of the Khiláfat, and obtained the title of sovereignty and a royal banner was Amír Banjí Nahárán. The cause of his going to the presence of Hárúnu-r Rashíd, the commander of the faithful, was as follows:—There was a tribe in Ghor called Shíshání, who asserted that their ancestors were first converted to Muhammadanism, and then the Shansabánís. Muhammad is called in the Ghorí language Hamd, and when they espoused the faith they were designated Hamdís, or Muhammadans. In the time of Amír Banjí there was a man of the Shíshání tribe whose name was Sís, or in the Ghorí language Shísh. A dispute arose between this Amír Shísh and Amír Banjí, for the chiefship of Ghor, and contention broke out among the people. It was agreed by both parties that Amír Banjí and Shísh should both repair to the Khalif, and whoever brought back a patent of sovereignty and royal ensign should be the chief.

[*Account of the interview which the two chiefs had with the Khalif, when Amir Banji, through the instruction in court etiquette which he had received from a Jew, was named chief, and Shish was made general.*]

From that time the title of the Shansabání kings, according to the gracious words of Hárúnu-r Rashíd, commander of the faithful, became Kasím-i Amíru-l Múminín. The two chiefs returned to Ghor, and assumed their respective offices of ruler of Ghor and commander of the army. These two offices are held to this day by the different parties, according to this arrangement. The kings of Ghor were all Shansabánians, and the commanders of the army are called Shisháníyins, such as Múadu-d dín, Abú-l 'Abbás Shísh, and Sulaimán Shísh.

3.—*Amir Súri.*

The writer of this work has not been able to obtain the annals of the kings of Ghor from the reign of Amír Banjí down to the present reign, so as to enable him to write their history in detail. The author resides in Dehli, and through the disorders which the inroads of the infidel Mughals have caused in the territories of

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Islám, there has been no possibility of his copying from the histories which he had seen in Ghor. He has written what he found in the Táríkh-i Násirí and the Táríkh-i Haizam Nábí, as well as what he was able to gleam from old men of Ghor, but his readers must pardon imperfections.

It is said that Amír Súrí was a great king, and most of the territories of Ghor were in his possession. But as many of the inhabitants of Ghor, of high and low degree, had not yet embraced Muhammadanism, there was constant strife among them. The Saffárians came from Nímroz to Bust and Dáwar, and Yákúb Lais overpowered Lak-lak, who was chief of Takín-ábád, in the country of Rukhaj.[1] The Ghorians sought safety in Sarhá-sang,[2] and dwelt there in security, but even among them hostilities constantly prevailed between the Muhammadans and the infidels. One castle was at war with another castle, and their feuds were unceasing; but owing to the inaccessibility of the mountains of Rásiát, which are in Ghor, no foreigner was able to overcome them, and Shansabání Amír Súrí was the head of all the Mandeshís. In Ghor there are five great and lofty mountains, which the people of Ghor agree in considering as higher than the Rásiát mountains. One of these is Zár Murgh, in Mandesh, and the capital and palace of the Shansabání kings are at the foot of this mountain. It is said that Zál Zar, father of Rustam, was here nourished by a Símurgh, and some of the inhabitants of the foot of the mountain say that between the fifth and sixth centuries a loud voice of cry and lamentation was heard to proceed from it, announcing the death of Zál. The second mountain is called Sar Khizr; it is also in the territory of Mandesh, in the vicinity of Takhbar. The third is Ashak, in the country of Timrán, which is the greatest and highest of the whole territory of Ghor. The country of Timrán lies in the valleys and environs of this mountain. The fourth is Wazní, and the territories of Dáwar and Wálasht, and the fort of Kahwarán,

[1] [A division of Sijistán; Arachosia.]
[2] ["Sarháosang," or "Sarhá wa Sang," in some copies.]

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are within its ramifications and valleys. And the fifth mountain is Faj Hanísár,[1] in the country of Ghor. It is very inaccessible and secure. It is said that the length, breadth, and height of of this mountain are beyond the limits of guess, and the power of understanding. In the year 590 (1194 A.D.), a piece of the trunk of an ebony tree was found on this mountain, which exceeded two hundred mans in weight, and no one could tell how large and high the tree must have been.

4.—*Malik Muhammad Súrí.*

Abú-l Hasan al Haizam, son of Muhammad-n Nábí author of the Táríkhu-l Haizam, says that when the government of Khurásan and Záwulistán departed from the Sámánians and Saffárians, and fell to Amír Subuktigín, he led his army several times towards the hills of Ghor, and carried on many wars. When Amír Mahmúd Subuktigín succeeded to the throne, the kingdom of Ghor had devolved upon Amír Muhammad Súrí, and he had brought all the territories of Ghor under his sway. Sometimes he made submission to Sultán Mahmúd, and at others he revolted, and withheld the payment of the fixed tribute, and the contingent of arms which he had agreed to supply. Relying on the strength of his forts, and the numbers and power of his army, he was continually engaging in hostilities. Sultán Mahmúd was consequently always on the watch, and his mind was much disturbed by Súrí's power, his large army, and the security afforded to him by the height and inaccessibility of the hills of Ghor. At last he marched to Ghor with a considerable army. Muhammad Súrí was besieged in the fort of Ahangarán, and held out for a long time. He fought desperately, but was at last compelled to evacuate the fort, upon conditions, and made his submission to Sultán Mahmúd.

The Sultán took him and his younger son, whose name was Shísh, to Ghazní, because the lad was very dear to his father. When they reached the neighbourhood of Gílán, Amír Mu-

[1] [Or "Hansár."]

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hammad Súrí died. Some say that he was taken prisoner, and and as he had a very high spirit he could not brook the disgrace. He had a ring, under the stone of which was concealed some poison, which he took and then died. The Sultán immediately sent his son Shísh back to Ghor, and gave the chieftainship of Ghor to the eldest son, Amír Abú 'Alí bin Súrí, an account of whom follows.

5. *Amir Abú 'Ali bin Muhammad bin Súri.*
6. *Amir Abbás bin Shish bin Muhammad bin Súri.*
7. *Amir Muhammad bin 'Abbás.*
8. *Malik Kutbu-d din al Hasan bin Muhammad bin 'Abbás.*
9. *Malik 'Izzu-d din al Husain bin Hasan Abu-s Salátin.*
10. *Malik Kutbu-d din Muhammad bin Husain, King of the Jabbál.*
11. *Sultán Baháu-d din Sám bin Husain.*
12. *Malik Shahábu-d din Muhammad bin Husain, King of Mádin, by Ghor.*
13. *Malik Shujá'u-d din 'Ali bin Husain.*

14. *Sultán 'Aláu-d din Husain bin Husain bin Sám.*

[Page 54 to 63 of the Printed Text.]

Sultán Baháu-d dín Sám, son of Husain, died in Kídán, whilst he was leading his army to Ghazní in order to exact revenge for the death of Sultán Súrí, King of the Jabbál. Sultán 'Aláu-d dín then ascended the throne of Ghor and Fíroz Koh. He assembled the forces of Ghor and Gharjistán, firmly resolved upon attacking Ghazní. Sultán Yamínu-d daula Bahrám Sháh, when he heard of these preparations, assembled the troops of Ghazní and Hindustán and passing through Garmsír by way of Rukhaj and Takínábád, he came to Zamín-dáwar. When 'Aláu-d dín came up with his army, Bahrám Sháh sent messengers to him, saying, "Go back to Ghor, and stay in the states of your forefathers; you have not the strength to resist my army, for I have brought elephants with me." When the envoys delivered this message,

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'Aláu-d dín replied, "If you have brought elephants (*pil*) I have brought the Kharmíls,—besides, you mistake, for you have slain my brothers, whilst I have killed no one belonging to you. Have you not heard what the Almighty says? 'Whosoever is slain unjustly we have given his heir power (to demand satisfaction); and let him not exceed bounds in putting to death, for he is protected.'" When the messengers returned, both armies made ready for battle, Sultán 'Aláu-d dín called for his two champions,[1] named Kharmíl, who were the heads of the army and the renowned heroes of Ghor. One of these was Kharmíl Sám Husain, father of Malik Násiru-d dín Husain; the other was Kharmíl Sám Banjí. Both of these men were famous for courage. 'Aláu-d dín sent for them and said, "Bahrám Sháh has sent to say that he has brought elephants, and I have answered that I have brought the Kharmíls. You must each take care to bring an elephant to the ground to-day." They bowed and retired. The two armies were drawn up at a place called Kotah-báz-báb. The two champions were on foot, and throwing off their coats of mail, they advanced to battle. When the elephants of Bahrám Sháh charged, the two champions each singled out one; and creeping under the armour, they ripped open the bellies of the animals with their knives. Kharmíl Sháh Banjí fell under the feet of the elephant, and the animal rolling upon him, they both perished together. Kharmíl Sám Husain brought down his elephant, extricated himself, and mounted a horse.

When 'Aláu-d dín had cased himself in armour ready for the fight, he called for an overcoat of red satin, which he put on over his armour. His attendants enquired why he did so, and he said, it was to prevent his men seeing his blood and feeling discouraged, in the event of his being wounded with a lance or arrow.

It is the practice in the armies of Ghor for the infantry to protect themselves in battle with a covering made of a raw hide covered thickly on both sides with wool or cotton. This defen-

[1] ["*Pahlawán.*"—Briggs in his *Firishta* says "two gigantic brothers."]

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sive covering is like a board, and is called *károh*. When the men put it on they are covered from head to foot, and their ranks look like walls. The wool is so thick that no weapon can pierce it.

Daulat Sháh, son of Bahrám Sháh, advanced to the assault, mounted on an elephant at the head of his cavalry, and 'Aláu-d dín directed his *károh*-wearers to make an opening in their line, and allow the prince and his followers to pass through. When all had gone through the *károh*-wearers closed up the gap in their line, and the prince with his elephant and all his cavalry were slain.

When the armies of Bahrám Sháh saw this manœuvre and its bloody result, they broke and fled. 'Aláu-d dín pursued them from stage to stage until they reached a place called Josh-ábgarm (hot wells) near Takínábád. Here Bahrám Shah made a stand, but was again defeated. 'Aláu-d dín followed in hot pursuit, and Bahrám Sháh having drawn together some of his scattered forces, and some reinforcements from Ghazní, he a third time gave battle, and once more was routed.

The victor then entered Ghazní, and for seven nights and days he gave it to the flames. Writers record how that during these seven days the clouds of smoke so darkened the air that day seemed to be night, and the flames so lighted the sky at night that night looked like day. For these seven days plunder, devastation, and slaughter, were continuous. Every man that was found was slain, and all the women and children were made prisoners. Under the orders of the conqueror, all the Mahmúdí kings, with the exception of Mahmúd, Mas'úd, and Ibráhím, were dragged from their graves and burnt. All this time, 'Aláu-d dín sat in the palace of Ghazní occupied with drinking and debauchery. He had directed that the tomb of Saifú-d dín Súrí and of the King of the Jabbál should be sought out. Coffins were made for their bodies, and all the army was ordered to prepare for mourning. When the seven days were over, the city burnt and destroyed, and its inhabitants slain or scattered, on

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that very night, 'Aláu-d dín composed some verses in his own praise, which he gave to the minstrels to set to music and sing before him. (Verses.)

He then ordered that the remnant of the people of Ghazní should be spared. Breaking up his court, he went to the bath, and on the morning of the eighth day he led the nobles and followers of Ghor to the tombs of his brothers, where he put on garments of mourning, and with all his army he remained there seven days and nights, mourning, making offerings, and having the Kurán read. He then placed the coffins of his brothers in cradles, and marched with them towards Dáwar and Bust; he destroyed all the palaces and edifices of the Mahmúdí kings, which had no equals in the world, and devastated all the territory which had belonged to that dynasty. After that he returned to Ghor, and interred the remains of his brothers in the tombs of their ancestors.

While at Ghazní he had given directions that several of the Saiyids of that town should be taken in retaliation of Saiyid Majdu-d dín, wazír of Sultán Súrí, who was hanged with him from the bridge of Ghazní. These captives were brought into his presence, and bags filled with the dirt of Ghazní were fastened round their necks. They were thus led to Fíroz-koh, and there they were slain. Their blood was mixed with the earth they had carried from Ghazní, and with that mixture 'Aláu-d dín built some towers on the hills of Fíroz-koh, which are standing to this day. May God forgive him!

Having thus exacted vengeance, he devoted himself to pleasure and wine, and he composed some more verses for minstrels to sing in his praise.

When he ascended the throne of Fíroz-koh he imprisoned his two nephews, Ghiyásu-d dín Muhammad Sám and Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám, sons of Sultán Baháu-d dín Sám, in a fort of Wahíristán, and settled an allowance for their maintenance.

[*Transactions with Sultán Sanjar Saljúkí.*]

Towards the end of his life some emissaries of the Muláhi-

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datu-l maut came to him, and he paid great honour to these heretics, inviting them into all parts of his kingdom. They on their part were desirous of establishing their sway over the people of Ghor. This remains a stain upon the fame of 'Aláu-d dín.

15. *Malik Násiru-d dín al Husain bin Muhammad al Madaini.*
16. *Sultán Saifu-d dín Muhammad bin Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Husain.*
17. *Sultánu-l 'azam Ghiyásu-d dunyá wau-d dín Abú-l Fath Muhammad Sám Kasim Amiru-l muminin.*
18. *Máliku-l Háji 'Aláu-d dín Muhammad bin Abú 'Ali bin Husain ash Shansabi.*
19. *Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Mahmúd bin Muhammad Sám Shansabi.*
20. *Sultán Baháu-d dín Sám bin Mahmúd bin Muhammad Sám.*
21. *Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Atsar bin Husain.*
22. *Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Muhammad bin Abú 'Ali,* the last of these kings.

TABAKAT XIX.

The Shansabániya Sultáns of Ghazní.

[Printed Text, p. 111.]

This book contains an abridged account of the Shansabání Sultáns, whose glory added lustre to the throne of Ghazní, and elevated the kingdoms of Hind and Khurásán. The first of them was Sultán Saifu-d dín Súrí. After him came Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Husain, who took Ghazní, but did not reign there. The throne was next taken by Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám. When he was killed the crown was confided to his slave, Sultán Táju-d dín Yalduz, and so the line ended.

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1.—*Sultán Saifu-d dín Súrí.*

Saifu-d dín was a great king, of handsome appearance and noble carriage, and distinguished for courage, energy, humanity, justice, and liberality. He was the first individual of this family who received the title of Sultán. When the news reached him of the destruction which had fallen upon his elder brother the king of the Jabbál (Kutbu-d dín), he resolved upon taking vengeance upon Bahrám Sháh. He gathered a great force in the states of Ghor and marched to Ghazní, where he routed Bahrám and took the city. Bahrám fled to Hindustán, and Saifu-d dín ascended the throne of Ghazní, when he placed the territories of Ghor under his brother, Sultán Baháu-d dín Súrí, father of Ghiyásu-d dín and Mu'izzu-d dín. After he had secured Ghazní the chiefs of the army and the nobles of the city and environs submitted to him, and he conferred many favours upon them, so that the army and the subjects of Bahrám Sháh were overwhelmed by his bounteous care. When winter came on he sent his own forces back to Ghor, and kept with him only the troops and officers of Bahrám Sháh in whom he placed full confidence. His wazír, Saiyid Majdu-d dín Musawí, and a few of his old servants remained with him, all the rest of his officers both at Court and in the country had been in the service of the old government.

In the depth of the winter, when the roads to Ghor were closed by heavy falls of snow, the people of Ghazní saw that no army or assistance could come to Saifu-d dín from that quarter, so they wrote to Bahrám Sháh explaining how matters stood, and pressing upon him the necessity of seizing this favourable opportunity for the recovery of his dominions. The deposed king acted upon these advices, and marched suddenly to Ghazní and attacked his foe. Súrí, with his wazír and his old servants, abandoned the city and took the road to Ghor, but the horsemen of Bahrám Sháh pursued them and overtook them in the neighbourhood of Sang-i Surákh.[1] They fought desperately until they were unhorsed,

[1] [Or Sang-i Surkh, a strong fort in Ghor, probably near the Hari river.]

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and then retreated into the hills, where they kept up such a shower of arrows that the foe could not approach them. When the last arrow had been shot the horsemen captured them, bound them hand and foot, and conducted them to Ghazní. At the gate of the city Sultán Súrí was placed upon a camel, and his wazír, Majdu-d dín, upon another. They were then led ignominiously round the city, and from the tops of the houses, ashes, dirt, and filth were thrown upon their venerable heads. When they reached the one-arched bridge of Ghazní, the Sultán and his wazír were both gibbeted over the bridge. Such was the disgraceful cruelty practised upon this handsome, excellent, just, and brave king. The Almighty, however, prospered the arms of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Jahán-soz, brother of Sultán Súrí, who exacted full retribution for this horrible deed, as we have already related in another place.

2. *Sultánu-l Gházi Mu'izzu-d dunyá wau-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sám.*[1]

Historians relate that Sultán 'Alau-d-dín was succeeded by his son Sultán Saifu-d dín. This king released the two princes Ghiyásu-d dín and Mu'izzu-d dín (his cousins) who were confined in a fort of Wahíristán, as has been already narrated in the history of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín. Prince Ghiyásu-d dín dwelt peacefully at Fíroz-koh in the service of Sultán Saifu-d dín, and Prince Mu'izzu-d din went to Bámián into the service of his uncle Fakhru-d dín Mas'úd.

When Ghiyásu-d dín succeeded to the throne of Ghor after the tragical death of Saifu-d dín, and the intelligence thereof came to Bámián, Fakhru-d dín addressed his nephew Mu'izzu-d dín saying, "Your brother is acting, what do you mean to do? You must bestir yourself." Mu'izzu-d dín bowed respectfully to

[1] This king is commonly called "Muhammad Ghorí," or "Muhammad Sám." Ibn Asír and Firishta, followed by Elphinstone, call him "Shahábu-d dín Ghorí." The superscription on his coins is "Sultánu-l 'azam Mu'izzu-d dunyá wau-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sám." See Note on the Coins, in the Appendix. In the text of this work he is generally designated Sultán-i Gházi, the victorious king.]

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his uncle, left the Court, and started just as he was for Fírozkoh. When he arrived there he waited upon his brother and paid his respects, as has been already related. One year he served his brother, but having taken some offence he went to Sijistán to Malik Shamsu-d dín Sijistání and staid there one winter. His brother sent messengers to bring him back, and when he arrived he assigned to him the countries of Kasr-kajúrán and Istiya.[1] When he had established his authority over the whole of Garmsír he made over to his brother the city of Takínábád, which was the largest town in Garmsír. This Takínábád is the place which was the cause of the quarrel with the house of Mahmúd Subuktigín, and it passed into the hands of the kings of Ghor. Sultán-i Ghází 'Aláu-d dín sent the following quatrain to Khusrú Sháh bin Bahrám Sháh:

"Thy father first laid the foundation of this place
"Before the people of the world had all fallen under injustice.
"Beware lest for one Takínábád thou shouldest bring
"The empire of the house of Mahmúd to utter ruin."

When Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín became master of Takínábád the armies and leaders of the Ghuzz had fled before the forces of Khitá towards Ghazní, where they remained for twelve years, having wrested the country from the hands of Khusrú Shah and Khusrú Malik. Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín kept continually assailing them from Takínábád, and troubling the country. At length in the year 569 H. (1173 A.D.) Sultán Ghiyásu-dín conquered Ghazní, and returned to Ghor, after placing his brother Mu'izzu-d dín upon the throne, as has been before related. This prince secured the territories of Ghazní, and two years afterwards in 570 H. (1174 A.D.) he conquered Gurdez.

In the third year he led his forces to Multán and delivered that place from the hands of the Karmatians. In the same year 571 H. (1175 A.D.) the people of Sankarán[2] revolted and made great confusion, so he marched against them and put most of them to the sword. It has been written by some that these

[1] [Or "Istiyá," a city of Ghor, in the hills between Hirát and Ghazní.]
[2] [Written also "Shankarán" and "Sanfarán."]

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Sankaráníáns have been called martyrs, in agreement with the declaration of the Kurán, but as they stirred up strife and revolted they were made examples of, and were put to death from political necessity.

In the year after this victory he conducted his army by way of Uch and Multán towards Nahrwála. The Rái of Nahrwála, Bhím-deo,[1] was a minor, but he had a large army and many elephants. In the day of battle the Muhammadans were defeated and the Sultán was compelled to retreat. This happened in the year 574 H. (1178 A.D.).

In 575 H. (1179 A.D.) he attacked and conquered Farsháwar (Pesháwar), and two years afterwards he advanced to Lohor (Lahore). The power of the Ghaznivides was now drawing to its close and their glory was departed, so Khusrú Malik sent his son as a hostage, and an elephant as a present to the Sultán. This was in the year 577 H. (1181 A.D.) Next year the Sultán marched to Dewal, subdued all that country to the sea shore, and returned with great spoil. In 580 H. (1184 A.D.) he went to Lahore, ravaged all the territories of that kingdom, and returned after building the fort of Síálkot, in which he placed Husain Kharmíl as governor. When the Sultán was gone, Khusrú Malik assembled the forces of Hindustán, and having also obtained a body of Kokhars (Gakkars) he laid siege to Síálkot, but, after some interval, was obliged to withdraw. The Sultán returned to Lahore in 581 H. (1185 A.D.).

The house of Mahmúd had now come to its end; the sun of its glory was set, and the registrar of fate had written the mandate of its destruction. Khrusrú Malik could offer no resistance; he came forth peacefully to meet the Sultán, and was made prisoner. Lahore fell completely into the power of the Ghorí prince, and he secured all its dominions in Hindustán.

'Alí Karmákh, chief of Multán, was appointed commander at Lahore, and the father of the writer of this book, Maulánà

[1] [The text has "Bhasu-deo," but some copies give the name correctly "Bhím deo." See *post*, page 300; Firishta I. 179.]

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A'jubatu-z Zamán Afsahu-l 'Ajam Siráju-d dín Minháj, was appointed Kází of the army of Hindustan, and received the honour of investiture from Mu'izzu-d dín. He held his Court at the head quarters of the army, and twelve camels were assigned for moving from place to place his Bench of Justice.

The Sultán returned to Ghazní carrying Khusrú Malik with him, and on arriving there he sent him on to Fíroz-koh, to the Court of the great king Ghiyásu-d dín. This monarch sent him prisoner to the fort of Bahrawán, and confined his son Bahrám Sháh in the fort of Saifrúd.[1] When the war with Khwárizm Sháh broke out in the year 587 H. (1191 A.D.) Khusrú Malik and his son were put to death.[2]

The victorious Sultán then prepared another army, with which he attacked and conquered the fort of Sarhind. This fort he placed under the command of Zíáu-d dín Kází Tolak, (son of) Muhammad 'Abdu-s Salám Nasáwí Tolakí. This Kází Ziáú-d dín was cousin (son of the uncle) of the author's maternal grandfather. At the request of the Kází, Majdu-d dín Tolakí selected 1200 men of the tribe of Tolakí, and placed them all under his command in the fort so as to enable him to hold it until the return of the Sultán from Ghazní.

Rái Kolah Pithaurá came up against the fort, and the Sultán returned and faced him at Naráín.[3] All the Ráis of Hindustán were with the Rái Kolah. The battle was formed and the Sultán, seizing a lance, made a rush upon the elephant which carried Gobind Rái of Dehli. The latter advanced to meet him in front of the battle, and then the Sultán, who was a second Rustam, and the Lion of the Age, drove his lance into the mouth of the Rái and knocked two of the accursed wretch's teeth down

[1] ["Sankarán," in some copies.] [2] [The text does not say by whom.]

[3] [The text has "Taráín," but Firishta gives the name as Náráín and says it was afterwards called Tiraurí. He places it on the banks of the Sarsutí, 14 miles from Thánesar and 80 from Dehli, but according to Gen. Cunningham the battle-field of Náráín is on the banks of the Rákshí river four miles south west of Tiraurí and ten miles to the north of Karnál. Tiraurí is also called Azímábád. See Elphinstone, p. 363.]

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his throat. The Rái, on the other hand, returned the blow and inflicted a severe wound on the arm of his adversary. The Sultán reined back his horse and turned aside, and the pain of the wound was so insufferable that he could not support himself on horseback. The Musulman army gave way and could not be controlled. The Sultán was just falling when a sharp and brave young Khiljí recognized him, jumped upon the horse behind him, and clasping him round the bosom, spurred on the horse and bore him from the midst of the fight.

When the Musulmans lost sight of the Sultán, a panic fell upon them; they fled and halted not until they were safe from the pursuit of the victors. A party of nobles and youths of Ghor had seen and recognized their leader with that lion-hearted Khiljí, and when he came up they drew together, and, forming a kind of litter with broken lances, they bore him to the halting-place. The hearts of the troops were consoled by his appearance, and the Muhammadan faith gathered new strength in his life. He collected the scattered forces and retreated to the territories of Islám, leaving Kází Tolak in the fort of Sarhind. Rái Pithaurá advanced and invested the fort, which he besieged for thirteen months.

Next year the Sultán assembled another army, and advanced to Hindustán to avenge his defeat. A trustworthy person named Mu'ínu-d dín, one of the principal men of the hills of Tolak, informed me that he was in this army, and that its force amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand horsemen bearing armour. Before the Sultán could arrive the fort of Sarhind had capitulated, and the enemy were encamped in the vicinity of Náráin. The Sultán drew up his battle array, leaving his main body in the rear, with the banners, canopies, and elephants, to the number of several divisions. His plan of attack being formed, he advanced quietly. The light unarmoured horsemen were made into four divisions of 10,000, and were directed to advance and harass the enemy on all sides, on the right and on the left, in the front and in the rear, with their

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arrows. When the enemy collected his forces to attack, they were to support each other, and to charge at full speed. By these tactics the infidels were worsted, the Almighty gave us the victory over them, and they fled.

Pithaurá alighted from his elephant, mounted a horse, and galloped off, but he was captured near Sarsutí,[1] and sent to hell. Gobind Rái, of Dehli, was killed in the battle, and the Sultán recognized his head by the two teeth which he had broken. The capital, Ajmír, and all the Siwálik hills, Hánsí, Sarsuti, and other districts were the results of this victory, which was gained in the year 588 H. (1192 A.D.)

On his return homewards the Sultán placed Kutbu-d dín in command of the fort of Kahrám, and in the same year this chief advancing to Mírat conquered that town, and took possession of Dehli. In the following year he captured the fort of Kol. The Sultán came back from Ghazní in the year 590 (1193 A.D.), by way of Benares and Kanauj,[2] defeated Rái Jai Chandar, in the neighbourhood of Chandawáh, and captured over 300 elephants in the battle.

Under the rule of this just king victory followed the standards of his slave Kutbu-d dín Aibak, so that the countries of Nahrwála and Bhangar, the forts of Gwalior and Badáún, and other parts of Hindustán were conquered. But these victories will be related more in detail hereafter, in describing the victories of Kutbu-d dín.

Sultán Sa'íd Ghiyásu-d dín died at Hirát, when his brother Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín was between Tús and Sarakhs in Khurásán, but the latter returned and secured his succession to the throne. [*Proceedings west of the Indus.*]

A rebellion had broken out among the Kokhars (Gakkars), and the tribes of the hills of Júd, and in the winter the Sultán went to Hindustán to put down the revolt. He defeated the rebels,

[1] [The text has "Sarsí" in which it is followed by Núru-l Hakk and others. Firishta says "Sarsuti." Briggs I. 177.]

[2] [The author's knowledge of geography is evidently at fault. Firishta says the battle was fought "between Chandwar and Etawa."]

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and made their blood to flow in streams, but as he was returning home to Ghazní he fell into the hands of these infidels, and was put to death in the year 602 H. (1206 A.D. The period of his reign was thirty-two years. [*Detailed lists are given of his judges, relations, generals, victories, and of his*] Slaves who attained royalty:—Sultán Táju-d dín Yalduz, Sultán Násiru-d dín Kubácha, Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh, Sultán Kutbu-d dín Aibak.

