cast into the river the ashes of their dead whose corpses have been burned, believing this to be the means of salvation. They throw gold and silver into the river; they go down alive into the river, bathe their feet, sprinkle water on their heads, and have their heads and beards shaved. This they consider to be an act of devotion, just as the Muhammadans consider the pilgrimage to Mecca a pious work.<sup>63</sup>

In this valley there was a large concourse of Hindus, having great riches in cattle and movables, so Timur resolved to attack them. On the 5th Jumada-l-awwal he set his army in motion towards Kupila. It was the will of Heaven that these infidels should perish, so in the pride of their numbers and strength they awaited his approach, and had the temerity to resolve upon resistance. At the rising of the sun our army reached the valley. The right wing was under the command of Prince Pir Muhammad and Amir Sulaiman Shah, and the left under some renowned leaders. Amir Shah Malik and other officers with the centre began the attack. When the cries of our men and the noise of our drums reached them, the courage of the infidels failed. In their terror they fled for refuge to

<sup>63</sup> Two of these MSS here refer to 'Utbi for a short notice of Mahmud's conquests, which the other two manuscripts omit.

the mountains, but they were pursued and many were slain. A few who, half-dead, escaped the slaughter, were scattered abroad. All their property and goods became the spoil of the victors.

The country having thus been cleansed from the pollution of infidels, the army returned back on the same day and recrossed the Ganges. Then Timur returned thanks for his victories, after which he mounted his horse and marched five *kos* down the river and there encamped.

*Timur's resolution to retire from Hindustan*

When Dehli and its territories had been purged from the foul pollution of *gabrs* and idolaters, Timur formed the resolve of returning home. On the 6th Jumada-l awwal, 801 H., he departed from the banks of the Ganges. Orders were issued for the march and for the *tawachis* to bring up the heavy baggage. On the 6th a march of six *kos* was made, and then a halt was called; the baggage in this march being four *kos* in the rear. At this stage Timur learned that in the valleys of the Siwalik mountains there was collected a large number of Hindus ready for battle. Timur then gave orders that the troops in charge of the baggage should march to these mountains. He himself having marched rapidly thither, encamped in the hills of Siwalik. In this march Prince Khalil Sultan and Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din came up from the baggage and joined Timur. . . . . On the same day an order was issued that Amir Jahan Shah, one of the officers of the left wing, who had been absent for a week in a raid upon the upper parts of the Jumna, should come in and take part in the operations against the infidels. In compliance with this order he hestened to the royal camp.

*Raid into the Siwalik hills*

On the 10th Jumada-l awwal Timur marched to attack the Siwalik hills. In that mountain valley there was a

*rai* named Bahruz. He had collected a great number of people around him, and had formed a numerous army. Relying besides upon the strength of the position which he occupied, he was bold and resolved upon resistance. Timur appointed Prince Pir Muhammad and several *amirs* of the right wing, and Prince Sultan Husain and sundry officers of the left wing, to march and attack the infidels. Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din led the advance-guard of the centre. Thus they marched against the enemy, while Timur halted at the mouth of the valley. The soldiers fought most valiantly and made dreadful slaughter of the enemy. They obtained a decisive victory, and acquired a great booty in valuables, slaves and cattle. With the desire of doing justice, Timur ordered that the strong men of the force, who had secured as their share of the spoil three or four hundred head of cattle each, should give up part of them to the weaker men, so that all might obtain a share in the fruits of the victory, and no man remain empty-handed. This decision gave great satisfaction. The victorious force marched and joined the royal camp at the village of Bahrah, a dependency of Bakri, well known as the country of Miyapur.<sup>64</sup> On the 12th he marched four *kos* from Bahrah and encamped at the village of Shikk-Sarsawa. In consequence of the immense booty which the army had gained, it was impossible to march more than four *kos* per day. On the 13th he marched and encamped at Kandar, a distance of nearly four *kos*.

