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دو سہ ہر وہ زان سے یکا تم چکاں  
کہ بریتد دوزگفت و گویم زباں

۱۱۴۲۸

تمت ہذا کتاب فتح السلاطین تصنیف لانا عصامی رحمۃ اللہ علیہ

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۳۱۰	"	بدور	و
۳۱۳	۶۰۱۲	عز	عز
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(۳۱) تقریباً کتاب القلم قدس رقم عالیہ جناب نواز صاحب ریاض جنگ  
مولانا مولوی محمد حبیب الرحمن خان صاحب شیرانی۔ سابق وزیر وینیات  
سرکار دکن و رئیس اعظم حبیب گنج (علیگڑھ)

حبیب گنج علیگڑھ۔ ۲۲ جنوری ۱۹۳۸ء

مکرمی۔ السلام علیکم

میں نے ”محمد شاہ بن تعلق“ آپ کی تصنیف کو ابتداءً بادلِ ناخواستہ ہاتھ میں لیا تھا۔ پڑھا بتی تعلق  
سے تھکا قصور میرا نہیں اور باب زمانہ کا بے متواتر اور مسلسل جس طرح تاریخیں لکھی جا رہی ہیں وہ اسی  
غیر مقدم کی مستحق ہیں جسکا حوالہ دینے اور لکھا۔ عین اسی زمانے میں جب آپ کی تالیف پہنچی ایک اور ڈاکٹر  
نے اپنے مقالے کا مسودہ دیا جو ایک مہتمم بالشان اسلامی دور کی تاریخ سے تعلق رکھتا تھا۔ کیا کہوں  
کس تکلیف سے میں نے اُسکو پڑھا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ لودپ کے اہل قلم کے پس خوردہ نوازے ہیں۔  
صاف کر کے جمع کئے ہیں اور دوسروں کی ضیافت کا سامان بہم پہنچایا ہے اور وہیں لکھتے ہیں  
”امام غزالی کہتا ہے“

اسی قسم کی تصانیف کو مجبوراً پڑھتے پڑھتے طبیعت بدگمانی کی عادی ہو گئی ہے۔  
جس نے ”محمد شاہ بن تعلق“ کا غیر مقدم کیا۔

مگر حقیقت کی کشش تھی کہ کتاب بار بار ہاتھ میں آکر جاذب نگاہ ہوتی رہی۔ بالآخر

اُس کی اہلی صورت نمایاں ہوئی۔ اب ولی شوق سے پڑھا اور اپنی لیاقت کے مطابق  
سمجھا۔ پڑھ کر حیرت ہوئی۔ مسرت ہوئی۔ حیرت اس پر کہ آپ نے کس طرح عام اور  
غلط پامال راستے کو چھوڑ کر جادہ تحقیق اختیار کیا۔ مسرت آپ کی کامیابی پر۔

اپنے نفع پر۔ بے شایہ مکتب۔ محمد شاہ بن تغلق میری نگاہ ذہن میں ایک گہرے کی شکل  
 تھا۔ برسوں کے غور کے بعد بھی معلوم نہ ہوتا تھا کہ کیا تھا۔ اس کی متضاد صفات کوئی  
 نقش خاص ذہن نشین نہ ہونے دیتی تھیں۔

آپ کی تصنیف سے تحقیق کی روشنی پڑی۔ کہ کافور ہوا اہلی صورت جلوہ افروز

ہو گئی۔

میں اس تصنیف پر آپ کو مبارک دیتا ہوں۔ اور اپنے مکرم مولوی عمادی  
 صاحب کے ان الفاظ کی کہ ”ہندوستان نے تاریخ ہند میں دو صدیوں کے اندر  
 جو کاوشیں کی ہیں اور جو کتابیں لکھی ہیں ان سب میں شاید یہی کتاب (محمد شاہ تغلق)  
 ہے جسے کتاب کہہ سکتے ہیں اور تاریخی تحقیق کا فاتحہ الباب“ دل سے تصدیق  
 کرتا ہوں۔

مگر آپ کو اس کامیابی پر مبارک دیتا ہوں۔ اور دعا کرتا ہوں کہ دوسرے

آپ کی جرات تحقیق اور تلاش حق کی کوشش کی پیروی کریں۔

حبیب الرحمن





I may be permitted to add that some of the above matter has been incorporated in the preface to my thesis on the *Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*.

It may also be mentioned that an English translation of the *Futuh-us-Salatin* is in the course of preparation and will be published under the title of the *Shahnama of Medieval India*.

*Agra College,*  
*Agra.*  
*May, 1938.*

MAHDI HUSAIN.

gusted with life that he resolved to leave India, his native country, so that he could spend the remainder of his life at Mecca. But he desired to leave a souvenir in the form of an epic, which might challenge comparison with the *Shahnama* of Firdausi. Thus originated the *Futuh-us-Salatin* which may legitimately be called the *Shahnama of Medieval India*.