TABAKAT XX.

The Mu'izziya Sultáns of Hind.

[Page 137 to 165 of the Printed Text.]

This chapter is devoted to the history of those kings who were the slaves and servants of the Sultán Ghází Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám, and sat upon the throne of royalty in the country of Hindustán. The throne of that king descended to them, as he had designed and as is mentioned above. They adorned their heads with the crown of royalty which had belonged to that king, and the influence of the light of Muhammadanism was preserved through their power over the different parts and provinces of Hindustán.

1. *Sultán Kutbu-d dín Aibak.*[1]

Sultán Kutbu-d dín, the second Hátim, was a brave and liberal king. The Almighty had bestowed on him such courage and generosity that in his time there was no king like him from the east to the west. When the Almighty God wishes to exhibit to his people an example of greatness and majesty he endows one of his slaves with the qualities of courage and generosity, and then friends and enemies are influenced by his bounteous generosity and warlike prowess. So this king was generous

[1] [This name is written ايبک in the inscriptions of the Kutb-minár at Dehli. Mr. Thomas reads it "Ai-beg."—Thomas' Prinsep I. 327. The Áráish-i Mahfil says "Ipak." See Note *supra*, p. 266.]

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and brave, and all the regions of Hindustán were filled with friends and cleared of foes. His bounty was continuous and his slaughter was continuous.

When Sultán Kutbu-d dín was first brought from Turkistán, his lot fell in the city of Naishápúr, where he was bought by the chief Kází, Fakhru-d dín 'Abdu-l 'Aziz of Kúfa, who was one of the descendants of the great Imám Abú Hanífa of Kúfa. This Kází was governor of Naishápúr and its dependencies. Kutbu-d dín grew up in the service and society of his master's sons, and with them he learned to read the Kurán, and also acquired the arts of riding and archery. In a short time he became remarkable for his manly qualities. When he had nearly arrived at the age of manhood, merchants brought him to Ghaznín, and the Sultán Ghází Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám purchased him from them. He was possessed of every quality and virtue, but he was not comely in appearance. His little finger[1] was broken from his hand, and he was therefore called Aibak, "maimed in the hand."[2]

Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín used occasionally to indulge in music and conviviality, and one night he had a party, and in the course of the banquet he graciously bestowed gifts of money and of uncoined gold and silver upon his servants. Kutbu-d dín received his share among the rest, but whatever he got, either gold or silver, coined or uncoined, he gave it all, when he went out of the assembly, to the Turkí soldiers, guards, faráshes and other servants. He kept nothing, either small or great, for himself. Next day when this was reported to the king, he was looked upon with great favour and condescension, and was appointed to some important duties about the Court. He thus became a great officer, and his rank grew higher every day, until by the king's favour he was appointed Master of the Horse. While he held

[1] ["*Khinsar*," little or middle finger.]

[2] ["*Shal*" is the Persian word used as the explanation of *aibak*. But the statement of the text cannot be correct, as the name Aibak frequently occurs, and must be the name of a tribe, not a nickname.]

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this station, the kings of Ghor, Ghaznín, and Bámián went towards Khurásán, Kutbu-d dín showed great activity in repelling the attacks of Sultán Sháh. He held the command of the foragers, and one day while in quest of forage, he was unexpectedly attacked by the cavalry of the enemy. Kutbu-d dín showed great bravery in the fight which ensued, but his party was small, so he was overpowered, made prisoner, and carried to Sultán Sháh. This prince ordered him into confinement, but when the battle was fought, and Sultán Shah was defeated, the victors released Kutbu-d dín and brought him in his iron fetters, riding on a camel, to his master Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín. The Sultán received him kindly, and on his arrival at his capital Ghaznín, he conferred on him the districts of Kahrám. From thence he went to Mírat, of which he took possession in A.H. 587 (1191 A.D.) In the same year he marched from Mírat and captured Dehli.

In A.H. 590 (1194 A.D.) he and 'Izzu-d dín Husain Kharmíl, both being generals of the army, accompanied the Sultán and defeated Ráí Jai Chand of Benáres in the neighbourhood of Chandawál. In the year 591 H. (1195 A.D.) Thankar was conquered; and in 593 H. (1197 A.D.) he went towards Nahrwála, defeated Ráí Bhím-deo, and took revenge on the part of the Sultán. He also took other countries of Hindustán as far as the outskirts of the dominions of China on the east. Malik 'Izzu-d dín Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí had subdued the districts of Bihár and Núdiya[1] in those quarters, as will be related hereafter in the history of that general.

When Sultán-i Ghází Muhammad Sám died, Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Mahmúd Muhammad Sám, his nephew, gave Kutbu-d dín the royal canopy, and the title of Sultán. In A.H. 602 (1205 A.D.) the new monarch marched from Dehli to attack Lohor, and on Tuesday, the 18th of the month of Zí-l Ka'da, in the same year (June 1206), he mounted the throne in that city. After some time a dispute arose between him and Sultán Táju-d

[1] [نودیه—Nuddea.]

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dín Yalduz respecting Lohor, and it ended in a battle, in which the victory was gained by Sultán Kutbu-d dín. Táju-d dín fled. Sultán Kutbu-d dín then proceeded towards Ghaznín, which he captured, and for forty days he sat upon the throne of that city, at the end of which time he returned to Dehli, as has been before mentioned. Death now claimed his own, and in the year 607 H. the Sultán fell from his horse in the field while he was playing chaugán, and the horse came down upon him, so that the pommel of the saddle entered his chest, and killed him. The period of his government, from his first conquest of Dehli up to this time, was twenty years, and the time of his reign, during which he wore the crown, and had the Khutba read and coin struck in his name, was something more than four years.

2. *Árám Sháh, son of Sultán Kutbu-d dín Aibak.*

On the death of Sultán Kutbu-d dín, the nobles and princes of Hindustán deemed it advisable for the satisfaction of the army, the peace of the people, and the tranquillity of the country, to place Árám Sháh upon the throne. Sultán Kutbu-d dín had three daughters, of whom the two eldest were, one after the death of the other, married to Malik Násiru-d dín Kubácha, and the third to Sultán Shamsu-d dín. Now that Kutbu-d dín was dead, and Árám Sháh was raised to the throne, Malik Násiru-d dín Kubácha marched towards Uch and Multán. Kutbu-d dín had regarded Sultán Shamsu-d dín as well suited for empire, had called him his son, and had given him Badáún in Jágír. The chief men of Dehli now invited him from Badáún and raised him to the throne. He espoused the daughter of Sultán Kutbu-d dín.

When Árám Sháh expired, Hindustán was divided into four principalities. The province of Sind was possessed by Násiru-d dín Kubácha; Dehli and its environs belonged to Sultán Sa'id Shamsu-d dín; the districts of Lakhnautí were held by the Khiljí chiefs and Sultáns, and the province of Lohor was held sometimes by Malik Táju-d dín, sometimes by Malik Násiru-d dín Kubácha, and sometimes by Sultán Shamsu-d dín. An account of each will be given hereafter.

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3. *Násiru-d dín Kubácha.*

Malik Násiru-d dín was an excellent monarch, and was a slave of Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín. He was a man of the highest intelligence, cleverness, experience, discretion, and acumen. He had served Sultán-i Ghází Mu'izzu-d dín for many years in all kinds of offices and positions, and he was well acquainted with all matters, small and great, concerning courts, and military and and civil affairs. He obtained Uch and Multán, which were ruled by Malik Násiru-d dín Aitamur.[1] In the battle of Andkhod,[2] which Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín fought with the armies of Khitá and the princes of Turkistán, Násiru-d dín had displayed great valour by the stirrups of the Sultán, where he fought desperately, and sent many of the infidels to hell. The warriors of the army of Khitá were distressed by the slaughter which he dealt around, so they all at once came upon him and thus he was overpowered.[3] The Sultán Ghází, through this event, came safely to the throne of Ghaznín, and the town of Uch was assigned to Malik Násiru-d dín Kubácha. He married two daughters of Sultán Kutbu-d dín; by the first he had a son, Malik 'Aláu-d dín Bahrám Sháh, who was handsome and of amiable character, but he was addicted to pleasure, and gave way to his youthful passions. When Malik Násiru-d dín Kubácha, after the death of Sultán Kutbu-d dín, went to Uch, he took the city of Multán; and Hindustán, Dewal, and all as far as the sea shore, fell into his power. He also took the forts, towns, and cities of the territory of Sind, and assumed regal dignity. He extended his rule to Tabar-hindh,[4] Kahrám, and Sarsutí. He

[1] [This sentence is defective and ambiguous.]

[2] [The name is written correctly "Andkhod," not "Andkho" as in the translation of Firishta, which is followed by Elphinstone and the maps. The text of Firishta has "Andkhod," and this is the spelling of Ibn Haukál, Yákut, and the geographers generally. Yákut says the "ethnic name is Ankhudí," and Gen. Cunningham proposes to identify it with the "Alikodra" of Ptolemy.]

[3] ["*Shahádat yáft*," lit. "he obtained martyrdom" or, "was slain."]

[4] [There can be little, if any, doubt that this place is the same as Sarhindh, but from this point onwards the name is most persistently written "Tabarhindh," although the name "Sarhindh," has been used previously (pp. 295, 296). It may be a

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took Lohor several times, and fought a battle with the army of Ghaznín which had come there on the part of Sultán Táju-d dín Yalduz; but he was defeated by Khwájá Muwaidu-l Mulk Sanjarí, who was minister of the king of Ghaznín. He still maintained possession of the territory of Sind. During the struggles with the infidels of Chín, many chiefs of Khurásán, Ghor, and Ghaznín joined him, and upon all his associates he bestowed great favours and honours. There was continual variance between him and Sultán Sa'íd Shams.

When the battle between Jalálu-d dín Khwárizm Sháh and Changíz Khán was fought on the banks of the Indus, Jalálu-d dín came into Sind and went towards Dewal and Makrán. After the victory of Nandua-tari the Moghal prince came with a large army to the walls of the city of Multán and besieged that strong fort for forty days. During this war and invasion Malik Násiru-d dín opened his treasures and lavished them munificently among the people. He gave such proofs of resolution, energy, wisdom, and personal bravery, that it will remain on record to the day of resurrection. This Moghal invasion took place in the year 621 H. (1224 A.D.) One year and six months after, the chiefs of Ghor through this irruption of the infidels, joined Násiru-d dín. Towards the end of the year 623 H. (1226 A.D.), the army of Khilj, consisting of all the forces of Khwárizm, under the command of Malik Khán Khilj, invaded the lands of Mansúra, one of the cities of Siwistán. Malik Násiru-d dín marched to expel them, and a battle ensued, in which the army of Khilj was defeated and the Khán of Khilj was slain. Malik Násiru-d dín then returned to Multán and Uch.

In this same year, the compiler of these leaves, Siráj Minháj, came from the country of Khurásán, via Ghaznín and Mithán, and thence reached Uch by boat, on Tuesday, the 26th of the month of Jumáda-l awwal A.H. 624 (April, 1227 A.D.). In the month

blunder of the copyist, but on the other hand, it may be another and older form of the name. The etymology of the word Sarhindh is doubtful, and has been a subject of speculation.—See Thornton.]

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of Zí-l hijja of the same year, the Fírozí college at Uch was consigned to the care of the author. On the provocation of the army of 'Aláu-d dín Bahrám Sháh, in the month of Rabí'u-l awwal, A.H. 624, Sultán Sa'íd Shamsu-d dín encamped in sight of Uch. Malik Násiru-d dín fled by water towards Bhakkar, and the army of the Sultán, under the command of the Minister of State, Nizámu-l Mulk, pursued him and besieged him in that fort. The Sultán remained two months and twenty-seven days before Uch, and on Tuesday the 27th of Jumáda-l awwal the fort was taken. When the news of this conquest reached Malik Násiru-d dín, he sent his son, 'Aláu-d dín Bahrám Sháh to wait upon the Sultán; but as he reached the camp on the 22nd of Jumáda-l ákhir, the news of the conquest of Bhakkar arrived. Malik Násiru-d dín drowned himself in the river Sind and thus ended his life. He reigned in the territory of Sind, Uch, and Multán for twenty-two years.

4. *Sultán Baháu-d dín Tughril.*

Malik Baháu-d dín Tughril was a man of kindly disposition, just, charitable, and polite. He was one of the oldest servants of Sultán Ghází Mu'izzu-d dín, who with his favour had made him a great man. When the Sultán conquered the fort of Thankar[1] in the country of Bhayána[2] after fighting with the Rái, he consigned it to Baháu-d dín, and he so improved the condition of the country that merchants and men of credit came thither from all parts of Hindustán and Khurásán, He gave all of them houses and goods, and also made them masters of landed property, so that they settled there. As he and his army did not like to reside in the fort of Thankar, he founded the city of Sultán-kot,[3] in the territory of Bhayána and made it the place of his residence. From this place he constantly sent his horsemen towards Gwalior. When Sultán Ghází retired from that fort

[1] ["Bhankar" or "Bhangar" in other places, see p. 296. A note in the text gives the preference to "Thankar," but no reason is assigned.]

[2] [Bayána or Biana, fifty miles S.W. of Agra.]

[3] [See Firishta I. 195. A note in the text says "Sífálkot," but this is impossible.]

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he told Baháu-d dín that he ought to secure it for himself. Upon this hint Baháu-d dín, posted a division of his army at the foot of the fort of Gwalior, and at two parasangs distance he constructed a fortification, where his cavalry might picket at night and return in the morning to the base of the rock. A year passed and the garrison being reduced to extremities sent messengers to Kutbu-d dín and surrendered the fort to him. There was a little misunderstanding between Baháu-d dín and Sultán Kutbu-d dín. Malik Baháu-d dín Tughril was a man of excellent qualities, and he has left many marks of his goodness in the territory of Bhayáná.

5. *Malik Ghází Ikhtiyáru-d dín Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí, of Lakhnauti.*

It is related that this Muhammad Bakhtiyár was a Khiljí, of Ghor, of the province of Garmsír. He was a very smart, enterprising, bold, courageous, wise, and experienced man. He left his tribe and came to the Court of Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín, at Ghaznín, and was placed in the *díwán-i 'arz* (office for petitions), but as the chief of that department was not satisfied with him he was dismissed, and proceeded from Ghaznín to Hindustán. When he reached the Court of Dehli, he was again rejected by the chief of the *díwán-i 'arz* of that city,[1] and so he went on to Badáún, into the service of Hizbaru-d dín Hasan, commander-in-chief, where he obtained a suitable position. After some time he went to Oudh in the service of Malik Hisámu-d dín Ughlabak. He had good horses and arms, and he had showed much activity and valour at many places, so he obtained Sahlat and Sahlí[2] in Jagír. Being a bold and enterprising man, he used to make incursions into the districts of Munír (Monghír), and Behár, and bring away much plunder, until in this manner he obtained plenty of horses, arms,

[1] [Here there is a variation in the text for four or five lines, but the reading adopted seems the most intelligible and consistent. See printed text p. 146.]

[2] [Var. "Salmat," "Sahlast."]

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and men. The fame of his bravery and of his plundering raids spread abroad, and a body of Khiljís joined him from Hindustán. His exploits were reported to Sultán Kutbu-d dín, and he sent him a dress and showed him great honour. Being thus encouraged, he led his army to Behár and ravaged it. In this manner he continued for a year or two to plunder the neighbourhood, and at last prepared to invade the country.

It is said by credible persons that he went to the gate of the fort of Behár with only two hundred horse, and began the war by taking the enemy unawares. In the service of Bakhtiyár there were two brothers of great intelligence. One of them was named Nizámu-d dín and the other Samsámu-d dín. The compiler of this book met Samsámu-d dín at Lakhnautí in the year 641 H. (1243 A.D.), and heard the following story from him. When Bakhtiyár reached the gate of the fort, and the fighting began, these two wise brothers were active in that army of heroes. Muhammad Bakhtiyár with great vigour and audacity rushed in at the gate of the fort and gained possession of the place. Great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Most of the inhabitants of the place were Brahmans with shaven heads. They were put to death. Large numbers of books were found there, and when the Muhammadans saw them, they called for some persons to explain their contents, but all the men had been killed. It was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study (*madrasa*). In the Hindí language the word Behár (*vihár*) means a college.

When this conquest was achieved, Bakhtiyár returned laden with plunder, and came to Kutbu-d dín, who paid him much honour and respect. A body of the nobles of the Court looked upon the favours which Sultán Kutbu-d dín bestowed upon him, with jealousy. In their convivial parties they used to sneer at him, and to cast jibes and ironical observations at him. Their animosity reached to such a pitch that he was ordered to combat with an elephant at the White Palace. He struck it such a blow with his battle-axe on the trunk that it ran away, and he

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pursued it. On achieving this triumph, Sultán Kutbu-d dín bestowed rich gifts upon him from his own royal treasure, and he also ordered his nobles to present to him such ample offerings as can scarcely be detailed. Muhammad Bakhtiyár in that very meeting scattered all those gifts and gave them away to the people. After receiving a robe from the Sultán he returned to Behár. Great fear of him prevailed in the minds of the infidels of the territories of Lakhnautí, Behár, Bang (Bengal), and Kámrúp.

It is related by credible authorities that mention of the brave deeds and conquests of Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyár was made before Rái Lakhmaniya, whose capital was the city of Núdiya. He was a great Rái, and had sat upon the throne for a period of eighty years. A story about that Rái may be here related :—

When the father of the Rái departed this world, he was in the womb of his mother, so the crown was placed upon her belly, and all the great men expressed their loyalty before her. His family was respected by all the Ráis or chiefs of Hindustán, and was considered to hold the rank of Khalif, or sovereign. When the time of the birth of Lakhmaniya drew near, and symptoms of delivery appeared, his mother assembled the astrologers and Brahmans, in order that they might see if the aspect of the time was auspicious. They all unanimously said that if the child were born at that moment it would be exceedingly unlucky, for he would not become a sovereign. But that if the birth occurred two hours later the child would reign for eighty years. When his mother heard this opinion of the astrologers, she ordered her legs to be tied together, and caused herself to be hung with her head downwards. She also directed the astrologers to watch for the auspicious time. When they all agreed that the time for delivery was come, she ordered herself to be taken down, and Lakhmaniya was born directly, but he had no sooner come into the world than his mother died from the anguish she had endured. Lakhmaniya was placed upon the throne, and he ruled for eighty years. It is said by trustworthy persons that no one, great or small, ever suffered injustice at his hands. He used to

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give a lac to every person that asked him for charity; as was also the custom of the generous Sultán, the Hátim of the time, Kutbu-d dín. In that country the current money is *kaudas* (kaurís) instead of *chítals*,[1] and the smallest present he made was a lac of *kaudas*.

Let us return to the history of Muhammad Bakhtiyár. When he came back from his visit to Sultán Kutbu-d dín and conquered Behár, his fame reached the ears of Rái Lakhmaniya and spread throughout all parts of the Rái's dominions. A body of astrologers, Brahmans, and wise men of the kingdom, came to the Rái and represented to him that in their books the old Brahmans had written that the country would eventually fall into the hands of the Turks. The time appointed was approaching; the Turks had already taken Behár, and next year they would also attack his country, it was therefore advisable that the Rái should make peace with them, so that all the people might emigrate from the territory, and save themselves from contention with the Turks. The Rái asked whether the man who was to conquer the country was described as having any peculiarity in his person. They replied, Yes; the peculiarity is, that in standing upright both his hands hang down below the knees, so that his fingers touch his shins.[2] The Rái observed that it was best for him to send some confidential agents to make enquiry about that peculiarity. Accordingly confidential agents were despatched, an examination was made, and the peculiarity was found in the person of Muhammad Bakhtiyár. When this was ascertained to be the fact, most of the Brahmans and many chiefs (*sáhán*) went away to the country of Sanknát,[3] and to the cities of Bang and Kámrúp, but Rái Lakhmaniya did not like to leave his territory.

Next year Muhammad Bakhtiyár prepared an army, and marched from Behár. He suddenly appeared before the city of Núdiya with only eighteen horsemen, the remainder of his army

[1] [See Thomas, Jour. R. A. S. New Series II. 165.]
[2] [An old Hindú idea of the figure of a hero.]
[3] [Var. "Sankát" and "Saknát;" query "Jagganáth." See below.]

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was left to follow. Muhammad Bakhtiyár did not molest any man, but went on peaceably and without ostentation, so that no one could suspect who he was. The people rather thought that he was a merchant, who had brought horses for sale. In this manner he reached the gate of Rái Lakhmaniya's palace, when he drew his sword and commenced the attack. At this time the Rái was at his dinner, and golden and silver dishes filled with food were placed before him according to the usual custom. All of a sudden a cry was raised at the gate of his palace and in the city. Before he had ascertained what had occurred, Muhammad Bakhtiyár had rushed into the palace and put a number of men to the sword. The Rái fled barefooted by the rear of the palace, and his whole treasure, and all his wives, maid servants, attendants, and women fell into the hands of the invader. Numerous elephants were taken, and such booty was obtained by the Muhammadans as is beyond all compute. When his army arrived, the whole city was brought under subjection, and he fixed his head quarters there.

Rái Lakhmaniya went towards Sanknát[1] and Bengal, where he died. His sons are to this day rulers in the territory of Bengal. When Muhammad Bakhtiyár had taken possession of the Rái's territory, he destroyed the city of Núdiya and established the seat of his government at Lakhnautí. He brought the surrounding places into his possession, and caused his name to be read in the Khutba and struck on the coins. Mosques, colleges, and monasteries were raised everywhere by the generous efforts of him and his officers, and he sent a great portion of the spoil to Sultán Kutbu-d dín.

When several years had elapsed, he received information about the territories of Turkistán and Tibet, to the east of Lakhnautí, and he began to entertain a desire of taking Tibet and Turkistán. For this purpose he prepared an army of about ten thousand horse. Among the hills which lie between Tibet and the territory of Lakhnautí, there are three races of people.

[1] [Stewart in his History of Bengal says *Jaggandth.*]

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The one is called Kúch (Kúch Behár), the second Mích, and the third, Tiháru.[1] They all have Turkí features and speak different languages, something between the language of Hind and that of Tibet. One of the chiefs of the tribes of Kúch and Mích, who was called 'Alí Mích, had been converted to Muhammadanism by Muhammad Bakhtiyár, and this man agreed to conduct him into the hills. He led him to a place where there was a city called Mardhan-kot.[2] It is said that in the ancient times when Gurshásp Sháh returned from China, he came to Kámrúd (Kámrúp) and built this city. Before the town there runs a stream which is exceedingly large. It is called Bangamatí.[3] When it enters the country of Hindustan it receives in the Hindí language the name of Samundar. In length, breadth, and depth, it is three times greater than the Ganges. Muhammad Bakhtiyár came to the banks of this river, and 'Alí Mích went before the Muhammadan army. For ten days they marched on until he led them along the upper course of the river into the hills, to a place where from old times a bridge had stood over the water having about twenty (*bist o and*) arches of stone. When the army reached the bridge, Bakhtiyár posted there two officers, one a Turk, and the other a Khiljí, with a large force to secure the place till his return. With the remainder of the army he then went over the bridge. The Rái of Kámrúp, on receiving intelligence of the passage of the Muhammadans, sent some confidential officers to warn Bakhtiyár against invading the country of Tibet, and to assure him that he had better return and make more suitable preparations. He also added that he, the Rái of Kámrúp, had determined that next year he also would muster his forces and precede the Muhammadan army to secure the country. Muhammad Bakhtiyár paid no heed to these representations, but marched on towards the hills of Tibet.

One night in the year 641 (1243 A.D.) he halted at a place

[1] [Stewart gives these names "Koonch, Mikeh, (or Miekh) and Neharu."—*History of Bengal*, p. 46.]

[2] [Var. "Bardhan, Dardhan." Stewart has "Burdehun or Murdehun."]

[3] [The Brahmaputra. It is so called in this part of its course.]

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between Deo-kot and Bangáwan, and stayed as a guest in the house of Mu'atamadu-d daula, who had formerly been an equerry in the service of Muhammad Bakhtiyár and had lived in the town of Lakhnautí. From this man he heard that after passing over the bridge, the road lay for fifteen stages through the defiles and passes of the mountains, and at the sixteenth stage level land was reached. The whole of that land was well populated, and the villages were flourishing. The village which was first reached had a fort, and when the Muhammadan army made an attack upon it, the people in the fort and the surrounding places came to oppose them, and a battle ensued. The fight raged from morning till the time of afternoon prayer, and large numbers of the Muhammadans were slain and wounded. The only weapons of the enemy were bamboo spears; and their armour, shields and helmets, consisted only of raw silk strongly fastened and sewed together. They all carried long bows and arrows. When night came on, the prisoners who had been taken were brought forward and questioned, and it was then ascertained that at five parasangs from that place there was a city called Karambatan,[1] and in it there was about three hundred and fifty thousand brave Turks armed with bows. The moment the horsemen of the Muhammadans arrived, messengers went to report their approach, and these messengers would reach their destination next morning. When the author was at Lakhnautí, he made enquiries about that place, and learnt that it was a pretty large city. The ramparts of it are built of stone. The inhabitants of it are Brahmans and Núnís,[2] and the city is under the sway of the chief of these people. They profess the Buddhist[3] religion. Every morning in the market of that city, about fifteen hundred horses are sold. All the saddle horses[4] which come into the

[1] [Var. "Karam-bain," "Laram-bain." Stewart has "Kúrmputtun."]

[2] ["Núníyán," var. "Túníyán."]

[3] ["*Dín-i Tarsái*," which according to the dictionaries, means Christianity, or Fire-worship. It is not likely that either can be intended here, though Stewart in his *Hist. of Bengal* says, "their prince was a Christian." The term is probably applied to any established religion other than Muhammadanism.]

[4] ["*Asp-i tang-bastah*." Stewart reads "*Túnghan*," which is probably right.]

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territory of Lakhnautí are brought from that country. Their roads pass through the ravines of the mountains, as is quite common in that part of the country. Between Kámrúp and Tibet there are thirty-five mountain passes through which horses are brought to Lakhnautí.

In short, when Muhammad Bakhtiyár became aware of the nature of the country, and saw that his men were tired and exhausted, and that many had been slain and disabled in the first day's march, he consulted with his nobles, and they resolved that it was advisable to retreat, that in the following year they might return to the country in a state of greater preparation. On their way back there was not left on all the road a single blade of grass or a bit of wood. All had been set on fire and burnt. The inhabitants of the valleys and passes had all removed far away from the road, and for the space of fifteen days not a sír of food nor a blade of grass or fodder was to be found, and they were compelled to kill and eat their horses.

When, after descending the hills of the land of Kámrúp, they reached the bridge, they found that the arches of it had been demolished. The two officers who had been left to guard it had quarrelled, and in their animosity to each other had neglected to take care of the bridge and the road, so the Hindús of Kámrúp had come there and destroyed the bridge. When Muhammad Bakhtiyár with his army reached the place, he found no means of crossing. Neither was there a boat to be found, so he was greatly troubled and perplexed. They resolved to fix on some place where to encamp, and prepare rafts and boats to enable them to cross the river.

In the vicinity of this place was perceived a temple, very lofty and strong, and of beautiful structure. In it there were numerous idols of gold and silver, and one very large golden idol, which exceeded two or three thousand miskáls in weight. Muhammad Bakhtiyár and the remnant of his army sought refuge in that temple, and set about procuring wood and ropes for constructing rafts to cross the stream. The Rái of Kámrúp was informed of

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the distress and weakness of the Muhammadans, and he issued orders to all the Hindús of his territory to come up, levy after levy, and all around the temple they were to stick their bamboo spears in the ground and to plait them together so as to form a kind of wall. When the soldiers of Islám saw this they told Muhammad Bakhtiyár that if they remained passive they would all be taken in the trap of the infidels and be made prisoners; some way of escape must be sought out. By common consent they made a simultaneous sally, and directing their efforts to one spot, they cleared for themselves a way through the dangerous obstacle to the open ground. The Hindús pursued them to the banks of the river and halted there. Every one exerted his ingenuity to devise some means of passing over the river. One of the soldiers urged his horse into the water, and it was found fordable to the distance of a bow-shot. A cry arose in the army that a fordable passage was found, and all threw themselves into the stream. The Hindús in their rear took possession of the banks. When the Muhammadans reached the middle of the stream, the water was found to be very deep, and they nearly all perished. Muhammad Bakhtiyár with some horse, to the number of about a hundred, more or less, crossed the river with the greatest difficulty, but all the rest were drowned.