*Raid into other parts of the Siwalik hills*

On the 14th Jumada-l awwal Timur passed the Jumna and proceeded to another part of the Siwalik hills. There he heard that one of the *rais* of Hind, called Ratan, had assembled a great number of Hindus, and

<sup>64</sup> *mashhur bulayat miyapur.*

had taken post on the lofty heights in the thick forests. The hills were so high that no eye could see from the bottom to the top, and the trees so dense that the rays of the sun and moon could not reach the ground. It was impossible to make a passage without cutting down the trees. But for all this Timur did not hesitate, and without even waiting for the night to pass, he, on the 15th,<sup>65</sup> gave his order for the advance. The troops accordingly marched on by the light of torches, and employed themselves in cutting down the trees and clearing a way. In that night they made a progress of twelve *kos*, and in the morning of the 15th they penetrated between the Siwalik mountain and the Kuka mountain. Here Raj Ratan had taken up his position with his forces drawn up in regular battle array, with right wing and left wing, and centre and supports.<sup>66</sup> But when the noise of our music and the cries of our soldiers reached the ears of the Hindus, they wavered and fled without waiting for the attack. Our officers and men pursued them, and put many of them to the sword. All their property in movables and cattle fell into the hands of the victors. Every soldier obtained a hundred to two hundred head of cattle and from ten to twenty slaves.

On the same day Prince Pir Muhammad and Amir Shah Malik, in command of the right wing, went to another valley, where he destroyed many Hindus and obtained great spoil. The left wing, also under Prince Jahan Shah, attacked and destroyed a body of Hindus in another direction, but they did not obtain so large a booty. On the night of the 16th both wings came up and joined the main body. In the morning Timur left

<sup>65</sup> It must be remembered that the Muhammadan day begins at sunset.

<sup>66</sup> *Maimana wa qalb wa janah*. The last two appear in only one MS.



the valley between the two mountains and returned to the Siwalik mountain. From this encampment to the country of Nagarkot there was a distance of fifteen *parasangs*. In this valley there are many dense jungles, and the mountains are high and difficult of ascent. Timur heard that there were great numbers of infidels in the mountains, and he determined to disperse and destroy them. The men of the left wing under Amir Jahan Shah, and the army of Khurasan, had acquired but little spoil, so he sent them out to make a raid and collect plunder. Early on that day Sain Tamur,<sup>67</sup> commander of the advance-guard, came in to report that the number of Hindus in front exceeded all calculation. Timur therefore held his ground while the left wing was absent, engaged in its work of plunder. The men of this force put a great many infidels to death, and acquired great spoil in wealth and cattle. On the same day, at noon, news came from the regiment of Amir Shaikh Nuru-d din and Ali Sultan Tawachi that there was, upon the left, a valley in which many Hindus had gathered, having with them much wealth and cattle. Timur immediately proceeded thither, and ordered the two officers who had made the report to attack the infidels. They accordingly fell upon the enemy and put many to the sword, and while they did so Timur stood upon the summit of a hill watching them and encouraging them with his presence. Many of the infidels were killed and wounded, and those who were able fled, leaving a great booty behind, which the victors brought into the presence of Timur, who warmly praised their bravery. Vast quantities of cattle were taken, and Timur stayed upon the mountain until evening, in order that the booty might be fairly distributed, and each man get his share. Every man got as much as he could take

<sup>67</sup> The printer of the French translation has converted this name into "Sainte Maure"!