'Isami began to write the *Futuh-us-Salatin* on the 10th\* of December 1349 and finished it on the 14th† of May 1350. It took him "five months and nine days" to complete the book.

Previously, 'Isami had produced several works, but as they were not appreciated they fell into oblivion. They were, however, followed by the *Futuh-us-Salatin* which survived because it was written under the royal patronage of Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahmani.

It should be noted that although 'Isami was the contemporary of Ziya-ud-din Barani neither makes any reference to the other. Perhaps each was unaware of the other's existence ; for while Barani lived most of his life in the north (Hindustan), 'Isami resided for many years in the south (Deccan). 'Isami wrote his *Futuh-us-Salatin* some 8 years before Barani produced his *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*.

Nothing is known about 'Isami after the completion of the *Futuh-us-Salatin* (May, 1350). Perhaps he then left India for good. He proceeded on a pilgrimage to Mecca and did not return.

'Isami's style is simple and unostentatious ; his expressions are lucid ; he is free from that magniloquence or rhetoric which was then considered beautiful. He is much clearer than Badr Chach and might be called the best epic writer of the age.

Here I tender my sincere thanks to Dr. H. N. Randle, the Librarian, India Office Library for his kindly lending the Ms. of the *Futuh-us-Salatin* to the Agra College for my use. My thanks are also due to my worthy colleagues, Dr. Y. Prasad, Head of the department of History and Politics, and Prof. M. T. Faruqi, Head of the department of Persian who took keen interest in the publication of this Ms. I am grateful to my sister Bus Jan who read with me the photographic copy of the Ms. of the *Futuh-us-Salatin* which I had brought with me from London. She also wrote to the Professor of Indian History at the Madras University who kindly sent her a copy of the *'Isaminama* of Mr. U'sha published by the Madras University in March 1937. While I agree with Mr. U'sha's appreciation of 'Isami's work and style I cannot concur with the views expressed in the *'Isaminama* about 'Isami's portraiture of Muhammad bin Tughluq.

\* 27, Ramazan A. H. 750.

\*\* 6, Rabi-ul-Awwal A. H. 751.

object of the forced migration from Delhi to Daulatabad, as well as of the token currency. Occasionally, Isami speaks of universal destruction, but his language is not free from exaggeration. One day, he tells us, the Sultan rode up to the gardens along the banks of the Jumna, and found the streets thronged with vendors and customers. He was so annoyed to see the prosperous condition of the town and the general affluence that he resolved immediately to destroy it. With this object in view he sent out the Qarachil expedition. Another measure which he later adopted for the destruction of the people was to order the evacuation of Deogir. All its inhabitants were consequently sent off to Delhi. Finally under a heading "Applause for Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Khalji and Censures for Muhammad Shah bin Tughluq Shah," Isami vehemently denounces Sultan Muhammad for his revolt against Islam. All these points have been thoroughly discussed in my thesis.

Isami's *Futuh-us-Salatin* does not exhaust with the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. It presents in tolerably accurate chronological order events of the political history of India for over three hundred years, and it also throws light on the beginnings of the Bahmani rule in the Deccan; on the psychology of the 14th century India; on the principal towns and their respective distances; on the nature of punishments then inflicted; on the Hindu amirs and princes; and on the Hindi words and idioms then in Muslim usage. The *Futuh-us-Salatin* further illustrates (1) the personal history of its author, Isami, (2) the military history of the period *i. e.* the administration of the army and the armament then in use, and (3) the social history of Medieval India. Illustrations are also afforded of the fusion of the Hindu-Muslim culture and its consequent reaction on the relations between the Hindus and Muslims—a topic of outstanding importance in the political life of modern India.

It is much to be regretted that the real name of Isami is nowhere mentioned in the book. An attempt\* has, however, been made to identify him with Khwaja' Abd Malik' Isami on the authority of the *Khazina-i Ganj-i-Ilahi* (Ilahi's treasury), a biographical account of the poets of the 9th and 10th centuries Hijra including also some of those of the 8th. The *Khazina-i-Ganj-i-Ilahi* is not available now as far as I know.

Isami tells us that on finishing his book—the *Futuh-us-Salatin*—he was about 40 years of age. This enables us to fix 1311 as the date of his birth. He was 16 years of age when in 1327 he was forced to leave Delhi for Daulatabad in the company of his aged grandfather, 'Aizz-ud-din' Isami. Perhaps his father had already died.

Isami remained for some time in Daulatabad; and in the course of the next 24 years—a period in which he witnessed the "outrages" of Muhammad bin Tughluq in the Deccan—he was so much weighed with grief that he became grey. He was so dis-

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\* The Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the India Office Library.

Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Hasan, the first king and founder of the Bahmani dynasty. 'Ala-ud-din Hasan was a rebel against and an enemy of Muhammad bin Tughluq—a fact which throws light on the objective of the *Futuh-us-Salatin*.