When Muhammad Bakhtiyár escaped from this watery grave, the intelligence of it reached the people of Kúch and Mích. 'Alí Mích, the guide, sent his relatives forward on the road to meet him, and received him with much kindness and hospitality. When Bakhtiyár reached Deokot he was seized by sickness, occasioned by excess of grief. He would never go out, because he felt ashamed to look on the wives and children of those who had perished. If ever he did ride out, all people, women and children, from their housetops and the streets, cried out cursing and abusing him. In this position the remark often fell from his tongue, "Has any misfortune befallen Sultán Ghází Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám, that my fortune has turned so bad?" It was even so, for Sultán Ghází was killed about that

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time. Muhammad Bakhtiyár grew worse under his trouble, took to his bed, and died. Some writers say that there was a chief under Muhammad Bakhtiyár, of the same tribe as himself, 'Alí Mardán Khiljí by name. He was a very bold and dauntless man, and the district of Kúní had been assigned to him. When he heard of Bakhtiyár's sickness he came to Deokot, where Bakhtiyár was lying ill. Three days had elapsed since anyone had been admitted to see him, but 'Alí Mardán by some means got in to him, drew aside the sheet with which he was covered, and killed him with a knife. His death took place in A.H. 602 (1205 A.D.)

6. *Malik 'Izzu-d dín Muhammad Shírán Khiljí.*

It is related that Muhammad Shírán and Ahmad Írán were two brothers, sons of a noble Khiljí. They were in the service of Muhammad Bakhtiyár, and when this chief started on his campaign in Kámrúp and Tibet, he sent Shírán and his brother Ahmad with detachments of his troops to Lakhnautí and Jájnagar. On the arrival of the news of the defeat and death of Bakhtiyár, they returned from their stations, and came dutifully to Deokot. From that place he (Muhammad Shírán) went to Nárkotí, which belonged to 'Alí Mardán, and seizing him in punishment of the crime he had committed, put him in prison under the charge of the Kotwál of the place, whose name was Bábá Kotwál Isfahání. He then came back to Deokot and collected all the nobles. This Muhammad Shírán was a very active and high principled man.

When Muhammad Bakhtiyár sacked the city of Núdiya and defeated Rái Lakhmaniya, the soldiers, followers, and elephants of the Rái were dispersed, and the Muhammadans pursued and plundered them. Muhammad Shírán was three days absent from the camp on this pursuit, so that all the officers began to be apprehensive about him. After the third day, news was brought that Muhammad Shírán had captured eighteen or more

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elephants in a certain jungle, with their drivers, and alone by himself he was keeping them there. Horsemen were sent out to his assistance and all the elephants were brought in. In short, Muhammad Shírán was an energetic man, ready and full of expedients. When he returned, after taking 'Alí Mardán prisoner, as he was the chief of all the Khiljí nobles, they all rendered him homage, but each noble continued to rule over the districts which belonged to himself. 'Alí Mardán contrived to ingratiate himself with the Kotwál, and, escaping from prison, he went to the Court of Delhi. Upon his representations Sultán Kutbu-d dín sent Káímáz[1] Rúmí from Oude towards Lakhnautí, and in execution of the royal orders the Khiljí chiefs were quieted. Hisámu-d dín 'Auz Khiljí, who had received the districts of Gangatorí[2] from Muhammad Bakhtiyár, came to receive Káímáz Rúmí, and went with him to Deokot. Here Káímáz transferred to him the district of Deokot, and then returned. Muhammad Shírán and other Khiljí chiefs having assembled, determined to attack Deokot, so Káímáz came back from the middle of his journey and fought a battle with the Khiljí chiefs, and Muhammad Shírán and the other Khiljís were defeated. Quarrels afterwards broke out among these chiefs in the neighbourhood of Makída[3] and Mantús, and Muhammad Shírán was slain. His tomb is in that country.

7. *Malik 'Aláu-d dín 'Alí Mardán Khiljí.*

'Alí Mardán was very resolute, bold, and fearless. When he escaped from the prison at Nárkotí, he came to Sultán Kutbu-d dín, and with him went to Ghaznín, where he fell into the hands of the Turks of that place. It is related that one day as he was going to a hunting-ground with Sultán Táju-d dín Yalduz, he said to one of the Khiljí nobles, who was called Sálár-i Zafar (victorious general), "What would you say if I were to kill

[1] [Var. "Kánmáz," "Kímár."]
[2] [Var. "Kankori."]
[3] [Var: Sakananda.]

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Táju-d dín Yalduz with one arrow, and to make you king on the spot." Zafar Khilj was a wise man, and he prevented him from committing the (crime). When he returned from the hunt Zafar gave him two horses and sent him away. On reaching Hindustan, he waited upon Sultán Kutbu-d dín and received much honour and favour. The province of Lakhnautí was conferred on him and he went to that place. When he had crossed the Kosí river, Hisámu-d dín 'Auz Khiljí came from Deo-kot to meet him. He then entered Deo-kot, assumed the reins of government, and brought all the territories under his rule. When Sultán Kutbu-d dín died, 'Alí Mardán assumed royal state, and ordered his name to be read in the Khutba, under the title of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. He was a cruel and sanguinary man. He sent his army in different directions and slew many Khiljí chiefs. The Ráís of the surrounding places grew apprehensive of him, and sent him presents and tribute. He began to issue orders to various parts of Hindustan, and to utter most extravagant vaunts before the assembly, and in open court he talked about the kings of Khurásán, Ghazní, and Ghor, and uttered the most useless absurdities. He even talked of sending his mandates to Ghaznín Khurásán, and 'Irák, requiring them to submit to his rule.

It is related that there was a merchant in that country who was reduced to poverty and had lost all his wealth. He requested a donation from 'Alí Mardán, and the king enquired what place he was a native of. He replied, Safáhán (Ispahán). The king then ordered a farmán to be written, granting to him Safáhán as his jágir. Through dread of his great severity and harshness, no one dared to say that Safáhán was not in his possession. If any person told him, when he made such grant, that the place was not his, he replied, "I shall take it." So he granted Safáhán to that merchant, who was indigent and miserable. The great and wise persons of the place represented in behalf of the poor fellow, that he required money for the expences of the journey and for the fitting out of an army to take possession of his grant of Ispahán. A large sum of money was accordingly ordered to

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be given to the merchant. To such a degree was the haughtiness and severity and false pride of 'Alí Mardán excited. Besides all this, he was a cruel man and a tyrant. The poor people, the peasants, and the army were all tired of his tyranny and cruelty. They had no way of escape but in rebellion. A number of Khiljí chiefs combined against him and killed him. They then placed Hisámu-d dín 'Auz upon the throne. The length of 'Alí Mardán's reign was two years, more or less.

8. *Malik Hisámu-d dín 'Auz Khiljí.*

Hisámu-d dín 'Auz was a man of kindly disposition. He was a Khilj of Ghor. It is said that once upon a time he was driving a laden mule along the skirts of the hills of Ghor to a certain village, on his journey from the country of Záwulistán to the highlands called Pasha-afroz. Two fakírs in religious garb came to him and asked him whether he carried any food on his mule. 'Auz Khiljí replied that he did. He had with him some traveller's bread, which he took from a bag on the back of the mule and spread it before the darweshes. When they had eaten the food, he produced some water and held it in a vessel before them. The fakírs partook of the food and drank of the water which he presented; they began to talk with each other saying, "This man has rendered us a service, we must not let him lose by it." They turned their faces towards 'Auz Khiljí and said, "O chief, go towards Hindustan; we give you the country as far as Muhammadanism has spread."

At this direction of the fakírs he returned from that spot, and placed his wife upon his mule, and took his way towards Hindustán. He joined Muhammad Bakhtiyár; and his fortune reached such a degree of success that his name was read in the Khutba and struck upon the coin throughout the territory of Lakhnautí. To him the title of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín was given. He made the city of Lakhnautí the seat of his government, and built a fort for his residence. People flocked to him from all quarters, for he was exceedingly

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good, and possessed solid endowments, both external and internal. He was polite, brave, just and generous. During his reign, the army and the people in general lived in tranquillity and comfort. All his nobles were greatly benefitted by his gifts and bounty, and obtained immense wealth. He left many fine monuments of his goodness behind him in the country. He raised public buildings and mosques. He gave stipends to learned men and to shaikhs and saiyids; he also bestowed property and goods upon other classes of the people. For instance, there was a descendant of the Imám of Fíroz-koh, who was called Jalálu-d dín, son of Jamálu-d dín Ghaznawí. He came with a body of men from his native country to Hindustán in A.H. 608 (1211 A.D.) After some years he went back to Fíroz-koh, taking immense wealth with him. On being asked how he obtained those riches, he said, that when he reached Hindustan, he went to Dehli, and from thence he determined to proceed to Lakhnautí. When he reached that place the Almighty so favoured him that his name was mentioned in the Court of Ghiyásu-d dín. That kind-hearted king awarded him from his treasure a large dish-full of gold and silver *tankas*, worth about ten thousand silver *tankas*. He also ordered the chiefs, nobles and ministers to give something, and accordingly each one gave him some present, amounting in the whole to about three thousand pieces more, and at the time of his departure, five thousand pieces were added to what he had formerly received; so that the Imám-záda obtained eighteen thousand *tankas* through the favour of that Ghiyásu-d dín Khiljí, king of Lakhnautí.

When the writer of this book reached the territory of Lakhnautí in A.H. 641 (1243 A.D.), he witnessed the charity of this king with his own eyes.

The territory of Lakhnautí consists of two parts, on opposite banks of the Ganges. That to the west is called Dál,[1] the city of Lakhnautí is on this side. The eastern side is called Barbanda,[2] and the city of Deo-kot is on that side. From Lakh-

[1] [Var. "Azál."] [2] [Var. "Baránd."]

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nautí to the gates of Lakhnaur,[1] and on the other side of the river as far as the city of Deo-kot, embankments (*pul*) have been raised, which extend for ten days' journey. The reason for this is that during the rains all that country is inundated and if there were no embankments people would have to go to different parts and places in boats. In his reign, the roads by means of these embankments became passable by all men. It is also said that when, after the death of Malik Násiru-d dín Mahmúd, Sultán Sa'íd Shamsu-d dín came to the territory of Lakhnautí to repress the rebellion of Ikhtiyáru-d dín, he noticed the charity of Ghiyásu-d dín. Whenever afterwards he mentioned his name he used to call him Sultán, and it pleased him to say that, considering his great charity, no one ought to hesitate about giving him that title. Indeed he was a generous, just, and good-natured man. All the territories of Lakhnautí, such as Jájnagar and the provinces of Bengal, Kámrúp, and Tirhut, used to send him offerings. The district of Lakhnaur submitted to him, and brought him elephants, furniture, and treasures in abundance, and he established his officers there.

Sultán Sa'íd Shamsu-d dín sent armies several times from Dehli, and having conquered the province of Behár he stationed his officers there. In 622 (1225 A.D.) he invaded Lakhnautí and Ghiyásu-d dín advanced his boats up the stream to oppose him, but peace was made between them. Shamsu-d dín accepted thirty-eight elephants, and treasure to the amount of eighty lacs. He ordered the Khutba to be read in his name. On his departure he gave Behár to Malik 'Aláu-d dín Jání. Ghiyásu-d dín 'Auz came to Behár from Lakhnautí, and took it, and acted tyrannically. At last in the year 624 (1227 A.D.), Malik Shahíd Násiru-d dín Mahmúd, son of Sultán Shamsu-d dín, having collected an army in Hindustán, and accompanied by 'Izzu-l Malik Jání, marched from Oude to Lakhnautí. At this time Ghiyásu-d dín 'Auz had gone on an expedition to Bengal and Kámrúp, and had left Lakhnautí stripped of defenders. Malik Násiru-d dín

[1] [Stewart reads "Nagor (in Birbhúm);" but Nagor is right away from the river.]

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Mahmúd captured the place, and when Ghiyásu-d dín heard of its fall, he returned and fought a battle with the conqueror, but he and all his officers were made prisoners. He was then killed, after a reign of twelve years.

TABAKAT XXI.

History of the Shamsiya Kings of Hindustán.

[Page 164 to page 228 of the Text.]

1.—*Sultán Shamsu-d dunyá wau-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar Altamsh.*

It was destined from all eternity by the most high and holy God that the country of Hindustan should be placed under the protection of the great king, the light of the world and religion, Sultán Abú-l Muzaffar Altamsh. [*The exordium goes on at some length in a similar inflated style of eulogy of the monarch and of Dehli his capital.*]

It is related by credible persons that Sultán Shamsu-d dín was chosen by the destiny of Providence in his early age from the tribes of Albarí[1] in Turkistan for the sovereignty of Islám and of the dominions of Hindustan. His father, whose name was Yalam Khán, had numerous dependents, relatives, and followers in his employ. The future monarch was from his childhood remarkable for beauty, intelligence, and grace, such as excited jealousy in the hearts of his brothers, so they enticed him away from his father and mother with the pretence of going to see a drove of horses. His case was like that of Joseph: "They said, father, why dost thou not trust Joseph with us, for we are sincere friends to him? Send him with us in the morning, that he may amuse himself and sport, and we will take care of him." When they brought him to the drove of horses, they sold him to the dealer. Some say that his sellers were his cousins. The horse-dealers took him to Bukhárá, and sold him to one of the

[1] [قبائل البري]

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relations of the chief judge of that city. For some time he remained with that great and noble family, the chiefs of which nourished and educated him like a son.

A credible person has related, that he heard in the gracious words of the king himself, that on a certain occasion one of the members of the family gave him a piece of money and ordered him to go to the bázár and buy some grapes. He went to the bázár, and on the way lost the piece of money. Being of tender age, he began to cry for fear; and while he was weeping and crying, a fakír came to him, took his hand, purchased some grapes, and gave them to him, saying: "When you obtain wealth and dominion, take care that you show respect to fakírs and pious men, and maintain their rights." He gave his promise to the fakír, and whatever fortune and power he obtained he always ascribed to the favour shewn him by that fakír. It is firmly believed that no king so benevolent, so sympathising, and so respectful to the learned and to elders as he was, ever rose by his native energy to the cradle of empire.

From that noble and distinguished family, he was purchased by a merchant whose name was Hájí Bukhárí, and he sold him to another merchant named Jamálu-d dín Chast Kabá, who brought him to Ghazní. No Turk equal to him in beauty, virtue, intelligence, and nobleness, had at that time been brought to that city. Mention of him was made before his majesty Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám, who ordered that a price should be named for him. He was coupled with another Turk named Aibak, and a thousand dínárs in refined gold was fixed as the price of each, but Jamálu-d dín Chast Kabá demurred to sell him for this price, so the Sultán gave orders that nobody should purchase him. After this, Jamálu-d dín Chast Kabá stayed one year in Ghazní, and then went to Bukhárá, carrying the future Sultán with him. After staying there three years, he again brought him back to Ghazní; but no one, for fear of the king's orders, ventured to purchase. He had been there one year, when

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Kutbu-d dín[1] returned to Ghaznín with Malik Nasíru-d dín Husain, after the invasion of Nahrwálá and the conquest of Guzerát. He heard an account of Shamsu-d dín, and asked the permission of Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín to purchase him. The Sultán said that orders had been passed that he should not be purchased in Ghazní, but he might take him to Dehli and buy him there. Kutbu-d dín consigned to Nizámu-d dín Muhammad the management of the business, and ordered him to take Jamálu-d dín Chast Kabá with him to Hindustán that he might purchase Shamsu-d dín there. According to these directions, Nizámu-d dín brought them to Dehli, and Kutbu-d dín purchased him and the other slave for one lac of *chítals*. The other slave was a Turk, whose name was Aibak, but this was changed to Tamghá,[2] and he became chief of Tabarhindh. He was slain in the battle fought between Táju-d dín Yalduz and Kutbu-d dín. Altamsh was made chief of the guards. Kutbu-d dín called him his son and kept him near his person. His rank and honour increased every day. Marks of intelligence were evident in all his actions, so he was elevated to the rank of *Amír-shikár* (chief huntsman). When Gwálior was taken he became amír of that place. After that he obtained the district and town of Baran and its dependencies. Some time after this, when the proofs of his energy, bravery, and heroism were fully displayed, and had been witnessed by Kutbu-d dín, the country of Badáún was entrusted to him. When Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám returned from Khwárizm, after being defeated in the battle of Andkhod by the armies of Khítá, the Kokhar (Gakkar) tribes broke out in rebellion, and the Sultán marched against them from Ghazní. Kutbu-d dín, according to his orders, brought up an army from Hindustán, and Shamsu-d dín accompanied him with the forces of Badáún. In the height of the battle, Shamsu-d dín rode into the stream of

[1] [The author constantly prefixes by anticipation the title of Sultán to the names of Kutbu-d dín, Shamsu-d dín, and others who eventually became kings; but, to avoid confusion, this title has been omitted in passages relating to times anterior to their attainment of the regal dignity].

[2] ["Toghan" in Firishta.]

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the Jailam, where that wretched rabble had taken refuge, and exhibited great bravery, galling the enemy so with his arrows that he overcame their resistance, and sent them from the tops of the waves into the depths of hell: "they drowned and entered the fires."

The Sultán in the midst of the battle observed his feats of daring and courage, and enquired who he was. When his majesty was enlightened upon this point he called him into his presence and honoured him with especial notice. Kutbu-d dín was ordered to treat Altamsh well, as he was destined for great works. His majesty then ordered the deed of his freedom to be written out and graciously granted him his liberty.

When Sultán Kutbu-d dín expired at Lahore,[1] the commander-in-chief, 'Alí Isma'íl, who had charge of Dehli, joined with some other nobles and principal men, and sent letters to Badáún inviting Shamsu-d dín. When he arrived he mounted the throne of Dehli in A.H. 607 (1210 A.D.) and established his authority. The Turks and the Mu'izzí chiefs assembled from all quarters in Dehli, but the Turks and Mu'izzí chiefs of that city did not join them. They resolved to try the effect of resistance, so they went out of Dehli, collected in the environs and raised the standard of revolt. Sultán Shamsu-d dín marched out of Dehli with a body of horse and his own personal followers, defeated them in the plains of the Jumna and put most of their horsemen to the sword. Afterwards Sultán Táju-d dín made a treaty with him from Lahore and Ghazní and sent him some insignia of royalty. Quarrels arose several times between Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh and Malik Násiru-d dín Kubácha about Lahore, Tabarhindh, and Kahrám; and in the year 614 (1217 A.D.) he defeated Kubácha. Hostilities also broke out at different times between him and the chiefs of various parts of Hindustán and the Turks, but as he was assisted by Divine favour, every one who resisted him or rebelled was subdued. Heaven still con-

[1] [The name is here invariably spelt "Lohor."]

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tinued to favour him, and all the territories belonging to Dehli, Badáún, Oudh, Benares, and the Siwálik hills came into his possession.

Sultán Táju-d dín Yalduz having fled before the army of Khwárizm came to Lahore. A dispute arose between him and Sultán Shamsu-d dín regarding the limits of their possessions, and a battle was fought between them at Náráín in A.H. 612 (A.D. 1215) in which the Sultán achieved the victory, and Táju-d dín Yalduz was taken prisoner. He was brought, according to orders, to Dehli and was sent to Badáún, where he was buried.[1]

After this another battle was fought in the year 614 H. (1217 A.D.) with Malik Násiru-d dín Kubácha, and he was again defeated.

Great events now occurred in Khurásán through the appearance of the Moghal Changíz Khán. In A.H. 615 (1218 A.D.) Jalálu-d dín, king of Khwárizm, having fled from the army of the infidels came towards Hindustán, and some fighting followed on the frontiers of Lahore. Shamsu-d dín led his forces out of Dehli towards Lahore, and Khwárizm Sháh fled before the army of Hindustán and went towards Sind and Siwistán.

After this, in 622 H. (1225 A.D.), Sultán Shamsu-d dín carried his arms towards Lakhnautí, and Ghiyásu-d dín 'Auz Khiljí placed the yoke of servitude on the neck of submission and presented thirty elephants and eighty lacs of the current coin. He also ordered the Khutba to be read and the coin to be struck in the name of Shamsu-d dín.

In A.H. 623 (1226 A.D.) he marched to conquer the fort of Ranthambhor[2] which is celebrated in all parts of Hindustán for its great strength and security. It is related in the Hindu histories that it had been invaded by more than seventy (*haftád o*

[1] [The author is silent here as to his death, but in the memoir of Táju-d dín he says that he was killed.]

[2] [This name is spelt in many different ways. Here in the text we have "Rantampor." It also occurs as "Rinthambor," "Runtamboor," etc. Colebrooke derives the name from the Sanskrit *Rana-sthamba-bhramara*, "the bee of the pillar of war."—Trans. R. As. Soc. I. 143.]

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and) kings, and no one had been able to take it. In the space of a few months in the year 623, through the favour of God, the fort fell into the hands of Shamsu-d dín. One year after this, A.H. 624, he attacked the fort of Mandúr in the Siwálik hills[1] there also God bestowed victory on him, and much plunder fell into the hands of his followers. After another year, in A.H. 625 (122 A.D.), an army was sent from Dehli towards the cities of Uch and Multán. The author of this book, Mínháj Siráj, had come from Ghor and Khurásán to Sind, Uch, and Multán, in the month of Rajab, A.H. 624. On the first of Rabi'u-l awwal, A.H. 625 (Feb. 1228), Sultán Sa'íd Shamsu-d dín reached the foot of the fort of Uch. Malik Násíru-d dín Kubácha had pitched his camp at the gate of the fort of Amrawat[2] and all his followers and baggage were in ships and boats moored in front of the camp.

On Friday, after the time of prayer, some swift runners came from the direction of Multán and reported that Malik Násiru-d dín Aitamur had been detached from Lahore and had come to the fort of Multán; also that Sultán Shamsu-d dín himself was marching towards Uch viâ Tabarhindh. Malik Násiru-d dín Kubácha fled with all his army in boats to Bhakkar, and ordered his minister, 'Ainu-l Mulk Husain Ashgharí, to remove all the treasure from the fort of Uch to Bhakkar.

Sultán Shamsu-d dín sent two of his principal generals in advance with an army to the walls of Uch. One of these was Malik 'Izzu-d dín Muhammad Sálár, lord chamberlain, and the other was Kazlak Khán Sanjar Sultáni, chief of Tabarhindh. Four days after, the Sultán himself arrived at Uch with all his elephants and baggage, and pitched his tents there. He sent his minister, Nizámu-d dín Muhammad Junaidí, with other nobles, in pursuit of Malik Násiru-d dín to the fort of Bhakkar. Fight-

[1] [Briggs in the translation of Firishta says, "Mando and the country of Malwa;" and this statement has been adopted by Elphinstone. It is manifestly wrong, and there is no warrant for it in the text of Firishta, which fully agrees with the statement of our author. The true version of Firishta's words is "He marched to the fort of Mandúr, which fort, with all the Siwálik hills, he reduced."]

[2] [Var. "Amrút, Ahrút."]

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ing continued for one month under the walls of Uch, and on Tuesday, the 29th of Jumáda-l ákhir A.H. 625 (May, 1228), the place capitulated. In the same month Malik Násiru-d dín Kubácha drowned himself at the fort of Bhakkar in the waters of the Indus, having a few days before sent his son, Malik 'Aláu-d dín Bahrám Sháh to wait upon Sultán Shamsu-d dín. After a few days the treasures were taken possession of, and the remaining forces of Malik Násiru-d dín entered into the service of the conqueror. All that country down to the sea shore was subdued. Malik Sinánu-d dín Habsh, chief of Dewal and Sind, came and did homage to the Sultán. When the noble mind of the king was satisfied with the conquest of the country, he returned to Dehli.

The writer of this book had obtained an audience at the Court of that great and religious king on the first day his camp was pitched at Uch (may God preserve it!), and was received with favour. When his majesty returned from that fort, the compiler also came to Dehli (may God glorify it!) with the victorious army of that invincible king, and reached the city in the month of Ramazán A.H. 625 (August 1228). At this time messengers bringing splendid robes from the seat of the Khiláfat reached the frontiers of Nágore, and on Monday, the 2nd of Rabi'u-l awwal A.H. 626, they arrived at the capital, and the city was adorned by their presence. The king and his chief nobles and his sons and the other nobility and servants were all honoured with robes sent from the metropolis of Islám.

After great revelling and rejoicing, news arrived in Jumáda-l awwal, 626 (April, 1229), of the death of Prince Sa'íd Násiru-d dín Mahmúd. Balká[1] Malik Khiljí had broken out in rebellion in the territories of Lakhnautí, and Sultán Shamsu-d dín led thither the armies of Hindustan, and having captured the rebel, he, in A.H. 627, gave the throne of Lakhnautí to Malik 'Aláu-d dín Jání, and returned to his capital in the month of Rajab of the same year.

[1] [Var. "Malká."]

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In A.H. 629 he marched for the conquest of Gwalior, and when his royal tents were pitched under the walls of the fort, Mílak Deo,[1] the accursed son of Basíl the accursed, began the war. For eleven months the camp remained under the fort. In the month of Sha'bán of the same year the author of this book came to the Court from Dehli and obtained audience. He was ordered to preach in turn at the door of the royal tent. Discourses were appointed to be delivered three times every week, and during the month of Ramazán on every day. But in other months the rule of three times was observed. Ninety-five times religious assemblies were convened at the royal tents. On both 'Íds, viz. 'Íd-i fitr and 'Íd-i azha', the appropriate prayers were read at three different places in the army of Islám. At one of these, at the fort of Gwalior on the northern side, this well-wisher of the government, Minháj Siráj, was ordered on the Id-i azha' to read the Khutba and the prayers, and was honoured with the reward of a costly khil'at. The same rule was observed until the fort was conquered, on Tuesday, the 26th of Safar A.H. 630 (November, 1232).

The accursed Mílak Deo went out of the fort in the night time and fled. About seven hundred persons were ordered to receive punishment at the door of the royal tent.[2] After this, promotions were made in the ranks of the nobles and great officers. Malik Zíáu-d dín Muhammad Junaidí was appointed chief justice, and the commander-in-chief Rashídu-d dín (peace be to him!) was made kotwal, and Minháj Siráj, the well-wisher of this government, was made law officer, and was entrusted with the supervision of the preaching, and of all religious, moral, and judicial affairs. Rich khil'ats and valuable largesses were distributed. May the Almighty aid the pure soul and generous heart of that most beneficent, heroic, and kind king! His majesty started on his return from the fort on the 2nd of Rabi'u-l awwal in the same

[1] [Firishta has the more likely name of "Deobal."]

[2] [Firishta says three hundred were put to death. *Siyásat*, the word here employed, signifies punishment inflicted at the discretion of a judge in cases not provided for by law, and there is no doubt that the punishment of death is intended.]

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year, and pitched his tents that day at about one parasang towards Dehli from the walls of the fort. A halt of five days was made there. After he had reached the capital he sent, in A.H. 632[1] (1234 A.D.), the army of Islám towards Málwa and took the fort and city of Bhílsá.[2] There was a temple there which was three hundred years in building. It was about one hundred and five *gaz* high. He demolished it. From thence he proceeded to Ujjain, where there was a temple of Mahá-kál, which he destroyed as well as the image of Bikramájít, who was king of Ujjain, and reigned 1316 years before this time. The Hindu era dates from his reign. Some other images cast in copper were carried with the stone image of Mahá-kál to Dehli.