care of. That night they encamped in the valley. In the jungles there were many monkeys, and when night came on they entered the camp and carried off the things of the soldiers. In the course of one month, from the 16th of Jumada-l awwal, when Timur was between the mountains Siwalik and Kuka, to the 16th of Jumada-s sani, when he arrived at Jammu, he had twenty conflicts with the infidels and took seven fortresses, each of them a Khaibar in strength. These forts were situated one or two *parasangs* apart, and their occupants were all at war with each other. In the days of the old Sultans they had paid the *jizya*, but they had broken away from their allegiance to the sovereigns of Islam, and would not now pay the tax, so the slaughter and plunder of them was lawful and laudable. One of these fortresses belonged to Shaikhu, a relation of Malik Shaikh Kukar,<sup>68</sup> and he by means of a few Musulmans who dwelt there, had induced the inhabitants to make submission to Timur, and outwardly to admit their subjection. But proofs of their aversion and hatred soon become apparent, for when the ransom money was assessed upon them, they made all sorts of excuses and evasions. One of Timur's officers thereupon resorted to a clever stratagem. He gave orders that cast-off clothes and old bows should be accepted in payment of the ransom, and as he offered a good price for these things of little value, they brought forth their damaged weapons of all descriptions and sold them for a high price. By this sharp device they were led to strip themselves of their arms, so that they had no weapons left. After this an imperial order was issued that forty persons should be sent in to be the servants (*Khudam*) of Hindu Shah, the treasurer, one of his majesty's courtiers. The infidels resisted this order, and killed some Musulmans. It thus became necessary for the soldiers of the Faith to

<sup>68</sup> Or "Shaikha Kukari".

exact vengeance. They assaulted the fort and took it. 2,000 infidels were put to the sword, and the smoke of their consuming goods rose from their roofs to the sky.<sup>69</sup>

Of these forts, the fort of Deo Raj and five others were all taken; and in a short time the country was cleansed from the wickedness of the idolaters and infidels. The foundations of idolatry were uprooted, and the basis of the true religion and law was firmly laid.

*Inroads into the territory of Jammu*

When Timur had completed his campaign in the Siwalik, he resolved to march against the country of Jammu. On the 16th Jumada-l akhir he left the village of Mansar. After a march of six *kos*, he arrived and encamped near the village of Baila, in the Jammu territory. On the same day he sent Amir Shaikh Muhammad Aikutmur and other officers against that village. The men of Baila were very brave, and they had some strong jungles. They placed palisades (*chapar*) along the edges, and then stood ready to fight and slay. The brave warriors of Islam were about to attack them without hesitation, when an order arrived from Timur ordering the assault to be postponed till the morrow, as he himself intended to be present.

On the 17th Jumada-l akhir, Timur mounted his horse and arranged his forces in order of battle, with right wing, left wing, and centre. The soldiers raised

<sup>69</sup> The editor of the revised MS. here adds: "The writer of these sheets considers that, although historians have credited the story of the people of the fort having brought out all their arms and sold them to pay the ransom, still it does not appear to be so probable as they represent it. There were quite sufficient proofs of the malice, bad faith, and rebellious spirit of the infidels. God knows the truth."



their war-cry, which resounded to the sky, and the infidels on hearing it were filled with terror and fled to the woods, abandoning their village. Thither the soldiers pursued them, and pulling up the palisades they took their post on the border of the jungle, while other soldiers plundered the village in safety. Great quantities of grain and fodder were secured, sufficient to supply the wants of the army. On the same day the army marched four *kos* and encamped. It was then joined by Uljah Tamur Tunkatar, and Fulad, and by Prince Rustam's confident Zainu-d din, who had been sent as ambassadors on the part of Timur from Dehli to Kashmir. They brought with them letters to Timur from Iskandar Shah, king of Kashmir, and were attended by ambassadors from him. The letters were presented, and Timur was informed that the king made his submission and had come as far as the village of Jahan.<sup>70</sup> At this stage Maulana Nuru-d din, the ambassador, represented to his majesty that the officers of the Exchequer had called upon his master for a contribution of 30,000 horses and 100,000 *durusts* of gold, each *durust* weighing two and a half Miskals. He (the Shah) had therefore gone to Kashmir to endeavour to provide for this demand, and would return when ready to discharge it. When Timur heard of this, he disapproved of the demand made by his revenue officers, saying that they had pressed too heavily on Shah Iskandar, and had demanded more than the country of Kashmir could furnish. It was unjust and improper to demand from any country more than its extent and resources could pay. The ambassadors represented the ready submission of Shah Iskandar, and Timur was pleased to act liberally towards him. He ordered the ambassadors to return to their master, and tell him on no account to fall in obeying the orders he

<sup>70</sup> Variants, "J'ahan," "Chahan", "Jiriyan". The real name appears to be Jabhan.



should receive. On the following day, 18th Jumada-l-akhir, the ambassadors were sent back, with the faithful Zainu-d din, with directions that in twenty-eight days from that date he should come and wait upon Timur on the banks of the Indus.