When studied side by side with the *Rihla* of Ibn Battuta, the *Futuh us-Salatin* enables us to discover in part the sources of information utilized by the Moorish traveller. It reveals the latter's bias against the emperor and informs us that the Qazis of the empire "had declared war on him and approved of his execution."

It should be recalled that Ibn Battuta was one of the most important Qazis of the Delhi empire. He was posted at the metropolis where he remained about 8 years (1334—42). What must have been his attitude to the emperor? Did he remain altogether unaffected and untouched by the spirit of revolt which was in the air? Was he indifferent to the cause of his fellow-Qazis, and the fate of the 'Ulama, Fuqaha and the *Mashaikh* (Aṣḥab-i-Din) with whom the emperor was at war? These are problems which have been fully discussed in my thesis on the *Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*.

Here it may be noted that the discovery of the *Futuh-us-Salatin* has made easier to understand the cause and source of the charges levelled by Ibn Battuta at the Sultan—for instance, the plot Sultan Muhammad then known as Jauna Khan is said to have formed with Ahmad bin Aiyaz to murder his royal father Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. The *Futuh-us-Salatin* gives practically the same tale as is found in the *Rihla*. Again, the story of the inhuman treatment meted out by the Sultan to Baha-ud-din Gushtasp as related in the *Rihla* is found with minor differences in the *Futuh-us-Salatin*. Both tell us that the flesh of Baha-ud-din Gushtasp was cooked with rice and given to elephants. Both join in telling us stories about the forced exile of all the inhabitants of Delhi and about the punishments inflicted upon a blind man and a cripple for having failed to leave the city.

Isami calls Sultan Muhammad a wretch, and denounces him as insincere. He tells us that Muhammad, while pretending to mourn the loss of his father, really rejoiced at heart. Under the heading "delusion practised by Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Tughluq on the inhabitants of India," the *Futuh-us-Salatin* informs us that on his accession, Muhammad bin Tughluq made lavish promises to the people to give them sound and sympathetic administration, and captivated their hearts by profuse largesse. Before long, his character almost completely changed, and the Sultan became distrustful and oppressive. It was on account of this that Baha-ud-din Gushtasp, the governor of Sagar, subsequently revolted.

Isami makes it clear that the so-called oppressive measures adopted by the Sultan were mainly directed against the *aṣḥab-i-din* (people of religion), the Hindus being exempted.\* Such was the

## P R E F A C E

*THE SHAHNAMA OF MEDIEVAL INDIA*, namely, the *Futuh-us-Salatin* is a poetical history of India or of the Sultans of India for about 350 years (A. D. 1000-1349) As far as I know there is only one\* authentic Ms. of the *Futuh-us-Salatin* which belongs to the India Office Library, London. But for the period I carried on my research work at the School of Oriental Studies, London, this Ms. was not available. It had been loaned from the India Office Library to the University of Madras and had not been returned at the time I submitted my thesis (June 1935).

Before leaving England, however, I was fortunate enough to obtain the aforesaid manuscript. I found it so useful that I incorporated many relevant parts in my work on Muhammad bin Tughluq now in press. Then, I desired to edit and translate the Ms. ; and with this object I applied to the India Office. Dr. H. N. Randle, the librarian, kindly enabled me to obtain a photographic copy of the Ms. But the photograph being not quite successful I further applied for the Ms. being loaned to the Agra College. The librarian very kindly acceded to my request by lending the Ms. to the Agra College for my use.

Since October 1936 when I resumed my duties in India I have been working on this Ms. in my spare hours and holidays. I am of opinion that the *Futuh-us-Salatin* is the veritable *Shahnama* of *Medieval India*. It contains the versified history of the period covered by the works of Minhaj-us-Siraj and Barani—the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* and the *Futawa-i-Jahandari*. It is decidedly more interesting though not perhaps more useful than all the prose works on Indian history including the *Tarikh-i-Firishta*. Originally the *Futuh-us-Salatin* embodied 12000 verses. But many have since been lost, and the present Ms. contains about 11524.

There are, however, two drawbacks in the *Futuh-us-Salatin*. First, its statements are not always free from exaggeration. Secondly, the author, 'Isami, does not mention his sources and authorities. That is, perhaps, why Col. Briggs† was misled. He was in no way justified in declaring the *Futuh-us-Salatin* an unimportant book of historical romances.

The *Futuh-us-Salatin* was composed by 'Isami during the lifetime of the emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq and dedicated to

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\*Mr. A. S. U'sha of the Madras University who has recently published his *Isaminama*—an appreciation of the *Futuh us-Salatin*—draws attention to the existence of another copy of the *Futuh-us-Salatin* in the private library of Maulvi Muhammad Ghaus of Hyderabad. (*Isaminama* ; preface, Madras 1937)

†Briggs, J. *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power* I, 406.



THE  
**FUTUH-US-SALATIN**  
OR  
THE SHAHNAMA OF MEDIEVAL INDIA  
OF  
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