In A.H. 636, he led the armies of Hindustán towards Banyán.[3] In this journey his majesty fell sick and was obliged by his severe illness to return home. Wednesday morning, the 1st of Sha'bán, was fixed by the astrologers for his entrance into Dehli, the seat of his government, and he entered the city in a howda on the back of an elephant. His illness increased, and nineteen days after, on the 20th of Sha'bán, 633 H. (end of April, 1235), he departed from this perishable to the eternal world. The period of his reign was twenty-six years. [*Lists of his judges, generals, relations, and victories, follow.*]

2. *Malik Sa'íd Násiru-d dunyá wau-d dín Mahmúd.*

Malik Násiru-d dín Mahmúd was the elder son of Sultán Shamsu-d dín. He was an intelligent, learned, and wise prince, and was possessed of exceeding bravery, courage, generosity, and benevolence. The first charge which the Sultán confided to him was that of Hánsí. Some time after, in 623 H. (1226 A.D.), Oudh was entrusted to him. In that country the prince ex-

[1] ["631" in some copies.]

[2] [In one copy the name is written "Bhílasán," and in another "Bílistán." This is probably the same as the "Bhaylasán" or "Mahábalastán" of Bírúní. See Vol. I. p. 59.]

[3] Var. "Badhyán" and "Bayána." Firishta, the Táríkh-i Badáúní, and the Tabakát-i Akbarí agree in saying "Multán."

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hibited many estimable qualities. He fought several battles, and by his boldness and bravery he made his name famous in the annals of Hindustán. He overthrew and sent to hell the accursed Bartúh (?) under whose hands and sword more than one hundred and twenty thousand Musulmans had received martyrdom. He overthrew the rebel infidels of Oudh and brought a body of them into submission.

From Oudh he determined to march against Lakhnautí, and the king placed the armies of Hindustán under his command. Several well-known chiefs, as Bolán (?) and Malik 'Aláu-d dín Jání, went with him to Lakhnautí. Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín 'Auz Khiljí had marched from Lakhnautí to invade the territory of Bang (Bengal), and had left no force at his centre of government. Malik Sa'íd Násiru-d dín, on arriving there with his army, took peaceable possession of the fort of Basankot and of the city. Ghiyásu-d dín 'Auz Khiljí, on receiving this intelligence, returned to Lakhnautí, and Malik Nasiru-d dín with his army met him and defeated him. Ghiyásu-d dín, with all his relations and chiefs of Khilj, the treasures and the elephants, fell into his hands. He put Ghiyásu-d dín to death and confiscated all his treasures. From thence he sent presents and offerings to all the saiyids and the learned and religious men of Dehli and all towns.

When Shamsu-d dín received the khil'ats from the reigning Khalífa, he sent one of the most valuable with a red canopy to Lakhnautí, and Malik Násiru-d dín thus received great honour and distinction. All the nobles and great men turned their eyes towards him as the heir of his father's kingdom, but the decrees of fate did not accord with the wishes of the people. One year and a-half afterwards he fell sick and died. When the news of his death reached Dehli all people were greatly distressed.

Sultán Ruknu-d dín Fíroz Sháh.

Sultán Ruknu-d dín Fíroz Sháh was a generous and handsome king, full of kindness and humanity. In liberality he was

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a second Hátim. His mother, the queen of the world, Sháh Turkán, was originally a Turkí handmaid, but had become the chief wife of Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh. She lavished many offerings and much charity on learned men, *saiyids*, and devotees.

In the year 625 H. (1228 A.D.) Sultán Ruknu-d dín received a grant of Badáún with a green umbrella. 'Aínu-l Mulk Husain Ash'arí, who had been the wazír of Násiru-d dín Kubácha, then became wazír of Ruknu-d dín. When Shamsu-d dín returned from the conquest of Gwalior to Dehli, he conferred the territories of Lahore, which had been the capital of Khusrú Malik, on Ruknu-d dín; and on his return from his last campaign, from the Indus and Banyán, he took Ruknu-d dín with him to Dehli, for the eyes of all men were on him, as the eldest of the king's sons since the death of Násiru-d dín Mahmud. On the death of Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh, the princes and nobles placed Ruknu-d dín upon the throne on Tuesday, 29th of Sha'bán 633 H. (beginning of of May, 1236), and the crown and throne were graced by his accession. The nobles were gratified and received robes of honour. When they returned home from the capital, the new monarch opened the doors of his treasury and gave himself up to pleasure, squandering the public wealth in improper places. So devoted was he to licentiousness and debauchery that the business of the State was neglected and fell into confusion.

His mother, Sháh Turkán, began to interfere in the government of the country. During the life of her husband his other women had looked upon her with envy and disdain. She now seized the opportunity of punishing them, and in blind fury and vindictiveness she put several of them to death. This state of things began to trouble the minds of public men. In addition to her other cruel acts she caused the young prince Kutbu-d dín, son of the late king, and a very excellent youth, to be blinded and afterwards to be put to death. These acts aroused an inimical feeling in the hearts of the great men in all directions. Malik Ghiyásu-d dín Muhammad Sháh, son of the late Sultán,

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and younger than Ruknu-d dín, commenced hostilities in Oudh. He seized upon the treasure of Lakhnautí in its passage to the capital, and plundered several towns of Hindustán. Malik 'Izzu-d dín Muhammad Sálárí governor of Badáún revolted. Malik 'Izzu-d dín Kabír Khán, governor of Multán, Malik Saifu-d dín Kochi, governor of Hánsí, and Malik 'Aláu-d dín, governor of Lahore, conspired and broke out into rebellion. Sultán Ruknu-d dín led his army from Dehli to repress these malcontents, but his wazír, Nizámu-l mulk Muhammad Junaidí, took the alarm and deserted him at Kílú-gharí. He then went off towards Kol and joined 'Izzu-d dín Muhammad Sálárí of Badáún. These two afterwards joined Malik Jání and Kochí. Sultán Ruknu-d dín marched on to Kahrám. The Turkí nobles and the royal attendants who were about the person of the Sultán leagued together, and, in the neighbourhood of Mansúrpúr and Náráín, Táju-d dín Muhammad, secretary and controller, Baháu-l Mulk Husain Asha'rí, Karímu-d dín Záhid, Ziáu-l Mulk son of Nizámu-l Mulk Junaidí, Nizámu-d dín Sharkání, Khwája Rashídu-d dín Málkání, Amír Fakhru-d dín, and other confederate officials, killed the Tázík.[1] In the month of Rabí'u-l awwal 634 H. (November, 1236 A.D.), Raziya, eldest daughter of the late Sultán, quarrelled with the mother of Sultán Ruknu-d dín, and the Sultán was constrained to return to Delhi. His mother had attempted to capture and kill Sultán Raziya, but the people rose, and the latter seized upon the royal palace and made the mother of the Sultán prisoner.

When Ruknu-dín arrived at Kílú-gharí he found that rebellion had broken out, and that his mother had been made prisoner. The guards and Turkish nobles came into the city, and joining Raziya, proffered their allegiance to her, and raised her to the throne. Being thus elevated to the throne, she sent an army of Turks and nobles to Kílú-gharí and they brought Sultán

[1] [و دیگر جماعت کارداران تازیک را شهید کردند. Firishta, more intelligibly, says they deserted Ruknu-d dín.]

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Ruknu-d dín prisoner to Dehli, where he was kept in confinement and died. His death happened on Sunday, the 18th of Rabi'u-l awwal A.H. 634 (November, 1236 A.D.) He reigned for six months and twenty-eight days. He was very generous; no king in any reign had ever scattered gifts, robes of honour, and grants in the way he did, but all his lavishness sprang from his inordinate addiction to sensuality, pleasure, and conviviality. He was so entirely devoted to riot and debauchery, that he often bestowed his honours and rewards on bands of singers, buffoons, and catamites. He scattered his riches to such a heedless extent, that he would ride out drunk upon an elephant through the streets and bázárs, throwing *tankas* of red gold around him for the people to pick up and rejoice over. He was very fond of playing with and riding upon elephants, and all the elephant drivers were much benefited by his bounty. His nature was averse to hurting any creature, and his tenderness was the cause of his downfall.

Kings should possess all virtues that their people may live at ease. They should be generous, that the army may live satisfied; but sensuality, gaiety, and the society of the base and unworthy bring an empire to ruin. May God pardon him!

Sultán[1] *Raziya, Daughter of the Sultán.*

Sultán Raziya was a great monarch. She was wise, just, and generous, a benefactor to her kingdom, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects, and the leader of her armies. She was endowed with all the qualities befitting a king, but she was not born of the right sex, and so in the estimation of men all these virtues were worthless. (May God have mercy on her!) In the time of her father, Sultán Sa'id Shamsu-d dín, she had exercised authority with great dignity. Her mother was the

[1] [The queen is always called "Sultán" and "Bádsháh," not Sultána, as by Briggs and Elphinstone. Sultán signifies "ruler," and although, from Musulmán aversion to female rulers, it is practically confined to the male sex, yet it is exceptionally used for queens regnant, as in this case. "*Sultána*" is not complimentary, for it signifies *a scold*.]

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chief wife of his majesty, and she resided in the chief royal palace in the Kushk-fírozí. The Sultán discerned in her countenance the signs of power and bravery, and, although she was a girl and lived in retirement, yet when the Sultán returned from the conquest of Gwalior, he directed his secretary, Táju-l Malik Mahmúd, who was director of the government, to put her name in writing as heir of the kingdom, and successor to the throne. Before this farmán was executed, the servants of the State, who were in close intimacy with his majesty, represented that, seeing the king had grown up sons who were worthy of the dignity, what wisdom could there be in making a woman the heir to a Muhammadan throne, and what advantage could accrue from it? They besought him to set their minds at ease, for the course that he proposed seemed very inexpedient. The king replied, My sons are devoted to the pleasures of youth, and no one of them is qualified to be king. They are unfit to rule the country, and after my death you will find that there is no one more competent to guide the State than my daughter. It was afterwards agreed by common consent that the king had judged wisely.

When Sultán Raziya succeeded to the throne, all things reverted to their old order. But the wazír of the State, Nizámu-l Mulk Junaidí did not give in his adhesion. He, together with Malik Jání, Malik Kochí, Malik Kabír Khán, and Malik 'Izzu-d dín Muhammad Sálárí, assembling from different parts of the country at the gates of Dehli, made war against Sultán Raziya, and hostilities were carried on for a long time. After a while, Malik Nasíru-d dín Tábashí Mu'izzí, who was governor of Oudh, brought up his forces to Dehli to the assistance of Sultán Raziya. When he had crossed the Ganges, the generals, who were fighting against Dehli, met him unexpectedly and took him prisoner. He then fell sick and died.

The stay of the insurgents at the gates of Dehli was protracted. Sultán Raziya, favoured by fortune, went out from the city and ordered her tents to be pitched at a place on the banks of the

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Jumna. Several engagements took place between the Turkish nobles who were on the side of the Sultán, and the insurgent chiefs. At last peace was effected, with great adroitness and judicious management. Malik 'Izzu-d dín Muhammad Sálár and Malik 'Izzu-d dín Kabír Khán Ayyáz secretly joined the Sultán and came at night to her majesty's tents, upon the understanding that Malik Jání, Malik Kochí, and Nizámu-l Mulk Junaidí were to be summoned and closely imprisoned, so that the rebellion might subside. When these chiefs were informed of this matter they fled from their camps, and some horsemen of the Sultán pursued them. Malik Kochí and his brother Fakhru-d dín were captured, and were afterwards killed in prison. Malik Jání was slain in the neighbourhood of Bábul and Nakwán. Nizámu-l Mulk Junaidí went into the mountains of Bardár,[1] and died there after a while.

When the affairs of Raziya were thus settled, she conferred the office of wazír on an upright officer who had been the deputy of Nizámu-l Mulk, and he likewise received the title of Nizámu-l Mulk. The command of the army was given to Malik Saifu-d dín Aibak Bahtú, with the title of Katlagh Khán. To Kabír Khán was assigned the province of Láhore. The country now enjoyed peace, and the power of the State became manifest. Throughout its territories from Lakhnautí to Dewal all the princes and nobles made their submission.

Shortly after Malik Aibak Bahtú died, and Malik Kutbu-d dín Hasan Ghorí was appointed to his office, and was ordered to march against the fort of Rantambhor. The Hindús laid siege to this fort after the death of Shamsu-d dín, and had been before it some time, but when Kutbu-d dín arrived, he drew the Musulmán forces out of the fort and destroyed it. He then returned to Dehli.

About this time Malik Ikhtiyáru-d dín Ítigín was appointed lord chamberlain, and Amír Jamálu-d dín Yákút, the superintendent of the stables, was made a personal attendant of her

[1] [Var. "Sarmand-barádar." • Firishta says "Sirmor."]

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majesty. This created jealousy among the Turkish generals and nobles. The Sultán Raziya now threw off the dress and veil of women. She put on a coat (*kabá*) and cap, and showed herself among the people. When she rode on an elephant all men clearly saw her. She now ordered an army to march to Gwalior, and sent with it large gifts. There being no possibility of resistance, this well-wisher of the victorious government, Minháj Siráj, together with Majdu-l Umará Zía'u-d dín Junaidí, chief justice of Gwalior, and with other principal officers, came out of the fort of Gwalior on the 1st of Sha'bán, A.H. 635 (Feb. 1238), and proceeded to the Court of Dehli. In the month of Sha'bán of the same year, Sultán Raziya (may peace be to her!), appointed this well-wisher to the Násiriya college[1] and to the office of Kází of Gwalior. In A.H. 637 (1239 A.D.) Malik 'Izzu-d dín Kabír Khán, governor of Lahore, broke out in revolt. The Sultán led her army from Dehli in that direction and pursued him. After a time he made peace and did homage. The province of Multán, which was held by Malik Karákash, was given to Malik 'Izzu-d dín Kabír Khán.

On Thursday, the 19th of Ramazán A.H. 637 (April, 1240), Sultán Raziya returned to the capital. Malik Altúniya, who was governor of Tabarhindh,[2] revolted, and some of the officers of the Court on the frontier supported him. On Wednesday, the 9th of the same month and year she marched with a numerous army towards Tabarhindh to put down these rebels. When she arrived there she was attacked by the Turks, who put Amír Jalálu-d dín Yákút, the Abyssinian, to death. They then seized the Sultán Raziya and sent her a prisoner to the fort of Tabarhindh.

Among the incidents which occurred at the beginning of the reign of Sultán Raziya, this was the most remarkable, that the Karmatians and heretics of Hindustán, being seduced by a person with some pretensions to learning, who was called Núr

[1] [مدرسهٔ ناصریه در حضرت منضم]

[2] [The *Habibu-s Siyar* says distinctly *Sarhind*. Firishta has "Bhatinda."]

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Turk, flocked to him in large numbers from all parts of Hindustán: such as Guzerát, Sind, the environs of the capital, and the banks of the Jumna and Ganges. They assembled in Dehli, and making a compact of fidelity to each other, they, at the instigation of this Núr Turk, declared open hostility against the people of Islám. When Núr preached, the rabble used to gather round him. He used to say that the learned Sunnis and their flocks were *násibís*, and to call them *marjís*.[1] He endeavoured also to inflame the minds of the common people against the wise men who followed the doctrines of Abú Hanífa and Sháfi'í. On a day appointed, on Friday, the 6th of the month of Rajab. A.H. 634 (March, 1237), the whole body of heretics and Karmatians, to the number of about one thousand men, armed with swords, shields, arrows, and other weapons, came in two parties to the Jáma' masjid of Dehli. One division came from the northern side and passed by the fort of Núr to the gate of the masjid. The other proceeded from the clothes bázár, and entered the gate of the Mu'izzí, under the impression that it was the masjid. On both sides they attacked the Musulmáns. Many of the faithful were slain by the sword and many were trampled to death by the crowd. When a cry arose from the people in consequence of this outrage, the brave officers of the government, such as Nasíru-d dín Aitamur Balarámi, Amír Imám Násir Shá'ir and others, fully armed with mail, cuirass, and helmet, with spears, shields, and other weapons, gathered on all sides and rode into the masjid. They plied their swords on the heretics and Karmatians; and the Musulmáns who had gone (for refuge) to the top of the mosque hurled down stones and bricks till every heretic and Karmatian was sent to hell, and the riot was quelled.[2] Thanks be to God for the favour and glory he has given to the faith.

[1] [*Násibís* are the enemies of 'Alí, and the *marjís* or "procrastinators" are a sect who think faith sufficient and works unnecessary.]

[2] This curious anecdote is omitted by almost all the general historians, but is quoted nearly *verbatim* by Núru-l Hakk in the Zubdatu-t Tawáríkh.—See note in Appendix "Karmatians."

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When Sultán Raziya was taken prisoner to Tabarhindh, Malik Altúniya espoused her and led her army towards Dehli to regain possession of the kingdom. Malik 'Izzu-d dín Muhammad Sálárí and Malik Karákash left the capital and went to join them. Meanwhile, Mu'izzu-d dín had ascended the throne, Ikhtiyáru-d dín Ítigín, lord chamberlain, had been slain, and Badru-d dín Sankar Rúmí had been appointed his successor. In the month of Rabí'u-l awwal A.H. 638 (Sept. 1240), the Sultán marched his army from Dehli to repel his opponents, and Sultán Raziya and Malik Altúniya were defeated. When in their flight they reached Kaithal, their remaining forces abandoned them, and they both fell into the hands of the Hindús and were killed. The date of this defeat was the 24th of Rabí'u-l awwal A.H. 638 (Oct. 1240), and the Sultán Raziya was killed on the day following. She had reigned three years and six days.

5. *Mu'izzu-d dín Bahrám Shah.*

Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Bahrám Sháh was a victorious king; a fearless, intrepid, and sanguinary man. Still he had some virtues. He was shy and unceremonious, and had no taste for the gorgeous attire which kings love to wear, nor for the belts, accoutrements, banners, and other insignia of royalty. When Sultán Raziya was sent to prison at Tabarhindh, the nobles and the generals agreed to send him to Dehli, and on Monday the 27th of Ramazán 637 (April, 1240) they raised him to the throne. After all the nobles and the generals and the army had returned to Dehli, on Sunday the 11th Shawwál of the same year, they assembled at the palace and made a general agreement to uphold him as king on condition of Ikhtiyáru-d dín Ítigín being made deputy. On that day the author of this work was present and composed the following gratulatory lines.

* * * * *

Ikhtiyáru-d dín, having been appointed deputy, he in virtue of his office assumed the direction of all affairs of State, and with

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the acquiescence of the wazír Nizámu-l mulk Mahzabu-d dín Muhammad 'Auz Mustaufí the duties of administration also came under his control. After a month or two this state of affairs became very irksome to the Sultán. The Sultán's sister had been married to Kází Násiru-d dín, but being divorced, the deputy took her to wife. Music played three times a day at his gate, an elephant was always there in waiting,[1] and he maintained great state. On Monday, the 8th of Muharram 638 H. (July, 1240), there was a sermon in the Palace of the White-roof, and after the sermon the Sultán sent two inebriated Turks from the top of the palace as assassins, who killed Ikhtiyáru-d dín in front of the royal seat in the White Palace. The wazír Mahzabu-d dín also received two wounds in his side, but his time was not come, and he rushed out away from them. Malik Badru-d dín Sankar became lord chamberlain and assumed the management of the State.

When Raziya and Altúniya marched from Tabarhindh upon Dehli, they were baffled in their enterprise and were defeated. Both were killed by the Hindús as we have already related. Badru-d dín Sankar now assumed a very imperious position; he issued orders and carried on the government without consulting the Sultán, and sought to domineer over the wazír Nizámu-l Mulk Mahzabu-d dín. The wazír complained to the Sultán and succeeded in setting him against Badru-d dín. When the latter perceived this he was afraid of the Sultán, and sought to set him aside and to raise one of his brothers to the throne in his stead.

On Monday, the 8th of Safar, 639 H. (Aug. 1241) Badru-d dín convoked a meeting of nobles and chiefs at the house of Sadru-l Mulk Táju-d dín 'Alí Músawí, *mushrif* of the State. There were present the chief Kází Jalálu-d dín Káshání, Kázi Kabíru-d dín, Shaikh Muhammad Shámí, and others. When they had met and were deliberating about the removal of the Sultán, they determined to send Sadru-l mulk to the wazir Nizámu-l mulk Mahzabu-d dín to invite his attendance, and to

[1] [Regal privileges.]

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finally settle the matter in concurrence with him. It so happened that when Sadru-l mulk came to the house of the wazír, one of the confidential attendants of the king was present. When the wazír heard of the arrival of Sadru-l mulk, he concealed this trusty servant in a place where he could hear the conversation. Sadru-l mulk entered and proceeded to talk about the removal of the king and to ask the co-operation of the wazír. The minister desired his visitor to return and say that he would wait upon the gentlemen as soon as he had performed his ablutions. Sadru-l mulk had no sooner departed than the wazír released the Sultán's man and asked him if he had heard what had passed. He then directed him to go quickly and tell his master that the best thing he could do would be to take horse and to proceed against the conspirators and scatter them.

The facts being reported to the Sultán by his faithful adherent, he instantly mounted and dispersed the plotters. Badru-d dín Sankar joined the king's party, and the Sultán returned to his palace, where he held a darbar. Badru-d dín was ordered to depart instantly to Badáún and assume the management of that province; Kází Jalálu-d dín Káshání was dismissed from his post of Kází, and Kází Kabíru-d dín and Shaikh Muhammad Shámí took the alarm and fled the city. After four months, Badru-d dín Sankar returned to the capital, but the Sultán's heart was entirely alienated from him, so he ordered him to be imprisoned. The king also directed Jalálu-d dín Músawi to be apprehended, and he had them both slain in prison.

These proceedings set the hearts of the nobles against the Sultán; they were alarmed and had no longer any confidence in him. The wazír also longed to exact vengeance for the wounds he had received. The nobles, generals, and Turks all became disaffected, while on his side the Sultán was alarmed by their proceedings. In the end this uneasy feeling spread like an epidemic, and was the cause of the fall of the Sultán and of rebellion among his people.

One of the most important events in the reign of Mu'izzu-d

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dín was that which happened to the city of Lahore. An army of infidel Mughals came from Khurásán and Ghazní to the gates of that city and waged war for some time. Malik Karákash, governor of Lahore, was a brave, energetic, and intrepid man, but the people of the city did not support him, and were backward in keeping watch and in fighting. When Karákash perceived this lukewarmness, he one night left the city with his own soldiers and went off towards Dehli. The infidels pursued him, but the Almighty watched over him and gave him safe deliverance. When the city was left without a ruler the infidels captured it on Monday, 18th of Jumáda-l ákhir, 639 H. (December 1241), slaughtered the Muhammadans and made their dependants captives.

As soon as this dreadful intelligence reached Dehli, the Sultán assembled the people of the city at the White Palace, and the writer of this book received orders to preach and induce the people to support the Sultán.

There was a Turkoman darwesh named Ayúb, a devout man, clad in the hairy garment of a recluse. He had lived for some time quietly in the Sultán's water palace, and was brought into the society of the Sultán, who conceived a liking for him. This darwesh began to take a part in the business of the state. He had formerly lived in the town of Mihrpúr, where he had been imprisoned by Kází Shamsu-d dín Mihr. When the Sultán had become accustomed to listen to his advice, the darwesh exerted himself so that he induced the king to have Kází Shamsu-d dín Mihr cast under the feet of an elephant. On this fact becoming known the people conceived a great dread of the Sultán. The Sultán now sent Kutbu-d dín Husain and his wazír, with nobles, generals, and soldiers, to oppose the Mughals who were at Lahore, and to guard his frontier.

On Saturday, 10th Jumáda-l awwal, 639 H. (November, 1241), his majesty Mu'izzu-d dín conferred upon the author of this work the office of Kází of the capital and of all his territories, accompanied with many honours and costly presents.

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The army which had been sent against the Mughals reached the banks of the Biyáh. There the minister Mahzabu-d dín Nizámu-l mulk, who cherished hopes of vengeance and of removing the Sultán from the throne, wrote a letter secretly to him. In this letter he represented that the generals and Turks in the army were never likely to become loyal, and that the best course for the king to adopt would be to send orders for him (the wazír) and Kutbu-d dín to kill all the generals and Turks in any way they could, and so free the kingdom of them.

When this letter arrived, the Sultán hastily and rashly, without thought or consideration, wrote the desired order, and sent it off. On its reaching the wazír he showed it to the generals and Turks, and told them how the king wished to deal with them. They all at once revolted, and at the suggestion of Khwája Mahzabu-d dín they formed a plot for the removal and deposition of the king.

On the Sultán's receiving intelligence of this revolt of his generals and army, he sent the Shaikhu-l Islám Saiyid Kutbu-d dín to endeavour to allay the outbreak. He accordingly went to the army, but exerted himself to increase the strife.[1] He returned with the army at his heels, and hostilities commenced under the walls of the capital. The author, Minháj Siráj, and some of the chief men of the city, endeavoured in vain to allay the strife and make peace.

The army reached the city on Saturday, the 19th Sha'bán, 639, and the siege went on until the month of Zí-l ka'da. Many were killed on both sides, and the suburbs of the city were laid waste. The reason of these protracted hostilities was that there was in the king's service a man named Fakhru-d dín Mubárak Sháh Farkhí, who was chief of the carpet spreaders (*mihtar-farrásh*). This man had gained the favour of the king, and had great ascendancy over him. Whatever he advised the king performed, and the counsels of the *farrásh* were not for peace.

[1] [در اثارت آن فتنه مبالغت نمود.]

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On Friday, the 7th Zí-l ka'da, the followers of Khwája Mahzab distributed three thousand *chítals* among a lot of foolish men, and excited inimical feelings among some even of this author's kindred (God forgive them!). They made a riot in the Jámi' masjid, after prayers, and drew their swords upon him. By God's mercy the author had a knife and a staff, which he seized, and with the help of some armed slaves whom he had with him he made his way through the crowd.

The generals and Turks took the fort, and next day, on Saturday, the 8th Zí-l ka'da, 639 H. (May, 1242), they obtained possession of the whole city. The Sultán was made prisoner. Mubárak Shah, *farrásh*, who had embittered the strife, was also taken and was killed. In the night of Tuesday, the 17th of Zí-l ka'da, the Sultán was slain. He had reigned two years one month and a-half.

6.—*Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Mas'úd Sháh bin Fíroz Sháh.*

Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Mas'úd Sháh was son of Sultán Ruknu-d dín Fíroz Sháh. He was a generous and good-natured prince, possessed of many estimable qualities. On Saturday, the 8th of Zí-l ka'da, 639 H. (May, 1242), when the city of Dehli was wrested from the hands of Mu'izzu-d dín, the generals and nobles by common consent released from prison the three princes Násiru-d dín, Malik Jalálu-d dín, and 'Aláu-d dín. They conveyed them from the White Palace to the public hall of the palace of Fíroz, and there they agreed to make 'Aláu-d dín king, although Malik 'Izzu-d dín Balban had previously seated himself upon the throne. This Balban had caused his name to be proclaimed as king through the city, but it was not accepted. 'Aláu-d dín was raised to the throne, and the people gave a general acquiescence. Kutbu-d dín Husain Ghorí was made deputy of the kingdom, and Nizámu-l Mulk wazír, and Malik Karákash lord chamberlain. The districts of Nágor, Mandawar, and Ajmír were assigned to Malik 'Izzu-d dín Balban, and the country of Badáún was given to Malik Táju-d dín Sanjar Katlak.

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On the fourth day after the capture of Dehli the writer of these pages begged to be relieved of his office of Kází, and the post remained vacant for twenty-six days, till the fourth of Zí-l hijja, when Kází 'Imádu-d dín Muhammad Shakúrkání was appointed.