Near this camp there was a village, at the foot of a mountain, in which were many people. The soldiers attacked it, put the Hindus to the sword, and set fire to the village. They carried off plenty of grain and fodder. On the same day, in the afternoon, they attacked two other villages which were near, and again found abundance of provisions, which they carried off. In this march Ara-tamur, one of the emperor's officers, was wounded with an arrow. On the 19th, Timur marched again a distance of four or five *parasangs* through a well-cultivated country, where plenty of pasture was found for the horses. On the 20th, the army marched towards the town of Jammu, which is situated in a valley where the river Jammu rises. The army passed the river several times, and encamped at the foot of a mountain on the left of the town of Jammu. On the right was the village of Manu. These places were inhabited by robust, tall, and powerful Hindus; brave but ignorant. They considered their mountains and jungles to be so strong and secure that they could not be penetrated, and they sent off their wives and children thither. The *rai*, with a force of bold and fearless men, had taken his stand in a strong position on the mountain, where they discharged their arrows and kept on shouting like dogs baying the moon. Timur resolved to proceed against them by stratagem, so he gave orders that they should be left alone, and that the village of Manu should be attacked. The soldiers accordingly plundered that village, and as they were returning they entered the town of Jammu, and carried off a large quantity of grain and provisions. Timur then ordered several regiments of active men to place themselves in ambush in the groves, and to remain there while he

marched away with the (rest of the) army. On the 21st he passed the river of Jammu, and marching four *kos* through cultivated lands, he encamped in a pasturage on the banks of the river Chinawa.<sup>71</sup> When he had left the valley of Jammu and Manu, the Hindus, like foxes, thinking that the mighty lion had left the field, came out of their holes in the jungle, quite unaware of the ambuscade prepared for them. They were suddenly assailed by the concealed troops, who put numbers of them to the sword. Daulat-tamur Tawachi and Husain Malik Kuchin made the *rai* of Jammu prisoner, with fifty of his infidels, and brought them to Timur (*who praised his officers and gave thanks to God*). These men were put in chains and bonds, but the *rai*, who was wounded, was carefully tended, for the sake of getting the ransom money. By hopes, fears and threats, he was brought to see the beauty of Islam. He repeated the creed, and ate the flesh of the cow, which is an abomination among his compatriots. This obtained for him great honour, and he was taken under the protection of the emperor. On the 21st the army halted, waiting for the arrival of the division which had marched against Lahor.

*Proceedings at Lahor<sup>72</sup> with Shaikha Kukar*

At this place intelligence arrived that the princes and officers who had been sent against Lahor had taken possession of that city, and were engaged in realizing the ransom-money. They had also taken prisoner Shaikha Kukar, who had not been true to his professions . . . . The history of this is, that Shaikha Kukar, brother of Nusrat Kukar, of whom mention has been made in the early part of the history of this invasion, had been taken into honour by Timur, and had been marked with great favour, so that wherever in Hindustan any people were found

<sup>71</sup> *jinavch*.

<sup>72</sup> The name is still written "Lahawar."



who declared themselves to be his subjects and dependents, they were exempted from pillage and from being made prisoners. In the Doab, between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, he sought permission to return home, for the purpose of raising his contribution and tribute, promising to rejoin the camp of Timur on the river Biyah, which is also called the river of Lahor. When he obtained permission and returned home, he forgot his promise, and gave himself up to pleasure and dissipation. He allowed the appointed time to pass by, regardless of his oaths and promises, and he entirely neglected to show any attention and honour to several of Timur's officers who passed through Lahor on their way to join their master. In consequence of this conduct, Timur gave orders for ravaging his country and making him prisoner.