Nizámu-l Mulk Mahzabu-d dín exercised unbounded power over the country, and he took the district of Kol as his appanage. Previous to this he had caused music to play, and an elephant to wait at the door of his mansion. Everything was taken out of the hands of the Turkí nobles, so that they became embittered against him. They conspired together, and on Wednesday, 2nd Jumáda-l awwal, 640 H. (30th Oct., 1242 A.D.), they killed him in the camp before the city, in the plain of Hauz-rání.

The author of this work resolved at this time to make a journey to Lakhnautí, and he started from Dehli on Friday, the 9th Rajab, 640 H. Táju-d dín Katlak paid him great attention in Badáún, and so also did Kamru-d dín Kairán in Oudh (May God immerse them in his mercy !). Tughán Khán 'Izzu-d din Tughril had come with his army and boats to the confines of Karra. The author joined him from Oudh, and went with him to Lakhnautí. On Sunday, the 7th Zí-l hijja, 640 H., the author arrived at that place, having left his children and wives all in Oudh. Subsequently he sent some trustworthy persons who brought them to Lakhnautí. Tughán Khán showed him great kindness, and bestowed upon him boundless favours. The writer stayed at Lakhnautí two years.

In the course of these two years 'Aláu-d dín achieved many victories in different parts of his dominions. After the death of Khwája Mahzab, the post of wazír was given to Sadru-l Mulk Najmu-d dín Abú Bakr, and the office of lord chamberlain was given to Dáru-l Mulk Báligh Khán, together with the district of Hánsí. At this time there was much fighting going on.

When Tughán Khán returned from Karra to Lakhnautí he deputed Sharfu-l Mulk Ash'ari to the presence of 'Aláu-d dín, and he was named governor of Lakhnautí, receiving the honour

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of the red umbrella through Kází Jalálu-d dín, who was kází of Oudh. On Sunday, 11th of Rab'u-l ákhir, 641 H., the bearers of these honours arrived at Lakhnautí and Tughán Khán was invested.

One of the good things done by 'Aláu-d dín was that about this time, he, with the assent of the nobles and officers, released his two uncles. On the 'Íd-i azha' they left their confinement. Malik Jalálu-d dín received the district of Kanauj, and Násiru-d dín the district of Bahráích. Each one in his province devoted himself to peaceful pursuits and the improvement of the condition of his subjects.

In Shawwál 642 H. (March 1245), the infidels of Changíz Khán came to the gates of Lakhnautí. On the 1st Zí-l ka'da, Tamar Khán Kairán arrived at Lakhnautí with an army and generals under orders received from Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. Jealousy sprung up between Tamar Khán and Tughán Khán. On Wednesday, 3rd Zí-l ka'da of the same year, peace was made: Lakhnautí was given to Kairán Khán, and Tughán Khán proceeded to Dehli, The author of this work accompanied him and arrived at Dehli on Monday, 14th Safar, 1243. Here the author was granted the honour of an interview with the sovereign, and on Thursday the 17th Safar, at the suggestion of Ulugh Khán, he was appointed principal of the Násiriya college, and superintendent of its endowments. He was also made kází of Gwálior and preacher in the Jámi' masjid: all his old offices being again entrusted to him. He also received the royal grant of a horse with proper ornamental trappings: honours which none of his family had ever before attained.

In the month of Rajab news arrived from the upper parts (*taraf-i bálá*) that an army of infidel Mughals had arrived at Uchh. This army was under the command of the accursed Mankúta[1] (Mangú Khán). Sultán 'Aláu-d dín gathered his forces from all sides to drive back the Mughal invaders. When he arrived on the banks of the Biyáh the infidels raised the siege

[1] [Var. "Mankúna."]

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of Uchh. The author accompanied his majesty in this campaign, and it was universally admitted by all men of knowledge and intelligence that such an army as was then under the orders of the Sultán had never before been seen. When the infidels heard of its strength and perfection they retreated towards Khurásán.

In this army there was a party of good-for-nothing fellows who had gradually made their way into the society of the Sultán, and were the means of leading him into unworthy habits and practices. It was thus that he acquired the habit of seizing and killing his nobles. He became confirmed in his cruelty; all his excellent qualities were perverted, and he gave himself up to unbounded licentiousness, pleasure, and hunting. Disaffection began to spread through the kingdom, and all the business of the State fell into disorder. The princes and nobles agreed to send envoys with letters inviting Násiru-d dín, and the result will be hereafter related. On Sunday, 23rd Muharram 644 H. (June, 1246) Sultán 'Aláu-d dín was put into prison and died. He reigned four years, one month, and one day.

7. *Sultán-i Mu'azzam Násiru-d dunyá wau-d dín Mahmúd.*

This prince, son of Sultán Sa'íd Shamsu-d dunyá wau-d dín (Altamsh) was born after the death of his eldest brother, whose name and titles were conferred upon him by his father. His mother was sent to a palace in the town of Loní,[1] where he was brought up and educated as a prince. Under the blessing of God he acquired every pleasing virtue.[2]

First Year of the Reign—Hijra 644 (1246 A.D.)

Sultán-i Mu'azzam Násiru-d dunyá wau-d dín ascended the throne in the Green Palace at Delhi with the most favourable auspices on Sunday, 23rd Muharram 644 H. (10th June, 1246).

[1] [Var. "Tolí," "Bolí."]

[2] [The author goes on in a strain of eulogy, and inserts specimens of two poems which he wrote on the accession of this king. A list of the king's nobles and relations is given, and the period of his reign is said to be "twenty-two years." The real period was twenty years. Our author's annals cease with the 15th year].

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Princes and nobles, chiefs and great men, saiyids and learned men, all hastened with joy to express their devotion, and every one, according to his rank, offered congratulations upon his accession. On Tuesday, the 25th, he held a public court in the Fírozí palace, and the people with one acclaim approved of the elevation of this generous, virtuous, and noble looking prince. The great rejoiced at this renewal of the sovereignty, and all parts of Hindustan were happy under his equitable rule. (May his reign endure to the extreme limits of possibility!)

When (in the course of the last reign) the prince left Dehli for Bahráich, his mother Malika-i Jahán Jalálu-d dunyá wau-d dín accompanied him. In that country and in the hills he fought many battles against the infidels. Under his kind rule Bahráich attained great prosperity. The fame of his victorious and successful government spread in all parts of Hindustan, and when the princes and nobles were disgusted with the rule of 'Aláu-d dín, they sent letters secretly to him pressing him to come to the capital. The princess, his mother, prudently gave out that he was going to Dehli for medical attendance. He was placed in a litter, and started from Bahráich attended by the princess, and by some careful men on horse and foot. When night came on they covered the prince's face with a woman's veil, mounted him on horseback, and making all speed they soon reached Dehli. No one knew of his arrival until the day he ascended the throne, and his occupation of the seat of royalty shed honour and splendour upon it.

In the month of Rajab, 644 H., he brought forth the royal standards, and led his army to the banks of the Indus and to Multán, in order to repulse the infidels of Chín. On Sunday, the 1st of Zí-l ka'da he crossed the river of Lahore, from whence he sent a force to ravage the hills of Júd, and the provinces on the Indus.[1] Ulugh Khán-i A'zam,[2] who now held the office of

[1] [The text has نندنه *nandna*, but this evidently a mistake for سندھ "*Sindh*," or the river Indus, which agrees with what follows, and with Firishta's statement.]

[2] [The titles *Khán-i a'zam*, *Khán-i mu'azzam*, and *Ulugh Khán*, are synonymous,

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lord chamberlain, was placed in command of this army. The Sultán with the baggage and elephants encamped on the river Sodra.[1] Ulugh Khán, with the help of God, ravaged the hills of Júd and the Jailam, and sent many of the Kokhars (Gakkars) and rebellious infidels to hell. He then advanced to the banks of the Indus, and laid waste all the neighbourhood, but he was obliged to return for want of provender and other necessaries. He returned victorious to the royal camp on the Sodra with great renown, and on Thursday, 5th Zi-l ka'da of the same year his majesty started for Dehli. On the 'Íd-i azha' he offered up his prayers on the hills of Jálandar, and from thence proceeded to the capital. Minháj Siráj, the writer of this work, received under his majesty's orders the gift of a coat and turban, and of a horse with princely trappings.

Second Year of the Reign—Hijra 645 (1247 A.D.)

His Majesty reached Dehli on Thursday, 2nd Muharram, 645 (9th May, 1247) and was detained there for six months by heavy rains. In Jumáda-l ákhir the royal army marched to Panipat, but in Sha'bán it returned and proceeded towards Hindustán through the Doáb. In the neighbourhood of Kanauj there is a fortified village called Nandana,[2] where there is a very strong fort vying with the wall of Alexander. A body of infidel Hindús shut themselves up in this place, resolved to fight to the last extremity. For two days the royal army carried on a murderous conflict at this village, but at length the rebels were sent to hell, and the place was subdued.

The author of this work celebrated the victory and all the events of the campaign in verse. The slaughter of the rebellious

and signify "great Khán." They designate the same person, best known as Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Balban, successor to Sultán Násiru-d dín. I have employed the name Ulugh Khán as being most distinctive.]

[1] [The Chináb.]

[2] [Var. "Talanda," and in another place, "Talsanda." Briggs says "Bitunda" which place he identifies with Bulandshahr. But Bitunda or Bhatinda is in Pattiala almost in a line between Dehli and Lahore. Neither this nor Bulandshahr can be the place here intended.]

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infidels, the capture of their fortifications, and the success of Ulugh Khán-i Mu'azzam in killing and taking prisoner Dalakí wa Malakí,[1] these and all the other incidents are celebrated fully in the poem to which the author gave the name of his gracious master, and called it "Násirí-náma." For this poem the author received from the Sultán the grant of a fine annual allowance, and from Ulugh Khán he received the grant in *in'ám* of a village near Hánsí. (May God long maintain the seats of their empire and rule!) But I return to the thread of my history.

On Thursday, 24th Shawwál, 645 (Febuary, 1248), the fort was captured after much fighting and bloodshed. Subsequently, on Monday, 12th Zí-l ka'da, 645, the army marched to Karra. Three days before Ulugh Khán had been sent on before with all the generals and princes of the army. The exploits and successes of this brave and skilful warrior, his victories in the field, his conquests of forts, fortified places, and jungles, his slaughter of rebellious infidels, his taking of booty and captives, and his capture of the dependants of great Ránas cannot here be recounted, but they are celebrated in the *Násiri-náma*,

There was in this neighbourhood a Rána[2] who (*orá*) was called Dalakí wa Malakí. He had many dependants, countless fighting men, great dominions and wealth, fortified places, and hills and defiles extremely difficult of access. All these he (Ulugh Khán) ravaged. He took prisoners the wives, sons, and dependants of that accursed one, and secured great booty. He secured 1500 horses of a peculiar breed, which he brought in for the use of the army. His other booty may be inferred from this. When he returned and waited on his sovereign all his brother nobles congratulated him on his victories.[3] On Thursday, 11th

[1] [قتل و اسر دلکي و ملکي] Our author in a following paragraph and elsewhere distinctly treats the two names as belonging to one person. Briggs, in his translation of *Firishta* says, "the Rájas Dulky and Mulky," and "these two rajas," but the text has "Dalakí Malakí," and adds, "this Dalakí Malakí was a raja."]

[2] [رانهٔ بود]

[3] [The scene of this victory is not named, but Firishta tells us it was Kálinjar.]

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Zí-l ka'da, 645, the Sultán started on his return from that country, and during his progress he was waited upon by Malik Jalálu-d dín Mas'úd, governor of Kanauj, who had the honour of an interview and went home. The Sultán then continued his journey to the capital.

Third Year of the Reign—Hijra 646 (1248 A.D.).

On Wednesday, 24th Muharram, 646 (20th May, 1248), the Sultán reached Dehli, and took his seat upon the throne with great state. When Malik Jalálu-d dín waited upon the king as he was returning, he was appointed governor of Sambal and Badáún, but he all at once took alarm about these two districts and came to the capital. The Sultán stayed at Dehli seven months, until the 6th Sha'bán. He then marched out on a campaign towards the hills and deserts; but he sent on his generals, and then returned to the capital, not finding occasion to proceed in person. He reached Dehli on Wednesday, 9th Zí-l ka'da. The royal army continued its march to the mountains of Rantambhor. Two important events occurred during this campaign. First—Kází 'Imádu-d dín Shakúrkání incurred suspicion, and on Friday, 9th Zí-l hijja he was dismissed from office in the White Palace, and by royal command proceeded to Badáún. On Monday, 12th Zí-l hijja, he was killed by 'Imadu-d dín Ríhán. Second—Malik Baháu-d dín Aibak was killed by the infidel Hindus near the fort of Rantambhor, on the 11th Zí-l hijja.

Fourth Year of the Reign—Hijra 647 (1249 A.D.).

On Monday, 3rd Safar, 647 (May, 1249), Ulugh Khán returned with his army to the capital. Being held in high estimation as a great supporter of the State, and the mainstay of the army, the Sultán, with the concurrence of the princes and nobles, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the Khán. The marriage took place on Monday, 20th Rabí'u-l ákhir. On Mon-

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day, 10th Jumáda-l ákhir, Kází Jalálu-d dín Káshání came from Oudh and was made Kází of the State. On Monday, 22nd Sha'bán, the Sultán marched from Dehli. On Sunday, 4th Shawwál, he crossed the Jumna, intending to war against the Hindus in those parts. The author now received letters from his sister in Khurásán, and the Sultán being informed of the fact, he was graciously pleased, on the suggestion of Ulugh Khán, to give her one hundred beasts of burden,[1] and one hundred ass-loads of presents. The Sultán returned to Dehli on Wednesday. On Monday, the 29th Zí-l hijja, the author left Dehli for Multán, with the object of forwarding the presents to Khurásán. When he reached Hánsí, he, with the permission of Ulugh Khán took possession of his *in'ám*, village. He then proceeded towards Multán by way of Abúhar.

Fifth Year of the Reign—Hijra 648 (1250 A.D.)

On Sunday, 11th Safar (the author) had an interview with Sher Khán on the banks of the river Sind and Biyáh.[2] He proceeded from thence to Multán where he arrived on Wednesday 6th Rabí'u-l awwal. On the same day, Malik 'Izzu-d dín Lashkar Khán came from Uchh to take Multán, and the author had an interview with him. He encamped there until the 26th of Rabí'u-l ákhir, but was unable to conquer Multán, which was in the possession of the followers of Sher Khán. The author started for the capital and Malik 'Izzu-d dín Balban went off to Uchh. The author, passing by the fort of Marút (Mírat ?) to Sarsuti and Hánsí, arrived at Dehli on the 22nd Jumáda-l awwal. In this year Ikhtiyáru-d dín Gurez made many of the infidel Mughals prisoners at Multán and sent them to Dehli, where their arrival

[1] [The word used is برده for which the dictionaries give the meaning of "captive, slave, servant." It can hardly bear this meaning here, and in other places it is connected with *asp* (horse), so I have translated it "beast of burden," from the verb *burdan*, to carry.]

[2] [Firishta's account is somewhat different. He says that the Sultán was joined on the Biyáh by Sher Khán, and marched to Multán. Our text has no nominative in this sentence, but the words used "*mulákát-i Sher Khan hásil shud*" show that the person who had the interview was not superior in rank to Sher Khán.]

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caused much triumph. On Friday, 17 Zí-l ka'da, Kází Jalálu-d dín Káshání died.

Sixth Year of the Reign—Hijra 649 (1251 A.D.).

Malik 'Izzu-d dín broke into revolt at Nágor, and the Sultán marched forth with his army to crush the outbreak, but 'Izzu-d dín came forward and made his submission. The Sultán then returned to the capital. After this Sher Khán marched from Multán to take Uchh, and Malik 'Izzu-d dín returned thither from Nágor, but he was captured in his encounter with Sher Khán and quietly surrendered the fort of Uchh to him, after which he went to Dehli, where he arrived on Sunday, 17th Rabí'u-l ákhir and was appointed governor of Badáún.

On Sunday, 10th Jumáda-l awwal, the writer Minháj Siráj was for the second time appointed Kází of the State and magistrate of the capital.

On Tuesday, 25th Sha'bán, his Majesty marched towards Gwálior, Chanderi, Bazawál (?) and Málwa. He advanced nearly as far as Málwa. Jáhir Deo[1] was the greatest of all the Ránas of that country and neighbourhood. He had five thousand horse and two hundred thousand infantry, but he was defeated. The fort of Balwar[2] which he had built was taken and plundered. Ulugh Khán exhibited great energy in this campaign, and great plunder and many captives fell into the hands of the victors. The Sultán returned in safety and with honour to Dehli.

Seventh Year of the Reign—Hijra 650 (1252 A.D.)

His Majesty reached Dehli on Monday, 23rd Rabí'u-l awwal 650 (2nd June, 1252) and dwelt for seven months at the capital

[1] [The text has "Jahirájár" with the variants "Jáhirájád" and "Jáhawárjár." Firishta and other writers say, "Jahir Deo." The name is doubtless the same as the "Cháhar Deo," found on a local coin bearing the name of Altamsh as sovereign. —See Thomas' Coins of Patan Sultans, page 15.]

[2] [Var. "Bagor or Bagwar," and "Bazor or Bazawar." It is probably the same name as "Bazawál" a few lines above. Briggs in his translation of Firishta says "Narwar," which is perhaps right, though his text has "Tarwar."—See post, page 369.]

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in great comfort and splendour, engaged in works of benevolence, and in strengthening the administration of justice. On Monday, 22nd Shawwál, he proceeded towards Lahore and Ghazní on the way to Uchh and Multán. When the author took leave of him near Kaithal he was honoured with the gift of a horse with trappings of gold and a saddle. In the course of this journey all the princes and Kháns near the king's route came in to wait upon him. Katlagh Khán from Bayána, and Lashkar Khán 'Izzu-d dín from Badáún, with their followers, attended the Sultán to the banks of the Biyáh. 'Imádu-d dín Ríhán secretly set the feelings of the Sultán and of the princes against Ulugh Khán and perverted their minds.

Eighth Year of the Reign—Hijra 651 (1253 A.D.).

At the beginning of the new year, on Saturday, the 1st Muharram, Ulugh Khán received orders to go to his estates in the Siwálik hills and Hánsí. When the Khán under these orders proceeded from Rohtak towards Hánsí, the Sultán returned to Dehli, and directed his attention to the nobles and public affairs. In Jumáda-l awwal the post of wazír was given to 'Aínu-l mulk Muhammad Nizám Junaidí. Malik Kishlí Khán was made lord chamberlain. Ulugh Mubárak Aibak, brother of the Khán-i mu'azzam (Ulugh Khán) was granted the fief of Karra, and was sent thither. In the same year 'Imádu-d dín Ríhán became prime minister (*wakíldar*).[1]

The royal army then marched from Dehli towards Hánsí, with the design of ousting Ulugh Khán. 'Imád Khán now brought forward Kází Shamsu-d dín Bahráíchí, and on the 27th Rajab he made him Kází of the state. Ulugh Khán went from Hánsí to Nágor, and his fief of Hánsí was,

[1] [Briggs, in Firishta (I. 281), reads it as *Wakíl-i dar*, officer of the door, one "who superintended the ceremonies of presentation." A very reasonable explanation; and Vullers explains it "Procurator palatii regii, i.q. vicarius." Still there is no doubt that 'Imádu-d dín was in reality minister, whatever the literal meaning of his title. In other places where it is used it would also appear to bear the meaning here given to it.]

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through the interest of the lord chamberlain, bestowed upon Prince Ruknu-d dín. In Sha'bán the king returned with the army to Dehli. In the beginning of Shawwál he again set forth, with the intention of subduing Uchh, Multán, and Tabarhindh. When he approached the river Biyáh, a force was despatched to Tabarhindh. Previous to this Sher Khán, through the attacks of the infidels had crossed the river Sindh, and had gone towards Turkistán. Uchh, Multán, and Tabarhindh were left in charge of his officers. On Monday, 22nd Zí-l hijja, (the country) was conquered, and placed under the charge of Arslán Khán. The royal army then returned from the Biyáh.

Ninth Year of the Reign—Hijra 652 (1254 A.D.).

At the beginning of this year victories and spoils were gained in the vicinity of the mountains of Bardár[1] and Pinjor. The army then crossed the Jumna. On Wednesday, 16th Muharram, it passed over the Ganges at Miyápúr, and continued its march along the base of the hills to the banks of the Rahab.[2] In the course of these hostilities, 'Izzu-d dín Daramshí was killed at Tankala-bálí.[3] In revenge for his death the Sultán ordered an attack to be made on Káithar (Kaithal), on Monday, 16th Safar, such that the inhabitants might not forget for the rest of their lives. He then marched to Badáún, and arrived there with great pomp and display. After a stay of nine days he started for Dehli.

On Sunday, 6th Rabi'u-l awwal, Sadru-l mulk Najmu-d dín Abú Bakr was made minister for the second time, and on Sunday, 20th of the same month, the author was honoured with the title of Sadr-i Jahán (Chancellor of the World), in the neighbourhood of Kol. On Tuesday, 26th Rabí'u-awwal, the Sultán arrived at Dehli, and remained there six months, until news was brought of the confederacy of the nobles with Malik Jalálu-d dín. His Majesty left Dehli in Sha'bán, and proceeded towards Sanám and Tabarhindh. He passed the 'Id-i fitr in Sanám.

[1] [Sirmor?] [2] [See Vol. I. p. 49.] [3] [Var. Takiya-mání.]

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The forces of the confederate nobles, of Arslán Khán of Tabarhindh, Sanján Aibak, and Ulugh Khán, were assembled with Jalálu-d dín in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindh. His Majesty advanced from Sanám to Hánsí, and the nobles retired to Kahrám and Kaithal. The royal army marched thither, and then the confederates made propositions of peace. 'Imádu-d dín Ríhán was the cause of all the contention, so on Wednesday, 22nd Shawwál, the Sultán directed him to proceed to Badáún, which was given to him as his fief. Peace was thus made. On Tuesday, 17th Zí-l ka'da, after oaths had been taken and agreements concluded, all the nobles and officers waited on the king, and paid their allegiance. Lahore was given to Jalálu-d dín. On Tuesday, 9th Zí-l hijja, the king returned with pomp and splendour to Dehli.

Tenth Year of the Reign—Hijra 653 (1255 A.D.)

At the beginning of the new year an extraordinary event occurred. Under the behests of fate the mind of his Majesty was turned against his mother, the Malika-i Jahán, who was married to Katlagh Khán. Oudh was now granted to them, and they were ordered to proceed thither, which command they obeyed. This happened on Tuesday, 6th Muharram. On Sunday, 23rd Rabí'u-l awwal, his Majesty conferred the office of Kází of the State and magistrate of the capital, as he had done before, on the writer of this work, Minháj Siráj. In Rabíu'-l ákhir, Malik Kutbu-d dín, who was deputy of the State, uttered something which was offensive to the Sultán, and on the 23rd of that month he was arrested and placed in prison, where he was killed.

On Monday, 7th Jumáda-l awwal, the fief of Mírat was conferred on Malik Kishlí Khán Ulugh A'zzam Bárbak-sultání, upon his coming from Karra to pay his respects to the Sultán. On Tuesday, 16th Rajab, Jamálu-d dín Bastámí was made Shaikhu-l Islám. In the same month Malik Táju-d dín Síwistání proceeded from Oudh, and expelled 'Imádu-d dín Ríhán from Bahráich, and he died.

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In the month of Shawwál the royal army marched from the capital to Hindustán. On Sunday, 17th Zí-l ka'da, Ulugh Khán Mu'azzam went to Hánsí to superintend the military organization of the Siwálik hills, which having arranged he returned to Dehli. At the end of the year, on Wednesday, 9th Zí-l hijja, he proceeded to the royal camp. Previous to this, Katlagh Khán had been directed to leave Oudh, and go to the fief of Bahráich. He resented this, so the Sultán sent a force under Malik Baktam Rukní to put him down. The two armies met near Badáún, and Baktam was killed. The royal army then marched to Oudh to retrieve this disaster, but Katlagh Khán retreated to Kálinjar. Thither Ulugh Khán pursued him, but failing to overtake him, he returned to the royal camp with great booty.

Eleventh Year of the Reign—Hijra 654 (1256 A.D.)

At the beginning of the new year, in the month of Muharram, the royal army having achieved victory, marched triumphant towards Dehli under the protection of the Almighty, and reached the city on the 4th Rabíu'-I awwal. When Katlagh Khán heard of the Sultán's homeward march he began to interfere in the districts of Karra and Mánikpur. A battle followed between him and Arslán Khán Sanjar Chist, in which the latter was victorious. Katlagh Khán could no longer remain in Hindustán, so he proceeded into Mawás,[1] with the intention of proceeding to the highlands. He reached Santur,[1] and there took refuge among the hills and the tribes of those parts. The royal army marched out to quell this disturbance on Tuesday, 20th Zí-l hijja, and at the beginning of the following year the army went to Santúr, and fought a battle with the Hindus of the mountains. Katlagh Khán was with these mountaineers, and a

[1] [These two names are written مواس and سنور. (Var. ستور) The former is probably Mewár, and the hills the Árávalli mountains. Briggs says there is a town called Santpúr, near Ábú. Thornton has a "Santoo," 84 miles S.S.W. from Jodhpur.]

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party of nobles in the royal army, who had suspicious fears, went and joined him. They were unable to withstand the troops of the Sultán, so they turned their backs. Ulugh Khán ravaged the whole of the hills with the sword, and penetrated as far as the town of Salmúr, in the defiles and fastnesses of the mountains. No king had ever laid hold upon Salmúr, nor had any Musulman army reached it. He now plundered it, and carried on a devastating warfare. So many of the rebellious Hindus were killed that the numbers cannot be computed or described.

Twelfth Year of the Reign—Hijra 655 (1257 A.D.).

After the return from the campaign, on Sunday, 6th Rabíu'-l awwal, Malik Sanján Aibak, of Khitá, fell from his horse and died. On Sunday, 26th Rabí'u-l ákhir, the Sultán reached the capital with his army.

When the army returned victorious, 'Izzu-d dín Kishlu Khán Balban advanced to the borders of the river Biyáh, with the forces of Uchh and Multán. Malik Katlagh Khán and the nobles who were with him proceeded to join this new revolter in the neighbourhood of Sámána.

When intelligence of this rebellion reached the Sultán, he placed Ulugh Khán at the head of an army, with which he marched from Dehli on Thursday, 15th Jumáda-l awwal. He approached the enemy, and there was only ten kos between the opposing forces, when he discovered that a party of conspirators in the capital, such as the Shaikhu-l Islám, Kutbu-d dín, and Kází Shamsu-d dín Bahráichí, had secretly addressed letters to to Katlagh Khán and Malik Kishlú Khán Balban, inviting them to come to Dehli, where they would find the gates open and every one in the city ready to assist and support these proceedings. Some faithful reporters in the capital conveyed intelligence of this conspiracy to Ulugh Khán, who sent the letters back to his sovereign in Dehli, informing him of the plot of the nobles, and advising him to order such of them as had fiefs in the neighbourhood of Dehli to proceed to those estates. When the storm

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had blown over, and they returned to the capital, the Sultán might make an end of them.

On Sunday, 2nd Jumáda-l ákhir, an order was issued directing Saiyid Kutbu-d dín and Kází Shamsu-d dín Bahráichí to proceed to their estates.

When the letters which the conspirators sent from the city reached Malik Katlagh Khán and Malik Kishlú Khán, they instantly started with all their forces to Dehli, and in two days and a-half they accomplished the distance, one hundred *kos*. On Thursday, 6th Jumáda-l ákhir, they alighted at their gardens (outside the city), and in the morning, after prayers, they came to the gate of the city and made the circuit of the walls. At night they pitched their camp within sight of Dehli, between the Jumna,[1] Kílu-gharí and the city. By the mercy of God it so happened that two days before these nobles came to their gardens on the Jumna, in reliance upon the promises held out in the letters, a number of the conspirators had gone out of the city. When the nobles heard of this they became very cautious in their proceedings.

The Sultán ordered the gates of the city to be closed, and as as the army was absent every preparation was made for war. 'Aláu-d dín Ayyáz Zanjání, lord chamberlain, the deputy of the lord chamberlain, Ulugh Kotwal Beg Jamálu-d dín Naishapúrí, and the *diwán i'arz i mamálik*, exerted themselves most laudably in making the city secure and in arming the fighting men. At night the nobles, officers, and chief men were posted on the walls of the city. On the following morning, a Friday, the Almighty showed the inhabitants a pleasant sight. Kishlú Khán had made up his mind to retire, and sundry other nobles and the mother of the Sultán, when they perceived this, all made up their minds to retreat. The greater part of their forces, however, would not consent to retreat with them, but encamped near the city. Many of the chief men and officers asked forgiveness, and

[1] [The text has "*Júd*," which I take to be a mistake for *Jún* = Jumna.]

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joined the royal service, and those nobles returned disappointed to the Siwálik hills.

When the news of this enterprise reached Ulugh Khán and the officers of the royal army, they returned towards Dehli, and as they approached the result became known to them. On Tuesday, 11th Jumáda-l ákhir, Ulugh Khán entered the city safely and triumphantly. After this, on Wednesday, 8th Ramzán, Ziyáu-l mulk Táju-d dín was raised to the dignity of wazír.

At the close of this year the infidel Mughals approached from Khurásán, and advanced into the territories of Uchh and Multán. Kishlú Khán entered into a treaty with them, and joined them at the camp of Sálín-nawín.

Thirteenth Year of the Reign—Hijra 656 (1258 A.D.)

At the beginning of the new year, on Sunday, the 6th Muharram, the Sultán marched with his army from Dehli to oppose the infidel Mughals. Trustworthy writers have recorded that on Wednesday, 4th of the same month, Hulákú, chief of the Mughals, was defeated before the gates of Baghdad, by the forces of the Khalífa M'utasim Bi-llah.[1]

When the royal army left the city nobles and generals were appointed to the command of forces in different parts. The main body returned to the capital on the 1st Ramazán, and remained there five months. On the 18th Zí-l ka'da the country of Lakhnauti was given to Malik Jalálu-d dín Mas'úd Malik Jání.

Fourteenth Year of the Reign—Hijra 657 (1259 A.D.).

On the 16th Muharram the royal army marched from the the capital on a campaign against the infidels. On Sunday, 21st Safar, the districts of Bayána, Kol, Balá-rám, and Gwalior were assigned to Malik Sher Khán. Maliku-n nawwáb Aibak was appointed to command an army sent against the infidels of Rantambhor, and the Sultán returned to Dehli. On Wednesday,

[1] [A note in the printed text says that all the four MSS. used agree in this statement, so contrary to the truth. Baghdad fell, and the Khalífa was put to death.]

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4th Jumáda-l ákhir, two elephants with treasure came to the court from Lakhnauti. On the 6th of the same month, the Shaikhu-l Islám Jamálu-d dín Bastámí died, and on the 24th Kází Kabíru-d dín also departed. (May God have mercy on them!) By the favour of the Sultán their *mansabs* were continued to their sons. In Rajab Malik Kishlí Khán-i a'zam Barbak Aibak died, and the office of lord chamberlain was given to his son, Malik 'Aláu-d dín Muhammad. On the 1st Ramazán, Imám Hamídu-d dín Márikala died, and the Sultán graciously continued his *in'áms* to his sons.

After all this trouble the State enjoyed repose; troubles were appeased and wounds were healed. All things went on prosperously. On the 29th Ramazán the Almighty in his bounty gave the Sultán a son. The gifts and honours which were showered on the rich and poor exceeded all powers of description. At the end of Shawwál, Malik Tamar Khán Sanjar under the royal orders returned to Dehli with his army.

Fifteenth Year of the Reign—Hijra 658 (1260 A.D.)

The new year opened auspiciously. On the 16th Ramazán Ulugh Khán was sent into the hills of Dehli, to chastise the rebel inhabitants of Mewát, and to intimidate their Deo. Ten thousand horsemen in armour, and a large army of brave and warlike soldiers were under his command. Great booty was gained, and many cattle captured. Defiles and passes were cleared, strong forts were taken, and numberless Hindús perished under the merciless swords of the soldiers of Islám.

I have resolved, upon reflection, to close my history at this place and with this victory. If life and opportunity are given to me, I may hereafter record any remarkable events that may happen. I beg the indulgent reader to forgive my errors, faults, and omissions, I pray that God may preserve in continued prosperity my gracious Sultán, and I hope that my composition of this work may be deemed meritorious both in this world and the next.[1]

[1] [I have here greatly compressed the author's flourishes.]

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TABAKAT XXII.

[Page 281 to 324 of the printed text.]

No. 25. *Al Khákánu-l Mu'azzam Baháu-l hakk wau-d dín Ulugh Khán Balbanu-s Sultání* [*otherwise called Ghiyásu-d din Balban*].

The Khákán-i Mu'azzam Ulugh Khán-i 'azam belonged to the stock of the Khákáns of Albarí.[1] His father and the father of Sher Khán were born of the same father and mother, the father being of the race of the Khákáns of Albarí. He was *khán* over ten thousand houses (*khána*), and the family was well known in Albarí of Turkistán, among the Turkí tribes. At the present time the sons of his (Ulugh Khán's) paternal uncles rule over these tribes with great distinction. I was informed of these facts by Kurbat Khán Sanjar. The Almighty desired to grant a support to the power of Islám and to the strength of the Muhammadan faith, to extend his glorious shadow over it, and to preserve Hindustán within the range of his favour and protection. He therefore removed Ulugh Khán in his youth from Turkistán, and separated him from his race and kindred, from his tribe and relations, and conveyed him to the country (of Hindustán), for the purpose of curbing the Mughals. God conducted him to Baghdád, and from that city to Guzerat. Khwája Jamálu-d dín Basrí, a man remarkable for piety and integrity, ability and worth, bought him, and brought him up carefully like a son. Intelligence and ability shone out clearly in his countenance, so his patron looked upon him with an eye of kindness and treated him with especial consideration.

In the year 630 H. (1232 A.D.) he brought him to Dehli when Sultán Sá'id Shamsu-d dunyá wau-d dín adorned the throne. With several other Turks he was brought into the presence of the Sultán. When the monarch observed him he bought all the lot of Turks and appointed them to attend before his throne.

[1] [از تخمهٔ خاقان البري با نام بود]

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Ulugh was seen to be a youth of great promise, so the king made him his personal attendant, placing, as one might say, the hawk of fortune on his hand. So that in after times, in the reigns of this monarch's children, it might come to pass that this youth should save the kingdom from the violence and machinations of its foes, and raise it to a high pitch of glory and honour.

At this period, while he was discharging his duties, by the decree of fate, he recovered his brother Kishlí Khán (afterwards) lord chamberlain, at which he rejoiced greatly. His power became conspicuous. When Sultán Ruknu-d dín came to the throne, he went off along with the Turks from Dehli to Hindustán, and when the Turks were brought back he returned to Dehli in their army. He was imprisoned for some days and subjected to some indignity. The design in this may have been (God knows!) that he should taste the sufferings of the miserable, so that when he attained to the sovereign dignity he might have compassion on them, and be thankful for his own exaltation. [*A story is introduced here.*]

Let us return to our history. When Sultán Raziya ascended the throne Ulugh Khán continued to be one of the royal attendants (*Khássa-dár*) till fortune favoured him, and he became chief huntsman (*Amír shikár*). Fate proclaimed that the earth was to be the prey of his fortune and the world the game of his sovereignty. He held this office and discharged its duties for some time, till the sun of the supremacy of Raziya set and that of Mu'izzu-d dín Bahrám Sháh shone forth. Fortune still befriended him. After remaining some time in his position of chief huntsman, performing his service, and exhibiting marks of ability, he was made master of the horse. The steed of sovereignty and empire thus came under his bridle and control. When Badru-d dín Sankar became lord chamberlain, he showed a paternal interest in Ulugh Khán, and took such care of his advancement that he was raised to a higher position, and received a grant of the lands of Ríwárí. He went to that place,

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and by his vigour and bravery punished the hill chiefs[1] and brought the district under his rule.

When the power of the Mu'izzí dynasty was declining, the nobles conspired together and came to the gates of the city (Dehli). The princes and nobles all agreed as to the course to be pursued. Ulugh Khán,[2] grantee of Ríwárí, displayed such energy and exhibited such remarkable resolution in securing the submission of the provinces, that no one of the princes and nobles, Turks and Táziks, was worth the hundredth part of him. All the confederates admitted that in vigour, courage, and activity he surpassed them all. When the city was conquered he received a grant of Hánsí. On taking possession of the territory he applied himself to its improvement, and through his justice and generosity all the inhabitants were happy and content. His success was so great that other nobles began to look upon it with jealousy, and the thorn of envy began to rankle in their hearts. But it was the will of God that he should excel them all, so that the more the fire of their envy burnt, the stronger did the incense of his fortune rise from the censer of the times. "They seek to extinguish the light of God with their mouths, but God willeth only to perfect his light." [*The author continues in a high strain of benediction and eulogy.*]

To return to our history. In the year 640 H. (1242 A.D.) this humble individual (the author) had to travel to Lakhnautí with his family and dependants. In this journey he spent two years. Trustworthy persons have recorded that in the year 641 Ulugh Khán was appointed lord chamberlain. When the royal army marched from the capital he inflicted a severe chastisement on the rebels of Jalálí and Dewalí, and the Mawás in the *doab* between the Ganges and Jumna. He fought much against the

[1] [مواسات کرد را مالش تمام داد] The word *mawás* signifies protection, dependence; but it appears to have some other technical meaning. Further on we read of the *Mawását* of the Doab, and "the *Mawását* and *Rúnajún*."]

[2] [The text says "the Sultán (may God prolong his reign);" plainly showing that this part of the work was written in the reign of Balban].

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infidels and cleared the roads and neighbouring country from insurgents.

In the year 643 the author under the imperial orders, left Lakhnautí with his family and returned to the capital in company with Tughán Khán Tughril. In this year the accursed Mankútí (Mangú-Khán), who was one of the generals of the Mughals and a prince of Turkistán, marched from the neighbourhood of Tálikán and Kunduz into Sindh. He laid siege to Uchh, one of the most renowned fortresses of Sindh, and equal to Mansúra.[1] There was a eunuch in (command of) the fort who belonged to the household of Táju-d dín. Abú Bakr-Kabír Khán Aksunkar was chief justice, and Mukhlisu-d dín was *kotwal*. When intelligence of this inroad reached the Court, Ulugh Khán made known his views to the Sultán and prepared an army to oppose the Mughals. The princes and nobles were opposed to this expedition,[2] but Malik Ulugh Khán was very earnest about it.

When the royal army marched towards the seat of warfare, the Khákán-i Mu'azzam[3] Ulugh Khán (may his reign endure!) appointed guides to lead the way, so that the marches might be made with the greatest celerity. In ordinary cases eight *kos* would be one day's march, but under his arrangements, twelve *kos* or even more were accomplished. The army arrived on the banks of the Biyáh, made the transit of that river, and reached Lahore on the banks of the Rávi. He there showed great energy and bravery in pushing forward the expedition, and incited the Sultán and the nobles to be earnest for the repulse of the infidel Mughals.

On Monday, 25th Shabán, 643 H. (Nov. 1245), intelligence

[1] [وحصن أچه را ک در قلاع نامدار بلاد سنده است و ارض منصوره در بند ان داد The words are not very precise, but the mention of Mansúra is curious.]

[2] [استنكاري مي آورد]

[3] [In this memoir the title "Khákán-i Mu'azzam" is generally employed, but for for the sake of uniformity and simplicity I have substituted "Ulugh Khán."]

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was brought to the royal camp that the infidel Mughals had raised the siege of Uchh. The reason of their retreat was that Ulugh Khán (when he reached the Biyáh) had sent forward messengers bearing letters from the Sultán addressed to the garrison of the fort, announcing the approach of the royal army, and dilating upon the vast numbers of the soldiers and elephants and the great valour and spirit of the forces which followed the royal standards. He also sent forward an advance force to reconnoitre. When the messengers came near Uchh, some of the letters fell into the hands of the accursed warriors, and some reached the garrison of the fort. The drums were beaten in the fort to announce the joy of the besieged. The contents of the letters and the approach of the army of Islám became fully known to the accursed foe, and the horsemen of the advanced force were in the vicinity of Sindh on the banks of the Biyáh of Lahore. Fear and dismay fell upon the hearts of the accursed, and the goodness of God lent its aid (to the forces of Islam). Trusty men record that when Mankútí heard of the approach of the army of Islám under the royal standard, that it had proceeded by the river Biyáh, near the skirts of the hills, and that it was advancing along the banks of the river,[1] he made enquiry of a party (of prisoners) why the army of Islám marched along the bases of the mountains, for that route was long, and the way by Sarsuti and Marút (Mírat?) was nearer? He was answered that the numerous fissures on the banks of the river rendered the way impassable for the army.[2]

This answer convinced Mankútí that he had not sufficient strength to withstand the approaching army, and that he must retreat. Panic obtained mastery over him and his forces, so that they could no longer retain their position. He divided his

[1] [بر کنار آب مي آيد]

[2] [از کثرت جر بر کنار آب راه نباشد] The text is far from intelligible, and is apparently contradictory. The royal forces are said to have marched along the banks of the river, although that route is declared to have been impracticable. The whole passage is omitted from Sir H. Elliot's MS.]

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army into three bodies and fled. Many Musulmán and Hindú prisoners obtained their freedom. This victory is attributable to the activity, bravery, and strategy of Ulugh Khán; but for him the victory would not have been gained (may the Almighty keep him safe under his protection!)

After the achievement of this victory Ulugh Khán advised that the royal army should march towards the river Sodra[1] in order to impress the minds of the enemy with the great power, bravery, and numbers of the army of Islám. So the army proceeded to the banks of the Sodra, and from thence, on the 27th Shawwal, 643 H., it returned to Dehli, which city it reached on Monday 12th Zí-l-hijja 643 H. (May 1246).

For some time past the mind of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín had been alienated from the nobles, he was seldom visible to the army, and besides this he was given up to depravity. The nobles all agreed to write secretly from Dehli to Násiru-d dunyá wau-d dín, inviting him to set up his pretensions to the throne. On Sunday, 23rd Muharram, 644 (June 1246) he came to Dehli and sat upon the seat of empire. The Khutba was read and the coin of the realm was struck in the auspicious name of Násír. So Ulugh Khán represented how the accursed foe had in the previous year fled before the armies of Islám, and had gone to the upper parts (*taraf-i bálá*). It now seemed advisable that the royal army should proceed in that direction. This advice was approved and orders were given for the march. On Monday, the 1st Rajab, 644 H., the army set forth and proceeded to the river Sodra. Here Ulugh Khán was detached with several nobles and generals to make an incursion into the hills of Júd. The Rána of these hills had acted as guide to the infidel Mughals, and it was now determined to take vengeance. Ulugh Khán accordingly attacked the hills of Júd, and the countries on the Jailam, and led his forces as far as the banks of the Indus. All the women and dependants of the infidels which were in those parts were obliged to flee, and a party of the Mughal army

[1] [The Chináb.]

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crossed over the Jailam, and saw the forces which were arrayed under the command of Ulugh Khán. The manifold lines of the army, the numbers of the horse, the armour and the arms, filled the observers with wonder and dismay. The bravery and generalship which Ulugh Khán displayed in scaling the mountains, breaking through defiles, capturing fortified places, and crossing jungles, cannot be described in writing. The fame of this campaign extended to Turkistán. There was no husbandry or agriculture in this country, and fodder became unobtainable. Hence he was compelled to retire, and he returned victorious and triumphant to the royal camp, bringing back all his officers and troops in safety.

On Thursday, 6th Zí-l ka'da, his majesty returned to the capital, which he reached on Thursday, 2nd Muharram, 645 H. The perseverance and resolution of Ulugh Khán had been the means of showing to the army of Turkistán and the Mughals such bravery and generalship that in the course of this year no one came from the upper parts towards Sindh. So Ulugh Khán represented to his Majesty, in the month of Sha'bán, that the opportunity was favourable for making an expedition into Hindustán. The Mawás and Ránas[1] had not been pinched for several years, but some coercion might now be exercised on them, by which spoil would fall into the hands of the soldiers of Islám, and wealth would be gained to strengthen the hands of the State in resisting the Mughals. The royal armies accordingly marched to Hindustán, passing down the Doab between the Ganges and Jumna. After some fighting, the fort of Nandana[2] was captured, and Ulugh Khán was sent with some other generals and a Muhammadan force to oppose Dalaki wa Malakí. This was a Rána in the vicinity of the Jumna, between Kálinjar and Karra, over whom the Ráís of Kálinjar and Málwa had no authority. He had numerous followers and ample wealth; he ruled wisely; his fortresses were strong and secure; in his territories

[1] [مواسات و رانگان]

[2] [Var. "Talanda" and "Talsanda." See *supra*, page 347.]

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the defiles were arduous, the mountains rugged, and the jungles many. No Muhammadan army had ever penetrated to his dwelling place. When Ulugh Khán reached his abode, the Rána took such care for the safety of himself and his family, that he kept quiet from the dawn till the time of evening prayer, and when it grew dark he fled to some more secure place. At daybreak, the Muhammadan army entered his abode, and then pursued him, but the accursed infidel had escaped into the lofty mountains, to an inaccessible spot impossible to reach except by stratagem, and the use of ropes and ladders. Ulugh Khán incited his soldiers to the attempt, and, under his able direction, they succeeded in taking the place. All the infidel's wives, dependants, and children fell into the hands of the victors with much cattle, many horses and slaves. Indeed, the spoil that was secured exceeded all computation. At the beginning of Shawwál 645 H. (Feb. 1248), the force returned to the royal camp with their booty, and after the I'd-i azha', the whole army marched towards the capital, which it reached on the 4th Muharram, 646 H. (April 1248). A full poetical account of this campaign, in which the several victories are recounted, has been composed; the book is called *Násirí náma*.[1]

In Sha'bán, 646 H. (Nov. 1248), the royal army marched through the upper country to the neighbourhood of the Biyáh, and then returned to the capital. Ulugh Khán with several nobles under him, was sent with an ample force towards Rantambhor, to overrun the mountains of Mewát and the country of Báhar-deo, who was the greatest of the Ráís of Hindustán. He ravaged the whole of those territories and gained a large booty. Malik Baháu-d dín Aibak was slain under the fort of Rantambhor, on Sunday in the month of Zí-l hijja 646, while Ulugh Khán was engaged fighting in another quarter. The Khán's soldiers showed great courage and fought well; they sent many of the infidels to hell, and secured great spoil; after which they returned to the capital.

[1] [See *supra*, page 348.]

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On Monday, 3rd Safar, 647 H. (May, 1249), they arrived at Dehli. In the course of this year his majesty was pleased to recognize the great ability and distinguished services of his general.[1] He therefore promoted him from the rank of a Malik and the office of lord chamberlain to the dignity of a *Khán*, and on Tuesday, 3rd Rajab, 647 H., he named him lieutenant of the government, army, and royal fortune (*bakhtiyárí*), with the title of Ulugh Khán. The truth of the adage that "the worth of titles is revealed by heaven," was proved in this case, for from that day forth the services of Ulugh Khán to the house of Násir became still more conspicuous. When he was thus promoted, his brother Kishlí Khán Aibak, master of the horse, became lord chamberlain. He was a nobleman of kind and generous character, and endowed with many virtues. Malik Táju-d dín Sanjar Tabar Khán became deputy of the lord chamberlain, and my excellent dear son 'Alau-d dín Ayyáz Tabar Khán Zanjání,[2] who was Amíru-l hujjáb (superintendant of the royal doorkeepers), was made deputy *wakíldar*. These appointments were made on Friday, 6th Rajab 647, and Ikhtiyáru-d dín Ítigin, the long-haired, who had been deputy, now became master of the horse.

On Monday, 9th Sha'bán, 647 H. (Nov. 1249), the royal army left the capital and took the field. Passing over the Jumna it encamped and engaged in operations against the Mawás. [*Matters personal of the author, see page* 350.]

On Tuesday, 25th Sha'bán, 649 H. (Nov. 1251), the royal army marched towards Málwa and Kálinjar. When Ulugh Khán arrived there with the army of Islám, he defeated Jáhir of Ijárí, a great *ráya*, who had a large army and many adherents, and destroyed both him and his kingdom. This Jáhir, *ráya* of Ijárí, was an active and able man. In the reign of Sa'íd Shamsu-d dín, in the year 632 H. (1234), the army of Islám was sent from Bayána Sultán-kot, Kanauj, Mahr, Maháwan and Gwalior,

[1] [Many lines of eulogy are here compressed into this short but adequate statement.]

[2] [Var. "Ríhání."]

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against Kálinjar and Jamú, under the command of Malik Nusratu-d dín Tábasí, who was distinguished above all the generals of the time for courage, boldness, ability, and generalship. The army marched on fifty days from Gwalior, and great booty fell into its hands, so much that the imperial fifth amounted to nearly twenty-two lacs. When they returned from Kálinjar they were encountered by this Rána of Ijárí, who seized upon the defiles on the river Sindí in the road of the returning army. The author heard Nusratu-d dín Tábasí say, "No enemy in Hindustán had ever seen my back, but this Hindú fellow of Ijárí attacked me as a wolf falls upon a flock of sheep. I was obliged to retire before him until I reached a position where I turned upon him and drove him back." I tell this story so that my readers may clearly perceive what courage and generalship Ulugh Khán exhibited when he defeated and put to flight such a foe. He further took from him the fortress of Bazor,[1] and his conduct and feats in this campaign will stand as a lasting memorial of him.

On Monday, 23rd Rabí'u-l awwal, 650 H. (June, 1252), the army returned to Dehli and remained there for six months. On the 12th Shawwal of the same year, it marched through the upper country to the banks of the Biyáh. At this time Malik Balban held the fief of Badáún, and Katlagh Khán that of Bayána. They were both summoned to the Royal presence, and both attended with all the generals of the army at the royal abode. When the army reached the banks of the Biyáh, 'Imádu-d dín Ríhán conspired with other chiefs, and excited envy and enmity against Ulugh Khán. The envious found their own importance dimmed by his glory, and they resolved to do some hurt and injury to his august person, either in hunting, in passing through mountain defiles, or in crossing rivers. Ulugh Khán's good fortune preserved him, and his adversaries were unable to do him any harm. When the conspirators found that their plans were ineffectual, they agreed upon another course,

[1] [Var. "Bazol," "Barole." See note, page 351, *supra*.]

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and presenting themselves at the doors of the royal tent, urged upon his majesty that Ulugh Khán ought to be sent to his estates. The result of all this was that the order was given to him indirectly.[1]

On Saturday, the new moon of Muharram, 651 H., Ulugh Khán proceeded to Hánsí with his followers and family. When the Sultán reached Dehli, the thorn of envy, which still festered in the malicious heart of Ríhán, impelled him to recommend his majesty to send Ulugh Khán to Nágor, and to give the country of Hánsí to one of the royal princes. His majesty accordingly went to Hánsí, and the Khán removed to Nágor. This happened in Jumáda-l ákhir 651 H. On his departure for Hánsí, 'Imádu-d dín Ríhán became *wakíldar*,[2] and the administration of the royal orders passed into his hands.

Through the envy and malignity of the new minister, the office of Kází of the State was taken from the author, Minháj Siráj, in Rajab, 651, and given to Kází Shamsu-d dín Bahráíchí. On returning to the capital, on the 17th Shawwál, Malik Saifu-d dín Kishlí Khán, brother of Ulugh Khán, was sent to his estate of Karra, and 'Izzu-d dín Balban, son-in-law of Katlagh Khán, was appointed to the charge of the office of lord chamberlain. All the officers who had been appointed through the interest of Ulugh Khán were removed, and the business and quietude of the State were disturbed, all through the machinations of 'Imádu-d dín.

At this period, when Ulugh Khán (May God prolong his reign!) went to Nágor, he led a Muhammadan force in the direction of Rantambhor, Hindí, and Chitror. Báhar Deo, Rái of Rantambhor, the greatest of the Ráis, and the most noble and illustrious of all the princes of Hindustán, assembled an army to inflict a blow on Ulugh Khán. But it was the will of God that the name of the Khán should be celebrated for his victories in the annals of the time, and although the Rái's army was large and well appointed with arms and horses, it was put to flight,

[1] [براین جمله رسانید از منزل میسرة "all this was brought about in a left-handed way."]

[2] [See note page 352, *supra*.]

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and many of its valiant fighting men were sent to hell. The Musulmáns obtained great spoil and captured many horses and prisoners (*burda*). They then returned safe with their booty to Nágor, which, in consequence of Ulugh Khán's presence, had become a place of great importance.

At the opening of the year 651 H., the numerous people who had suffered oppression and hardship through the disgrace of Ulugh Khán retired to their closets, and like fish out of water, and sick men without slumber, from night till morn, and from morn till night, they offered up their prayers to the Creator, supplicating him to let the dawn of Ulugh Khán's prosperity break forth in splendour, and dispel with its brilliant light the gloom occasioned by his rival Ríhán. The Almighty graciously gave ear to the prayers of the wretched, and the cries of the distressed. The victorious banners of Ulugh Khán were borne from Nágor, and he went to the capital. The reason of his return was this. The nobles and servants of the State were all Turks of pure origin and Táziks of good stock, but 'Imádu-d dín was an eunuch and impotent; he, moreover, belonged to one of the tribes of Hindustán. Notwithstanding all this he exercised authority over the heads of all these chiefs, They were disgusted with this state of affairs and could no longer endure it. They suffered so much from the hands of the bullies who were retained by 'Imádu-d dín, that for six months they could not leave their houses, nor could they even go to prayers on Fridays. How was it possible for Turks and Maliks, accustomed to power, rule, and warfare, to remain quiet under such ignominy? The chiefs of Hindustán, of Karra, Mánikpúr, Oudh and the upper country to Badáún, of Tabarhindh, Sanám, Samána, and the Siwálik Hills, sent to Ulugh Khán inviting him to return. Arslán Khán led an army out of Tabarhindh, Ban Khán came forth from Sanám and Mansúrpúr, and Ulugh Khán collected his forces in Nágor and the Siwálik hills. Malik Jalálu-d dín Mas'úd Sháh bin Sultán joined them from Lahore, and they marched upon the capital.

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'Imádu-d dín advised his majesty to go forth and repress the malcontents, and accordingly he led his army towards Sanám. Ulugh Khán was in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindh with several other chiefs. The author of this book started from the capital for the royal camp, which was stationed in the city near the royal residence. On Monday, 26th Ramazán, 652 H. he arrived. and on the "Night of Power" he read prayers in the king's abode. On the next day, 27th Ramazán, the opposing armies drew near to each other, the outposts met, and great disquietude arose. The 'Íd-i fitr was passed at Sanám, and on Saturday, 8th Shawwál, the royal army fell back to Hánsí. Malik Jalálu-d dín, Ulugh Khán, and the nobles with them proceeded to Kaithal. The chiefs and nobles on both sides deemed it desirable to hold a parley. General Karra Jamák, a personal attendant of Ulugh Khán, and well-known for his integrity, acted on the part of the insurgents; and the noble of the black banner, Hisámu-d dín Katlagh, well-known for his great age, a man of conciliatory character and great probity, was deputed to meet him. He exerted himself to the utmost with General Karra Jamák and Malik-i Islám Kutbu-d dín Hasan 'Alí.

The discontented nobles represented to his majesty that they were all willing to obey his commands, but that they had no security against the machinations and outrageous conduct of 'Imádu-d dín Ríhán. If he were banished from the Court they would all submit and willingly obey the orders of the Sultán. The royal army marched from Hánsí to Jínd, and on Saturday, 22nd Shawwál 652 H., 'Imádu-d dín was dismissed from his office of minister (thanks to God for it!) and the privileges attaching to the government of Badáún were given to him.