On the 24th of the month the army crossed the Chinawa, and encamped after a march of five *kos*. . . . On the 25th several of the sick soldiers (*zairan*) were drowned in the river. Timur was sorry for the poor men, and ordered that his own horses and camels should be used to carry the survivors over. On the 26th, Timur left the shores of the Chinawa, and after a march of six *kos* encamped in a desert. . . . He here determined to cross the river Dandana before his army, and started off in advance. On the 27th he was carried in a litter for six *kos*, and encamped on the edge of a jungle. In the course of this day a tiger (*sher*) was seen and was hunted. It was killed by Shaikh Nuru-d din. Prince Fir Muhammad and Prince Rustam, accompanied by the Amirs Sulaiman Shah and Jahan Shah, arrived from Lahor. They had slain many infidel Hindus, had gained a large booty, and now returned to the imperial presence to offer their spoil. . . . On the same day an order was issued that the *amirs* of the left wing and the *amirs* of regiments should all proceed to their homes by certain settled routes. The princes, the *nunians*, the *amirs* of *tumans*, of thousands and of regiments, all received

robes and gifts according to their merits. Prince Pir Muhammad Jahangir received a jewelled girdle and diadem. The Indian chiefs and all the officers and attendants and *saiyids* who had accompanied him received princely gifts and permission to return home. Khizr Khan, whom Sarang had taken and confined in a fort, and who, having made his escape, fled to Bayana, a dependency of Dehli, to Ahodan, the Musulman governor, and who there came in and made his submission to Timur, was appointed governor of Multan.

*(A great hunt in which many rhinoceroses were killed)*

On the 28th Jumada-l akhir, after the hunt was over, the army marched eight *kos*, to a place called Jabhan, on the frontier of Kashmir, a very lovely and pleasant spot.

### *Kashmir*

*(Description of Kashmir).* There is a city named Naghaz, which is the residence of the rulers (*hukkam*) of the country. Like Baghdad, the city has a large river running through it, but the waters of this river exceed those of the Tigris. It is extraordinary that the waters of so great a river all spring from one source, which source is situated in this country itself, and is called Vir. . . . . This river, after passing from the confines of Kashmir, is known by different names in different places. First it is called Dandana, then Jamd. Above Multan it joins the Chinawa, and the two flow together past that city, and below it join the river Ravi, which passes on the other side of the city. Afterwards the river Biyah joins them, and the united streams pass by Uch and join the Sind or Indus. . . . On the 29th Timur marched from Jabhan, a distance of four *kos*, and then encamped on the banks of the Dandana. He ordered



a bridge to be thrown over the river, which was a great relief to the infantry, both Turks and Tajiks. . . .

• *Return of Timur to his capital*

On the last day of Jumada-l akhir, Timur set out in advance of his army towards Samarkand. He marched twenty *kos* down the river Dandana to the village of Sambast, belonging to the Jud mountains. On the 1st Rajab he proceeded to the vicinity of the fort of Baruja, and there halted; but on the same day, in the afternoon, he mounted his horse and entered the desert called Chol-i Jalali. Making all possible speed, he came out of the desert in the evening, and encamped by the side of a pool (*maghak*) which still retained some of the waters of the rainy season. This place is three *kos* distant from Baruja. On the 2nd Rajab, at breakfast time, he reached the river Sind. The officers who had been appointed to guard the way from Naghaz to Banu had built a bridge with tripod trestles over the river. Timur passed over this bridge, and rested on the bank of the river till noon. Amir Allah-dad was left in charge of the bridge, to keep it for the transit of the baggage and the army coming up behind. In the afternoon Timur marched ten *kos*, and then encamped, and marching again on the 4th, he made a day's journey to Banu.

THE END