'Izzu-d dín Balban, deputy of the lord chamberlain, repaired to the camp of Ulugh Khán, and on Tuesday, 3rd Zí-l ka'da, Ban Khán Aibak Khitái came to the royal camp to finally arrange the terms of peace. An extraordinary plot was now formed, with which the author of this book became acquainted. 'Imádu-d dín Khán with a number of Turks of low degree, and inimical to

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Ulugh Khán, resolved upon cutting down Ban Khán Aibak Khitái at the entrance of the royal tent, in order that Ulugh Khán, on hearing of the assassination, might (in retaliation) slay 'Izzu-d dín Balban. The peace would thus be prevented, 'Imádu-dín would retain his position in safety, and Ulugh Khán would be unable to come to Court. Kutbu-d dín Hasan heard of the conspiracy, and sent one of the chief attendants of the chamberlain, Sharfu-l mulk Rashídu-d dín Hanafí, to Ban Khán, advising him not to go to the royal tent in the morning, but to remain at his own lodging. Ban Khán acted on this advice, and so the plot failed. The facts became known to the great men, and under the command of the Sultan, 'Imádu-d dín was sent off to Badáún.

On Tuesday, 17th Zí-l k'ada, his majesty, with the desire of making peace, directed the author, Minháj Siráj, to offer terms of agreement to all. Next day, Ulugh Khán, with the other nobles, came to Court, and had the honour of kissing hands. The Sultán then turned homewards, accompanied by Ulugh Khán, and reached the capital on Wednesday, 9th Zí-l hijja. The kindness of the Almighty now became manifest. For a long time there had been no rain, but upon the approach of Ulugh Khán the Almighty displayed his mercy, and the rain, which is the life of herbs and plants, of men and animals, fell upon the earth. No wonder, then, that people looked upon the return of Ulugh Khán as a happy omen, that his compeers rejoiced over it, and that all were grateful to the Almighty for his bounty.

The year 653 H. opened. Something happened in the royal harem of which no one had accurate knowledge, but Katlagh Khán[1] was directed to take charge of the government of Oudh, and thither he proceeded. At the same time the government of Bahráich was given to 'Imádu-d dín Ríhán. The success of Ulugh Khán shone forth with brilliant radiance, the garden of the world began to put forth leaf, and the key of divine mercy opened the doors of the hearts of men who had been driven into

[1] [Step-father of the Sultán, see page 354.]

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seclusion. Among these was the well-wisher of the State, and the partisan of Ulugh Khán, the writer of this book, Minháj Siráj Júzjáni. The censure of his adversaries, and the injustice of his foes, had forced him into retirement and had subjected him to distress and trouble; but now the kind influence of Ulugh Khán was exerted with the Sultán, and on Sunday, 5th Rabi'u-awwal, 653 H., the office of Kází of the State and the seat of justice were given for the third time to the faithful and grateful writer of this history.

Katlagh Khán had gone to Oudh, and some time passed, but circumstances so occurred that he became disaffected. Imperative orders were several times sent to him from Court, but to these he paid no heed. 'Imádu-d dín Ríhán busied himself in stirring up strife, and endeavoured by intrigue and deceit to throw the dirt of his wretched selfish plots on the prosperity of Ulugh Khán, and to cloud the glory of that Khákán with the emanations of his malice. But "Divine mercy is for ever sufficient," and it prevented the success of these schemes. Malik Táju-d dín Sanjar had been confined in prison by Katlagh Khán. The government of Bahráích had been granted to Sanjar, and this was the reason of his imprisonment. By a bold contrivance he escaped from Oudh out of the hands of his oppressors, and crossing the river Sarú[1] in a boat, he proceeded with a few horsemen to Bahráích. Under the decrees of fate the fortune of the Turks now triumphed, and the power of the Hindús was levelled with the dust. 'Imadu-d dín was defeated and taken prisoner, and put to death in Bahráích, in the month of Rajab, 653 H. With him Katlagh Khán's fortunes declined.

When these disturbances arose in Hindustán, several of the chief nobles of the Court were drawn away from their allegiance, and it became necessary to put down the insurrection and to punish the disaffected nobles. The army accordingly left Dehli, on the new moon of Shawwál, 653 H. (December, 1255), and marching towards Hindustán it reached Tilibhát[2] (Pilibhít?).

[1] [The Sarjú or Gogra.]

[2] [Var. "Talpat."]

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Delay had occurred in assembling the forces of the Siwálik hills. These mountains were included in the government of Ulugh Khán, so he hastened to Hánsí. He arrived there on the 17th Zí-l ka'da, and so exerted himself that in fourteen days the soldiers of the Siwálik, of Hánsí, Sarsútí, Jínd, Barwála, and all those parts were collected, and marched to Dehli in great force, and well equipped, where they arrived on the 3rd Zí-l hijja. Ulugh Khán remained in Dehli eighteen days, recruiting and refitting the army of Mewát and the Koh-páya (hills). On the 19th Zí-l hijja he marched with a brave and well-equipped army to the royal camp, and reached Oudh in the month of Muharram, 654 H. Katlagh Khán and the nobles who were leagued with him were all subjects of the Sultán, but adverse circumstances had led them to revolt. From Oudh they retreated over the river Sarú, and by royal command Ulugh Khán pursued them with a strong force. They had, however, got a good start, the jungles were dense, the ways difficult, and the trees numerous, so he could not come up with them. He advanced as far as Bishanpur, on the confines of Tirhut, plundering all the Mawás and Ránas, and returned with great spoil to the royal camp. When Ulugh Khán crossed the Sarú from Oudh on his return from the pursuit, his Majesty marched towards the capital, and Ulugh Khán joined the royal army at Kasmandí. On Tuesday, 6th Rabi'u-l awwal, 654 H., they arrived at Dehli.

Katlagh Khán had found no place in Hindustán where he could make a stand, so in the midst of the campaign he proceeded towards Santúr, and strengthened himself in the hills of that country. The chiefs paid him every respect, for he was a noble of high rank, a grandee of the Court, and one of the principal Turks. He had, therefore, strong claims upon his compeers, and wherever he went he was treated with great consideration.

He made himself secure in the hills of Santúr, and there he was joined by the Rána Debál [Deopál] Hindí, who held a prominent rank among the Hindus, and the custom of whose tribe was to afford a refuge to the fugitive. When intelligence of this junction

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reached the royal camp, the army marched towards Santúr, at the beginning of Rabí'u-l awwal, 655 H. Ulugh Khán, with the royal army and some officers of the court, by great exertions made his way into the hills with much fighting, and seized upon the passes and defiles. He penetrated as far as Salmúr, a fort and district belonging to that great Rái. All the Ránas of these parts recognized the Rái as their superior and paid him respect. He fled before Ulugh Khán, and the city and markets of Salmúr all fell into the hands of the army of Islám. By the favour of God the soldiers of Ulugh Khán thus subdued a place which the armies of Islám had never before reached, and they returned laden with plunder to the capital, where they arrived on the 5th Rabí'u-l ákhir, 655 H.

When the royal army had returned to Dehli, Katlagh Khán issued from the mountains of Salmúr, and Malik Kishlú Khán Balban came from Sindh to the banks of the Biyáh, where the two chiefs joined their forces,[1] and marched towards Sámána and Kahrám, taking possession of the country. To put down this confederacy and revolt the Sultán sent Ulugh Khán, Kishlí Khán, and several other nobles. Ulugh Khán left Dehli on Thursday, 15th Jumáda-l awwal, 655 (May, 1257), and hastened with all speed to Kaithal. Katlagh Khán was in the vicinity, and the two armies approached each other. Here they were all brothers and friends—two armies of one government.[2] Such an extraordinary state of affairs had never occurred. The antagonists were like coins from one purse, or salt from one cup, and yet the accursed devil had produced such dissension among them. * * * Ulugh Khán deemed it expedient to detach the household troops from the main army, and he placed them under the command of Sher Khán, his cousin. The main body with the elephants he put under the command of his own brother, Kishlí Khán, lord chamberlain. Two distinct divisions were thus formed.

[1] [This line, given in Sir H. Elliot's MS., is absent from the printed text.]

[2] [The author here exhibits his eloquence by repeating the statement four times, and using different words for *army* and *government*.]

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The opposing armies drew near to each other in the vicinity of Sámána and Kaithal, and their lines were within view on either side. Just at this juncture some meddlesome servants of the Court at Dehli wrote letters to Malik Balban and Malik Katlagh Khán, inviting them to come to the capital. The city they said was empty of soldiers, and the gates were in their own hands, while the nobles whom they addressed were servants of the State, and no strangers. They ought to come at once and resume their service of the Sultán. Ulugh Khán with his army would remain outside, and everything would turn out as they wished. All that had been represented might be easily accomplished. Some faithful adherents of the throne and partizans of Ulugh Khán got notice of this plot, and they sent off intelligence with all speed to Ulugh Khán. He advised the Sultán to turn all the conspirators out of the city. A full account of this conspiracy has been given in the history of the reign of Násiru-d dín. (God forgive them and lead them to repent of their wickedness!)

While the two armies were confronting each other, a person[1] came over as a spy from the camp of Malik Balban Kishlú Khan, representing that he came on behalf of the chiefs and nobles who were with Malik Balban, and who were desirious of joining Ulugh Khán. If a promise of immunity and fair treatment were given to them, and a grant made for the support of the bearer of these overtures, he would bring over all the chiefs and nobles who were with Balban, and would arrange matters in respect of other officers.

Ulugh Khán, on perceiving the intentions of this person, gave orders that the whole of the army should be shown to him. Accordingly all the troops and munitions and implements of war, with the elephants and horses, were displayed before his eyes. The Khán then directed a letter to be written to the chiefs and nobles in the following terms: "Your letter has reached me and its import has been understood. I have no doubt that if you make your

[1] [The author here deals in irony, and says "a person called so and so, the son of so and so." The man was evidently well-known.]

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submission grants will be made to you all, and your maintenance will be most amply provided for; but if you take a different course, then, on this very day, the world shall learn how your pretensions will be settled by the wounds of the trenchant sword and the flaming spear, and how you will be carried, fettered with the bonds of fate, to the foot of the royal standard." This letter, half sweet half bitter, half venom half lotion, half courtesy half severity, was written and delivered to that man and he returned.

When the letter was delivered to the officers of Balban, the wise among them perceived its drift, and knew that the dissensions between the nobles and generals would be settled elsewhere (*yakjá*). Fresh letters now arrived from Dehli, and Malik Balban and Katlagh Khán set forth in that direction and showed no intention of returning. Two days afterwards Ulugh Khán became aware of their design, and his mind was troubled as to what might happen to the throne and capital. After this extraordinary incident letters reached him (from Dehli), and he turned thither, safe under the protection of the Almighty, and reached the city on Monday, 10th Jumáda-l awwal, 653.

For seven months Ulugh Khán remained tranquil in the capital, when intelligence arrived that the army of the infidel Mughals had made a descent upon Sindh, under the command of Salín Nawín. When their general brought in this army, Malik Balban went to them of necessity, and the forces[1] of the fort of Multán fell back. When the news reached the capital, Ulugh Khán advised his Majesty to set the royal army in motion, and accordingly it marched forth on the 2nd Muharram, 656 H. (9th January, 1259), and encamped within sight of the city. Orders were sent to all parts of the kingdom, directing the nobles and officers to collect all the forces they could, and to

[1] [Sir H. Elliot's MS. has "*lashkarhá*," but the printed text has "*kungurhá*, battlements," which makes the passage to say that "the battlements of the fort of Multán fell down." The whole of it is obscure. و ملک بلبن چون شحنه آنجماعت آورده بود بضرورت نزدیک ایشان رفت وکنگرهاي ملتان فرو رفتند]

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join the army. On the 10th Muharram, the author received orders in the royal tent to compose an ode, to stir up the feelings of the Muhammadans and to excite in them a warlike fervour for the defence of their religion and the throne.

Ulugh Khán, with a numerous and well-appointed army, marched in company with his majesty and all the nobles, attended by their followers. When the infidel Mughal heard of this host on the frontier he had assailed, he advanced no further and showed no spirit. It seemed expedient, therefore, for the royal army to remain within sight of the city (of Dehli), and it remained encamped for four months or longer, while horsemen went in all directions, making war upon the Mawás. At length the news came that the accursed foe had retreated, and all disquietude on his account was at an end.

The reporters now informed Ulugh Khán that Arslán Khán Sanjar in Oudh, and Kalij Khán Mas'úd Khání had taken alarm at the orders which they had received to join the royal camp, and were meditating revolt. Ulugh Khán advised his Majesty to nip this project in the bud, and to smother their intentions before they had time to form and gather strength. The advice was approved, although it was the hot season and the army had undergone fatigue through the inroad of the Mughals. On Tuesday, 6th Jumáda-l ákhir, the royal forces marched towards Hindustán, and came to the neighbourhood of Karra and Mánikpúr. Ulugh Khán exerted himself most strenuously in punishing the rebellious Hindus and Ránas.

Upon the arrival of Ulugh Khán, the two confederates, Arslán Khán and Kalij Khán, parted, and were obliged to send their families and dependants among the Mawás. They also deputed some trusty persons to wait on Ulugh Khán, and prevail upon him to inform the Sultán that they had been obliged to disperse their followers, and that they were ready to promise that they would both repair to the capital, and do homage as soon as the royal army was withdrawn. Upon this representation the forces were re-called, and reached the capital on Monday, 2nd Ramazán,

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656. Arslán Khán and Kalij Khán repaired to Court, and Ulugh Khán exerted himself so generously and strenuously in their behalf,[1] that their rebellion was forgiven, and in the course of two months Kalij Khán was appointed to the government of Lakhnautí, and Arslán Khán to Karra.

On the 13th Muharram, at the beginning of the new year, 657 (January, 1259), the royal forces again marched from Dehli. Ulugh Khán now very properly used his influence in favour of his nephew, Sher Khán, and on Sunday, 21st Safar, all the territories of Bayána, Kol, Jalesar, and Gwalior were consigned to him. There was nothing to require the action of the army during the rest of the year. On Wednesday, 4th Jumáda-l ákhir, treasure, wealth, and many valuables, with two elephants, were brought to Court from Lakhnautí. These presents were sent by 'Izzu-d dín Balban Uzbek, who was grantee of Lakhnautí, and by the influence of Ulugh Khán the grant was confirmed, and honours were bestowed upon him.

At the beginning of 658 H. (December, 1259), Ulugh Khán resolved upon a campaign in the hills near the capital. These hills were inhabited by a turbulent people, who committed depredations on the roads, plundered the goods of Musulmáns, drove away the cultivators, and ravaged the villages in the districts of Harriána, the Siwálik hills, and Bayána. Three years before they had carried off from Hánsí a drove of camels and a number of the people of Ulugh Khán. Their chief was a Hindu named Malká, a fierce and desperate fellow. It was he who carried off the camels, and he fomented disturbances among the Hindus from the hills to Rantambhor. But when he did these things the army was otherwise engaged, and the soldiers and followers of Ulugh Khán had not the means of transporting their baggage and implements. Ulugh Khán and all the princes and nobles were sorely vexed, but it was then impossible to do anything, as the army was fully employed in repelling the Mughal forces, which had attacked the frontiers of Islám in Sindh, at Lahore,

[1] [Translation greatly compressed.]

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and in the vicinity of the river Biyáh. At length ambassadors to the Sultán came to Khurásán from 'Irák, on the part of Hulákú Mughal, son of Tolí, son of Changíz Khán, and orders were given that the embassy was to halt at Márúta.[1]

Ulugh Khán and other nobles, with the royal troops and their own followers, suddenly resolved upon a campaign in the hills, and made the first march in advance on Monday, 4th Safar, 658. In their first forced march (*kashish*) they accomplished nearly fifty *kos*, and fell unexpectedly upon the rebels. These retreated to the summits of the mountains, to the defiles, to deep gorges and narrow valleys, but they were all taken and put to the sword. For twenty days the troops traversed the hills in all directions. The villages and habitations of the mountaineers were on the summits of the loftiest hills and rocks, and were of great strength, but they were all taken and ravaged by order of Ulugh Khán, and the inhabitants who were thieves, robbers, and highwaymen were all slain. A silver *tanka* was offered for every head, and two *tankas* for every man brought in alive. Eager for these rewards the soldiers climbed the highest hills, and penetrated the ravines and deepest gorges, and brought in heads and captives; especially the Afgháns, a body of whom, amounting to three thousand horse and foot, was in the service of Ulugh Khán. These men were very bold and daring, and in fact the whole army, nobles and chiefs, Turks and Táziks, exhibited great bravery, and their feats will remain recorded in history. Fortune now so favoured Ulugh Khán that he was able to penetrate to a fastness which no Musulmán army had ever reached, and that Hindu rebel who had carried off the camels was taken prisoner with his children and dependants. Two hundred and fifty of the chiefs of the rebels were captured. One hundred and forty-two horses were led away to the royal stables, and six bags of *tankas*, amounting to thirty thousand tankas, were taken from the Ránas of the hills and the Ráís of Sind, and sent to the royal treasury.

[1] [Variants "Nárúya, Bárúta, Barúna."]

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In the course of twenty days this great work was accomplished, and the army returned to the capital on the 24th Rabí'u-l awwal, 658. His Majesty, with a great retinue of chiefs and nobles, came forth to the plain of Hauz-ráni to meet him, and a grand Court was held in which many honours and rewards were bestowed.[1] After a stay of two days in the capital the Court went forth again to Hauz-ráni on a mission of revenge. The elephants were prepared, and the Turks made ready their trenchant swords. By royal command many of the rebels were cast under the feet of elephants, and the fierce Turks cut the bodies of the Hindus in two. About a hundred met their death at the hands of the flayers, being skinned from head to foot; their skins were all stuffed with straw, and some of them were hung over every gate of the city. The plain of Hauz-ráni and the gates of Dehli remembered no punishment like this, nor had any one ever heard such a tale of horror.

Ulugh Khán now represented to the Sultán that the Mughal ambassador in Khurásán should be brought to Court and be granted an interview. On Wednesday, 7th Rabí'u-l awwal, the Court proceeded to the Kushk-i sabz (green palace), and Ulugh Khán gave orders for armed men to be collected from all quarters round Dehli to the number of two hundred thousand foot and fifty thousand horse, with banners and accoutrements. Great numbers of armed men of all ranks went out of the city, and assembled in the new city of Kílu-gharí, at the royal residence, where they were drawn up shoulder to shoulder in twenty lines. * * * When the ambassadors arrived, and their eyes fell on this vast multitude, they were stricken with fear, * * * * * and it is certain that on seeing the elephants some of them fell from their horses. On the ambassadors entering the city they were received with the greatest honour, and were conducted before the throne with the highest possible ceremony. The palace was decked out in the most splendid array, and all the princes and

[1] [The author here becomes very diffuse in his descriptions and praises, which are not worth translation.]

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nobles and officers attended in gorgeous dresses. A poem written by the author of this work was recited before the throne. I here insert it. * * * * After the reception the ambassadors were conducted in great state to the place appointed for their abode.[1]

Let us return to the thread of our history. The last event which I have to record is this. When Ulugh Khán carried war into the hills, and punished the rebels in the way we have related, a number of them escaped by flight. They now again took to plundering on the highways, and murdering Musulmáns, so that the roads became dangerous. This being reported to the Khán, he sent emissaries and spies to find out the places where the rebels had taken refuge, and to make a full report of their state and condition. On Monday, 24th Rajab, 658 (July, 1260), he marched from Dehli with his own forces, the main army, and the forces of several chiefs. He hastened towards the hills, and, accomplishing more than fifty *kos* in one day's journey (!),[2] he fell upon the insurgents unawares, and captured them all, to the number of twelve thousand—men, women, and children—whom he put to the sword. All their valleys and strongholds were overrun and cleared, and great booty captured. Thanks be to God for this victory of Islám!

[1] [Here follows a long digression of no interest.]

[2] [یکمنزل بقدر پنجاه کروه زیادت برفت]

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IX.

TÁRIKH-I JAHÁN-KUSHÁ

OF

'ALÁU-D DÍN JUWAINÍ.[1]

[The *Tárikh-i Jahán-Kushá*, or *Jahán-Kushái*, "the History of the Conquest of the World," is the work of 'Aláu-d dín Malik, son of Baháu-d dín Muhammad Juwainí, but the author is better known to Europeans by the name of 'Atá Malik Juwainí. He was a native of Juwain, in Khurásán, near Naisháp̄ur. The date of his birth is unknown, but he was twenty-seven years of age when he began to write his history.

Baháu-d dín was one of the principal revenue officers of Persia under the Mongol governor Arghún; and his son 'Aláu-d dín, disregarding his father's advice to adopt literature as his profession, entered into public employ in his father's office before he had completed his twentieth year. When Mangú Khán was elected emperor, Arghún went to Tartary in 650, to pay his respects to the new sovereign, and Baháu-d dín with his son, our author, proceeded thither in his suite. Arghún was confirmed in his office, and he made Baháu-d dín chief superintendant of the revenues of his province. Shortly after his return in 651 (1253 A.D.), Baháu-d dín died at the age of sixty. When Hulákú Khán arrived in Persia, in 654 H., the viceroy Arghún was called to court; and on his departure he left 'Aláu-d dín at court of the Emperor as one of his representatives. While thus situated our author followed in the suite of Hulákú during his

[1] [This article has been drawn from M. Quatremère's notice in the *Mines de l'Orient*, and Baron D'Ohsson's account of the work in the Preface to his *Hist. des Mongols*.]

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campaign against the Ismái'lians. His brother, Shamsu-d dín, became wazír of Huláků in 662 (1263–4 A.D.), and 'Aláu-d dín was appointed governor of Baghdád.

'Aláu-d dín had made himself conspicuous by his zeal against the Ismái'lians, which incited three men of that sect to attempt his assassination. He escaped this danger, but only to endure great reverses and ignominy. Intrigues were formed against him, he was dismissed from office, fined heavily, tortured, and paraded naked all round Baghdád. He remained for some time afterwards in confinement at Hamadán, but his innocence being proved, the fine exacted from him was returned, and he was restored to his office, which he retained until his death in 681.

In character he was naturally mild and just, but he was so blinded by the power and success of his masters that he could see nothing but good in them and their doings. "Placed as he was," says M. D'Ohsson, "it is manifest that he could not write freely; but he of his own accord made himself the panegyrist of those barbarians who had utterly ruined his country, and who continued to waste and oppress the dominions of the Muhammadans. He speaks with a profound veneration of Changíz Khán and his descendants, he lauds Mangú to the skies, and in his honour he exhausts his stock of the most exaggerated hyperbole. More than this, he strives to prove in his preface that the ruin of so many Musulmán countries by the Mughal armies was a necessary evil, from which arose two benefits—one spiritual, the other temporal. He does not blush to boast of the gentleness of the Mughals towards those who submitted to them, and he praises with better reason their tolerance of all religions."

His occupations he tells us left him little leisure for the acquisition of useful knowledge up to the age of twenty-seven, and he expresses his regret that he had not adopted the course of life advised by his father; but years had matured his reason, and he was resolved to make up for lost time. He had several times travelled over Transoxiana and Turkistán, as well as the more western regions. He had been a witness of many events, and he

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had besides obtained information from well-informed and trustworthy persons, so in the year 650, during his stay at the court of Mangú, at the request of his friends he began to write his history, the chief object of which was to perpetuate the memory of the great actions of the Emperor Mangú. The style of the work is much admired by Orientals, "but a European may be allowed to pronounce it inflated, and to wish that the author had used more truth in his colouring, and more method in his narrative." The history stops at the year 655 (1257 A.D.), although the author lived up to the year 681 (1282 A.D.).

The MS. used by M. Quatremère and Baron D'Ohsson is an incomplete one belonging to the Imperial Library at Paris. "The *Jahán Kushái*," says Sir H. Elliot, "though not uncommon in Europe, is very rare in India. All my research has only procured for me one copy, and that belongs to Munshí 'Abdu-r Razzák, Sarrishtadár of the Civil Court of Farrukhábád. It is very clean, and well written in Nasta'lík, but contains many errors. Its extent is 275 folios of nineteen lines in each page." There is no copy of the work in Sir H. Elliot's library.]

Extracts.[1]

Punishment of Criminals.

It is a custom amongst the Mughals that when any one has committed a crime worthy of death, should he not be sentenced to that penalty, they send him to the wars, remarking that if he was destined to be slain, he may as well be slain in fight; or they send him on a message or embassy to rebellious chiefs, from whom they think it most probable he will never be allowed to return; or they send him to some hot place where a pestilent wind blows; and it was for such a reason they sent Baláktigín[2] on an embassy to Egypt and Syria.

* * * * *

[1] [All these extracts were translated by Sir H. Elliot.]

[2] [The same name probably as we have elsewhere found as "Bilkátigín.]

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The Mughal Conquests.—The Kings of Hind.

In the space of twelve years the Mughals conquered every country, and nowhere were rebellion and turbulence left unrepressed. Having reached a place where they saw men with the limbs of beasts, and knew that there could be no habitation beyond it, they returned to their own country, bringing the kings of various countries with them, who presented their offerings of allegiance. Búkú Khán honoured all of them according to their respective ranks, and sent them back to their own countries; but he would not allow the king of Hind to come on account of his filth and ugliness.

* * * * *

Changíz Khán in Bokhárá.

Next day, the Imáms and elders of the city of Bokhárá went to do homage to Changíz Khán,[1] and he came within in order to see the town and fort. He entered the Jámi' Masjíd and stood before the archways. His son, Túlí Khán, was on foot, and ascended the pulpit. Changíz Khán enquired, "Is this the palace of the Sultán?" They replied, "It is the house of God." He then dismounted, and ascended two or three steps of the pulpit, and exclaimed, "The country is denuded of forage, fill my horses' bellies." They opened the granaries which were in the city, and brought the corn. They brought forth the chests which contained the Kuráns into the area of the mosque, and scattered the books about, converting the chests into horse-troughs. They circulated their flagons, and the courtesans of the city were sent for to dance and sing, and the Mughals raised their own voices in response.[2] The Imáms, doctors, Saiyids,

[1] The usual way of pronouncing his name in India is Changez Khán, but perhaps Chingíz is more correct, for D'Ohsson, who spells the name "Tchinguiz," says it is derived from "Chink," strong, and "guiz," the plural particle.—*Histoire des Mongols*, Tome I. p. 99. On his coins, moreover, the last syllable is not prolonged. —See *Journ. R. A. S. Soc.*, Vol. IX. p. 385.

[2] European travellers of this period are not complimentary to their musical talents.

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scholars, and priests, were appointed to take charge of the quadrupeds, being singled out for that special duty. After one or two hours, Changíz Khán arose to return to his camp, and the others also departed, after the leaves of the Kurán had been kicked about in the midst of impurities.[1] * * *

One of the inhabitants fled to Khurásán after these transactions. They enquired of him the state of Bokhárá. He replied "The Mughals came, dug, burnt, slaughtered, plundered, and departed." A knot of learned men who heard him unanimously declared that it would be impossible to express any sentence more concisely in Párs. The cream and essence of whatever is written in this volume might be represented in these few words.

* * * * *

Changíz Khán's Pursuit and Defeat of Sultán Jalálu-d dín.

Changíz Khán detached a portion of his army, fully equipped, from Tálikán, against Sultán Jalálu-d dín, and when he heard of his still further successes, he himself marched with such expedition that there was no difference between night and day, and no time for cooking food. On his reaching Ghazna, he ascertained that the Sultán had left it fifteen days previous, for the purpose of crossing the river Sindh, so he appointed Yelwáj with his contingent to the charge of Ghazna,[2] and himself hastened like a cloud-impelling wind in pursuit of him.

He came up with the Sultán on the bank of the Sind, and hemmed him completely in with his army, several curves extending one behind another like a bow, of which the river was the

Simon de Saint-Quentin says, "Cantibus vel potius ululatibus." The Dominican, Vincent de Beauvais, says, "Tartari, modo interrogativo, clamoroso, loquuntur, gutture rabido et horribile. Cantantes mugiunt ut tauri, vel ululant ut lupi, voces inarticulatas in cantando proferunt."—Vincentius, *Speculum Historiale*, lib. xxxi. p. 54, and lib. xxix. c. 71, ap. D'Ohsson.

[1] Compare D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, Tom. I. p. 239; Price, *Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. p. 401; *Modern Univ. Hist.*, Vol. IV. p. 125; De la Croix, *Hist. Genghis Can*, p. 212.

[2] The *Rauzatu-s safa* says he was appointed Dárogha. *Yelwáj* means an ambassador in Turkí. Respecting him see D'Ohsson, Vol. II. p. 193.

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string. Changíz Khán ordered his troops to advance, and enjoined that every attempt should be made to take the Sultán alive. Chagtái and Ogtái[1] also arrived to his support from Khwárizm.

When the Sultán saw that it was a time for exertion and action, he prepared for fight with the few men he had under him; galloping from the right to the left wing, from the left to the centre, and making furious onslaughts. But the army of the Mughals made good their advance by degrees, narrowing the field of battle and the opportunity of escape, while the Sultán was fighting like an angry lion.

In every direction that he urged his steed
He raised dust commingled with blood.

Orders were again issued that they should take him prisoner, and the army refrained from wounding with spear and arrow, in their anxiety to carry the commands of Changíz Khán into effect. Jalálu-d dín himself maintained his ground, and, mounting a fresh horse that was brought to him, made one more charge, and then retreated like the wind and like a flash of lightning upon water.[2]

When Changíz Khán saw that the Sultán had dashed into the river, and that the Mughals were anxious to follow him, he prevented them, and placing his hand in his mouth through excess of astonishment, exclaimed to his sons:—

This is one whom you may indeed call a man!
A true fighting elephant to tooth and marrow![3]
This he said, and looked in that direction
Where the Sultán went like a Rustam on his way.

All his followers who were not drowned in the river were put to the sword,[4] and the ladies of his household and his children were brought to Changíz Khán. He ordered with respect to all

[1] "Ogtái," in the Mongol language, signifies ascent or exaltation.

[2] The *Mod. Univ. History* says that Changíz Khán lost twenty thousand men in this action.

[3] Or, "trunk and branch."

[4] D'Ohsson attributes these words to Juwainí—"Persons who were witnesses of this event have told me that so many Khawárizmians were slain, that the waters were red for the distance of a bow-shot." I cannot find the passage.

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the males, even down to those who were sucklings, that the nipple of death should be placed in the mouth of their life, and that their bodies should be left to be devoured by crows.[1]

As all the property and wealth of the Sultán had been thrown that day into the river by his orders, Changíz Khán directed divers to search for it, and bring out what they could. This transaction, which was one of the wonders of the time, took place in Rajab, of the year 618 H., in accordance with the proverb, "Wonders occur in Rajab." Changíz Khán, after the battle marched to the banks of the Jíhún (Indus), and sent Ogtái to Ghazna. On his arrival they proffered their submission. He ordered all the inhabitants to be brought out into the plain and counted, and, after selecting artizans from among them, he ordered all the rest to be slain. He also destroyed the city, and Ogtái returned towards Hirát, after burying the slain.

The Mughals winter in Hindustán, and return.

Chaghtái was left on the borders of Kirmán. He went in pursuit of the Sultán, and as he could not find him, he fixed his winter quarters in the plains of Hindustán.[2] The governor of the country in which he cantoned himself was Sálár Ahmad, who bound the girdle of obedience round his waist, and provided all the supplies he could for the use of the army. On account of the pestilential air most of the army fell sick and lost their strength, and as they had many slaves with them, having added to their number while encamped there (insomuch that to every tent there were as many as ten or twenty, who were engaged in preparing rice and other things for the use of their masters), and as the climate of the country agreed well with their constitutions,

[1] Muhammad of Nessa says that the Sultán was beseeched by his ladies to slay them, and preserve them from captivity, and that he drowned them. D'Ohsson observes that no other author mentions this.

[2] The name of the place mentioned in the original cannot be identified. It bears most resemblance to "the hills of Lahúr, which is a city." It will be observed from the corresponding passage from the *Rauzatu-s safá*, hereafter given in a note, that it is there called "Kálinjar on the Sind." That it was somewhere in the plains is evident.—[See note in the Appendix on Sultán Jalalu-d dín.]

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Changíz Khán[1] gave orders that in every tent every captive should prepare and clean five hundred *mans* of rice. All expedition was made, and within one week they ceased from that labour. He then issued orders that every prisoner in camp should be slain, and the next morning not a trace of captives or Hindús remained. He sent ambassadors to all the princes of that country, and they submitted. One was despatched to the Ráná, and he was at first well received, but was afterwards crucified; upon which an army was sent against the Ráná, and he was taken. An army was also sent to besiege Aghrák, in the fort in which he had taken refuge.

When the army had recovered its health, thoughts of return were entertained, in order that by way of Hindustán they might reach the country of Tangút.[2] They advanced some marches, and when they found there was no road, they came back again, and went to Fershâwar (Peshâwar), and employed themselves in returning by the same road which they came. * * * The reason of their expediting their return was that intelligence was received that Khítá and Tangút had exhibited signs of disaffection, in consequence of Changíz Khán's prolonged absence.

* * * * *

Capture of Bhera, and retreat from Multán.

When Chaghtái returned without finding the Sultán, Changíz Khán despatched Túrtái[3] with two túmáns of Mughals, to

[1] It would appear, therefore, that Changíz Khán entered India, unless he issued these orders from some other spot; but it is not easy to tell precisely what were his own proceedings immediately after the battle on the Indus.

[2] Some say "Tibet." The *Bahru-l Buldán* also says "Tangút." "Several thousand horsemen crossed the Sind in pursuit of Jalálu-d dín, and went thence to Multán and ravaged that country and Lohâwar, but as they could not remain there on account of the unhealthiness of the climate, they returned to Changíz Khán by way of Ghazna. Changíz took up his quarters at Mata Kathor, but not being able to remain there on account of the badness of the air, he attempted to reach Tangút by way of Hindustán; but after going two or three marches, and finding no road, he went by way of Bámián to Samarkand."

[3] D'Ohsson says "Bela and Tourtái," and that the places plundered were Lahore, Multán, Peshâwar, and Malikpúr. Miles says, "Doormur, Bakshi, and Bala

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pursue the Sultán beyond the Sind, which he passed over, and then reached the banks of the Bhut,[1] which is a country of Hindustán, then held by Kamru-d dín Kirmání, one of the Sultán's nobles. Túrtái conquered that country, and took the strong fort of Bhera, and after ravaging that neighbourhood, he went towards Multán, but as there were no stones there, he ordered that the population of Bhera should be turned out to make floats of wood, and load them with stones for the manjaníks. So they floated them down the river, and when they arrived at Multán, the manjaníks were set to work, and threw down many of the ramparts of the fort, which was nearly taken, when the excessive heat of the weather put a stop to their operations. The Mughals contented themselves with plundering and massacreing all the country of Multán and Loháwar, and returned thence across the Sind to Ghaznín.

* * * * *

A Large Dragon.

Abú-l Fazl Baihakí has related in his Táríkh-i Násirí, that one of the soldiers of Sultán Mahmúd on the return from Somnát, killed a large dragon, and when they flayed it, the skin was found to be thirty yards long and four cubits broad. My object in mentioning this is, that Abú-l Fazl says, let any who doubts this fact go to Ghaznín, and see the skin, which is spread out like a curtain, and is suspended at one of the gates. Now the writer of this history says he is entitled to the same credit, when he asserts a thing which may seem impossible.

Noyanu." He also says the Mughals "continued their pursuit to Mulkapoor and the sea-side."—*Shajratu-l Atrak*, p. 179.

[1] There is a difficulty here. "Bhut" is here called a river and a country, and "Bhera" reads more like "Banda.' D'Ohsson (1. 309) reads "Biah,"for "Bhut," and "Bhera;" but stones could not have been floated down the Biyáh to Multán. I prefer the reading adopted in the text, not only for this reason, but because there never was a fort of Biah, and because Bhera was a place of importance on the Bhut, or Jailam, having direct communication with Multán, and inexhaustible supplies of stones from the salt range in its vicinity. The *Rauzatu-s safá* gives no name to the fort.

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Death of Muhammad Ghorí.

In the year 602 H. (1205 A.D.), Muhammad Ghorí determined on prosecuting a holy war in Hind, in order to repair the fortunes of his servants and armies; for within the last few years Khurásán, on account of the disasters it had sustained, yielded neither men nor money. When he arrived in Hind, God gave him such a victory that his treasures were replenished, and his armies renewed. On his return, after crossing the Jailam, he was encamped on the banks of the Jíhún (Indus), so that one-half of the royal enclosure, where the private apartments were, was in the water. In consequence of which no precaution had been taken to ensure their protection. About the time of the mid-day siesta, two or three Hindús came through the water, and falling like fire upon the royal tent, slew the Sultán, who was entirely unprepared for such a treacherous attack.

* * * * *

Sultán Jalálu-d dín in Hindustán.[1]

When the Sultán had survived the double danger of water and fire, namely, the whirlpools of the Sind and the flame of Changíz Khán's persecution, he was joined by six or seven of his followers, who had escaped from drowning, and whom the fiery blast of evil had not sent to the dust of corruption; but, as no other course except retreat and concealment among the forests was left to him, he remained two or three days longer in his covert,[2] until he was joined by fifty more men. The spies whom he had sent out to watch the proceedings of Changíz Khán, returned, and brought him intelligence that a body[3] of

[1] In the highly flattering notice which M. Quatremère has taken of my first volume in the *Journal des Savants*, for September, 1850, and January, 1851, he has made some comments upon the extract from the *Jámi'u-t tawárikh*, which corresponds with the passage here translated from the *Jahán Kushá*. I do not concur in all the corrections of the learned reviewer, but thankfully avail myself of some of them.—[See note in the Appendix on Jalálu-d dín.]

[2] Miles says, "he struck into the Chorl, or desert of Churk."—*Shajratu-l Atrak*, p. 178.

[3] The *Tárikh-i Alfí* says "nearly two hundred."

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Hindu rascals,[1] horse and foot, were lying only two parasangs distance from the Sultán, occupied in rioting and debauchery. The Sultán ordered his followers to arm themselves each with a club, and then making a night attack upon this party, he slew most of them, capturing their animals and arms.

He was then joined by other parties, mounted on horses and mules,[2] and soon after certain intelligence was brought to him that two or three thousand men of the armies of Hind were encamped in the neighbourhood. The Sultán attacked them with a hundred and twenty men, and slew many of those Hindús with the Hindí sword, and set up his own troops with the plunder he obtained.[3]

Arabic Verse.

Whoever requires anything from me, let him live by his sword,
Whoever requires anything from other men, let him solicit them.

When the news spread throughout Hindustán of the Sultán's fame and courage, five or six thousand mounted men assembled from the hills of Balála and Mankála, for the purpose of attacking him. On his gaining intelligence of this movement, he set upon them with five hundred cavalry which he had under him, and routed and slew the Hindú armies.[4] The effect of this success was that he was joined by several more adherents from all quarters, so that his force amounted to three thousand men.

When the world-conquering Changíz Khán, who was then in the neighbourhood of Ghazní, heard of these new levies, he

[1] Price says "a banditti." It is probable that they were a gang of those dakoits who have only lately been extirpated from India.

[2] The original has "long-tailed animals," or horned cattle. The *Rauzatu-s safá*, the *Tárikh-i Alfí*, and other authorities, have "long-eared animals," mules or donkeys, which is a more probable reading. In another passage D'Ohsson considers "long-tailed animals" to indicate a species of sheep.—*Hist. Mong.*, Tom. III. p. 118. —[The *Jámi'u-t tawárikh* says, "*Shutur sawár wa gao-sawár*—camel-riders and bullock-riders."]

[3] Firishta adds "a large quantity of money."

[4] D'Ohsson (I. 308), on the authority of Muhammad of Nessa, says that the prince of Júdí had one thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry, and that the Sultán, at the head of four thousand cavalry, put the Indians to flight, killed their chief with an arrow, and secured a considerable booty. He also says (III. 4) that many generals of 'Irák, dissatisfied with his brother Ghiyásu-d dín, joined his standards in India.

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despatched a Mughal army, under Túrtáí, to expel him, and as the Sultán was not able to oppose him, he went towards Dehli, when Túrtáí crossed the river. The Mughals, when they heard of his flight, returned and pillaged the country round Malikpúr.

The Sultán, when he was two or three days distant from Dehli, deputed a messenger named 'Ainu-l mulk to Sultán Shamsu-d dín, saying—"The great have opportunies of showing mercy, since it is evident in our relations with each other, that I have come to claim your protection and favour, and the chances are rare of meeting with a person of my rank on whom to bestow a kind reception. If the road of friendship should be made clear, and the ear of brotherhood should listen in our communications with each other, and if, in joy and affliction, aid and support be mutually afforded, and if our object and desires should be accomplished, when our enemies witness our alliance, the teeth of their enmity will be blunted." He then solicited that some spot[1] might be indicated in which he might reside for a few days.

As the courage and determination of the Sultán were noised abroad, and his exceeding power and predominance were celebrated throughout the world, Sultán Shamsu-d dín, after receiving the message, was engaged for some time in deliberation, reflecting upon the importance of the result, alarmed at his proceedings, and apprehensive of his attacks. It is said that he entertained a design against the life of 'Ainu-l mulk, so that he died;[2] but Sultán Shamsu-d dín sent an envoy of his own, with presents suited to such a distinguished guest, and offered the following subterfuge for not according to him the place of residence he desired, namely, "that the climate of these parts is not favourable, and there is no tract suited to the Sultán; but that, if he wished, Shamsu-d dín would fix upon some place near Dehli where the Sultán might take up his abode, and that it would be made over to him as soon as it was cleared of rebels and enemies."

[1] The *Rauzatu-s safá* uses the Mughal word "*yúrt*," or private domain.

[2] This gentle insinuation is more boldly expressed by others, who declare that he was murdered by the Sultán, but with what object it is impossible to say.

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When the Sultán heard this reply he returned, and reached the borders of Balála and Mankála, where from several quarters he was joined by his soldiers who had escaped, and by entire bands of those who had been wounded by the sword, insomuch that his troops amounted to ten thousand men.

He sent Táju-d dín Malik Khilj to the mountains of Júd, who plundered that tract, and obtained much booty. He sent an emissary, also, to ask Rái Kokár Saknín's[1] daughter in marriage. The Rái consented, and despatched his son with a force to serve under the Sultán, who bestowed upon him the title of Katlagh Khán.[2]

There was a chief, by name Kubácha, who had the country of Sind under his government, and aspired to independence. There was enmity between him and Rái Saknín Kokár. The Sultán despatched an army against Kubácha, and appointed Uzbek Pái to command it. Kubácha was encamped with twenty thousand men on the banks of the Sind, at the distance of a *parasang* from Uchh. Uzbek Pái, at the head of seven thousand men, suddenly falling upon them by night, routed and dispersed them. Kubácha embarked on a boat, and fled to Akar and Bakkar,[3] two forts on an island, while Uzbek Pái took up his quarters in Kubácha's camp, captured all those whom he found within its precincts, and sent tidings of the victory to the Sultán, who, marching onwards, arrived at the camp in which the tent of Kubácha was pitched.

Kubácha afterwards, flying from Akar and Bakkar, proceeded

[1] The name is also spelt "Sangín" by some of the authors who treat of this period. Hammer calls him Kukarsengin. He appears on the stage eighteen years previous in the *Tiju-l ma-dsir*, where the reading is "Sarkí." He must have been a Gakkhur, not a Kokar. As these tribes reside close to each other, the names are frequently confused.—[See *supra*, page 233.]

[2] This title, which signifies in Turkí "the fortunate Khán," was a favourite one about this period. We find Ogtái bestowing it upon the Atábak Abú Bakr, and upon Burák Hájib. The latter received from the Khalif the title of "Katlagh Sultán," which Ogtái subsequently bestowed upon Burák's son.—Compare D'Ohsson's *Hist. de Mong.*, Tom. I. pp. 222, 439; Tom. III. 131, 132; and Price, *Muhammadan History*, Vol. II. pp. 427, 433. [See also *supra*, page 354.]

[3] [See Note in the Appendix on Jalálu-d dín.]

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to Multán. The Sultán sent an ambassador to him, requiring the surrender of Amír Khán's son and daughter, who had fled from the battle of the Sind, and had taken shelter at Multán. Money was also demanded. Kubácha complied with the requisition, delivered up the son and daughter of Amír Khán, and sent a large sum of money for the use of the Sultán, soliciting that his territory might not be injured.

When the weather became hot, the Sultán left Uchh with the intention of proceeding through Balála and Mankála, to take up his summer-quarters in the mountains of Júd, and on his way laid siege to the fort of Parsrúr,[1] where he was wounded in the head by an arrow. When the fort was captured, the whole garrison was put to the sword. He returned from that place, when he received intelligence of the advance of the Mughal armies in pursuit of him, and as his way led him near Multán, he sent an envoy to Kubácha to intimate that the Sultán was passing in that direction, and to demand tribute. Kubácha refused, and assuming an attitude of defiance, advanced to fight him. The standards of the Sultán halted but for a moment, and then departed, returning towards Uchh, which also had revolted against him. The Sultán remained before it two days, and after setting fire to the city, went towards Sadúsán.[2]

Sultán Jalálu-d dín in Sind

Fakhru-d dín Sálárí was governor of Sadúsán on the part of Kubácha, and Láchín of Khitá, who was in command of the army, went out against Amír Khán,[3] the leader of the Sultán's advance guard. Láchín was slain in the action, and Uzbek Khán

[1] The original has "Pasráwar." Both the *Jámi'u-t tawárikh* and the *Rauzatu-s safá* read "Bisrám." The *Tárikh-i Alfí* has "Bas," and Firishta cautiously gives no name. Hammer has "Besram." The position, antiquity, and importance of Parsrúr seem to indicate that as the correct reading.

[2] The *Tárikh-i Alfí* adds, "which is now called Siwistán." It is at present known as Sihwán.—See Vol. I. page 401.

[3] This name is in some copies read "Áwar Khán," or "Anwar Khán," and in some "Anúr Khán." Amír Khán is probable the right reading, and we may consider him to be the same person who was repulsed just before the action on the Sind, whom D'Ohsson calls "Orkhán," and whose daughter had fled to the Sultán for protection. We find the same Orkhán acting a conspicuous part in the subsequent events in Persia.

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invested the city of Sadúsán. When the Sultán himself arrived, Fakhru-d dín Sálári presented himself before him in an humble posture, with his sword (round his neck), and clothed in a shroud.[1] The Sultán entered the city, and after staying there for one month, he conferred an honorary dress upon Fakhru-d dín Sálárí, and restored to him the governorship of Sadúsán.

The Sultán then went towards Dewal and Darbela, and Jaisí;[2] the ruler of that country, fled away on a ship, and went in the direction of the sea. The Sultán remained near Dewal and Damríla, and sent Khás Khán with an army to pillage Nahrwála, whence he brought back many captives.

The Sultán raised a jámi' masjid at Dewal, on the spot where an idol temple stood. While he was engaged in these operations, intelligence was received from 'Irák, that Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín had established himself in that province, and that most of the troops who were quartered there were attached to the interests of Sultán Jalálu-d dín, and were anxiously expecting his return. It was also represented, that Burák Hájib was in Kirmán, and had fortified himself in the city of Bardasír. It was also given out that the Mughal army was still in pursuit of the Sultán. He accordingly departed from Dewal and Damríla, and went by way of Makrán, but the climate was so very insalubrious that he lost the greater part of his army.[3]

[1] This was a common mode in the East to imply that one's life was in another's power. On the Sultán's return to Persia, we find his repentant generals going through the same emblematic form of contrition.—See also Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. III. p. 347.

[2] This name is spelt differently by different authors. It is not improbable that Jaisí was considered a mere title, and that it was ascribed to the ruler of Debal, because, at the time of the Arab invasion, Jaisiya, the son of Dáhir, was governor of that town, through the same kind of ignorance which induced Hátifí to call the ruler of the Panjab in Timúr's time, "Pithaurá," two hundred years after his decease, and Rashídu-d dín and Binákatí to call Bárí the capital of Oude, three hundred years after it had ceased to be so. Be it remembered these are all errors of foreign, not local writers.

[3] D'Ohsson (III. 5) adds that he left Uzbek to govern his possessions in India, and Wafa Malik those in Ghor and Ghazna. De Guignes (II. 281) says he left "Pehlevan Uzbek and Hassan Carnae, surnamed Ouapka Moulk." The latter in the end expelled Uzbek, in the year 627, and seized all the possessions which he had in India.

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When Burák Hájib heard of the approach of the Sultán, he sent him many presents, with the expression of his hearty congratulations, and, on the Sultan's arrival, Burák Hájib solicited that he would accept his daughter in marriage. The Sultán acceded to the request, and the marriage was celebrated. The Kotwál also came forth, and presented the keys of his fort, upon which the Sultán entered it, and remained during the night.

* * * * *

Sultán Jalálu-d dín's Allies.

After the lapse of a week, Sultán Jalálu-d dín arrived at Ghazna, where he was joined by many bodies of his adherents, and assumed the pomp and circumstance of a monarch. When Yamín Malik heard, in Hindustán, of the Sultán's arrival at Ghazna, he hastened to meet him. Aghrák Malik, also, with an army of Khiljís and Turkománs, came from Pesháwar to do him homage, and A'zam Malik[1] brought a large force of Ghorians to serve under him. In all the troops now at his disposal amounted to twenty thousand cavalry.

The Sultán went with these large reinforcements to Parwán, on the borders of Bámián, where many roads converge. There he received intelligence that a body of ten or twelve thousand Mughal cavalry had gone in pursuit of him to Ghazna, where, as there was no army to oppose them, they had entered the city before the inhabitants had received intelligence of their approach, had burned several mosques, massacred all the people they found in the lanes and streets, and then continued their pursuit after the Sultán to Parwán, by way of Kaláwaz, staying at Ghazna only one day.[2]

Their Fate, after deserting the Sultán.

In the action which ensued the Sultán was victorious, and the

[1] *Malik* was at that time a title between that of *Amír* and *Khán*, for we find *Amírs* promoted to the rank of *Malik*, and *Maliks* to that of *Khán*.

[2] This relates to what occurred previous to the action on the Sind, but the author has deferred the narrative till he could accompany it by a statement of the fate of the Sultán's allies.

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defeated Mughals returned to Changíz Khán in Tálikán; but after the victory strife arose in the Sultán's army, between the Khiljís, Turkománs, and Ghorians on one side, and the Khwárizmians on the other, respecting the division of the horses which had been taken as booty. Aghrák Malik and A'zam Malik went off by way of Pesháwar, with all the Khiljís, Turkománs, and Ghorians. The Sultán returned to Ghazna with the Turks and Khwárzimians, who all remained true to him.[1] Aghrák Malik, A'zam Malik, and the other Khilj, Turkomán, and Ghorian chiefs, went, after first leaving the Sultán, to Nangnehár, which was in the fief of A'zam Malik. He entertained them all nobly, and treated them with great kindness, until disgust and hatred arose between Aghrák Malik and Koh Jándár, one of the Khilj chiefs, who had five or six thousand families under him.

Aghrák Malik turned his face towards Pesháwar, at the head of twenty thousand men, and Koh Jándár cantoned himself at Nangnehár.[2] When Saifu-d dín Malik had encamped only one march distant from Nangnehár, he sent a messenger to A'zam Malik to say:—"Between us and you there exist the relations of father and son. I am father and you are son. If you desire to gratify me, do not allow Koh Jándár to remain in your territory, nor bestow upon him any tract of land." A'zam Malik said:—"In this matter it is not expedient that there should be any misunderstanding or wrangling between Musulmáns," so he went forth with fifty horsemen of his bodyguard to Saifu-d dín Aghrák, in order to effect a reconciliation. Saifu-d dín Aghrák advanced to meet him, and they sat down together to drink. A'zam Malik spoke on the subject of Koh Jándár, and Aghrák Malik pretended to listen to his persuasions. Saifu-d dín Aghrák then rose up suddenly in a state of inebriety, and went towards the camp of Koh Jándár, with a few horse-

[1] D'Ohsson says that before the battle of the Sind, the Sultán wrote urgently to his dissatisfied allies to join him, to which they consented when it was too late. The *Mod. Univ. Hist.* has the same statement. [2] D'Ohsson reads "Bekerhar."

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men. Koh Jándár, under the impression that he had come on a friendly visit, went out with his sons to meet him, and give him an honourable reception, when Aghrák Malik in his drunkenness drew his sword, with the intention of killing Koh, whose attendants seized the assailant and cut him in pieces.

When the news of this event reached the camp of Aghrák Malik, his troops suspected that he had been the victim of a plot between Koh and A'zam Malik. In consequence of which, they seized A'zam Malik and slew him. They then attacked the camp of Koh, and killed him and his sons. Many were slain on both sides, and even the women took part in the fray, and lost their lives.

About this time Pakchak and 'Aláu-l mulk Sadr were despatched by order of Changíz Khán to punish these drunkards. Pakchak was the commandant of these Mughals, and 'Aláu-l mulk of the infantry, and the residue of those armies of Khiljís, Turkománs, and Ghorians were all put to the sword and dispersed, within two or three months after they had deserted Sultán Jalálu-d dín, either in squabbles amongst themselves, or by the armies of Changíz Khán, so that not a vestige of them remained.

* * * * *

Burák Hájib.[1]

Burák Hájib having had some dispute with Táju-d dín Karímu-s shark, marched away with his army towards Hindustán. In the year 619 H., Ghiyásu-d dín designed to go to Fárs. * * * * When news was received of the arrival of the Mughal army, under Túlúí[2] Khán, Burák Hájib requested Ghiyásu-d dín to allow him to go to Ispahán, but he went with

[1] The previous history of this adventurer is given by Rampoldi, *Annali Musulmani*, Vol. VIII. note 69. See also pp. 267, 298, and 555 of the same volume. Hammer spells the name Borrak, in the *Gemäldesaal*.

[2] *Túlúí* signifies in the Mongol language "a mirror," and after his death it was forbidden that any other word should be used in this sense, except the Turkí one of *guzugu*.—D'Ohsson's *Hist. Mong.*, Tom. II. p. 60.

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his tribe (Karákhitáí) to Hindustán, by the road of Kirmán.[1] When he arrived at Júraft and Daryáí, the garrison of the fort of Kawáchír urged Shujá'u-d dín Abú-l na'ím to follow after him, so Shujá'u-d dín plundered his camp, and brought back many Khitáí slaves.

[1] Hindustán appears to have been a favorite retreat of the Kárákhitáis of Kirmán. A few years subsequent to this event, we find one of the successors of Burák Hájib fleeing to Hindustán. "On attaining to years of discretion, Hijjáj Sultán proceeded to treat his mother with indignity, and in one of his carouses proposing to her to dance before him, the insulted princess justly took offence, and withdrew to the court of Abáka. The Sultán, not a little terrified on his part, fled shortly afterwards into Hindustán. At the expiration of ten years, followed by a considerable army, raised for his assistance by the princes of India, he was returning to recover his inheritance, when he died on the march, in the month of Zí-l hijja, 670 H."—Price's *Mahommedan History*, Vol. II., p. 434. D'Ohsson says (IV. 92) that he fled to Dehli, and that Sultán Jalálu-d dín Khiljí supplied him with an army to recover his possessions.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

The Hindú Kings of Kábul.

Abú Ríhán al Bírúní has the following statement respecting this dynasty in his lately discovered Arabic work, entitled *Táríkhu-l Hind*: —

"Kábul was formerly governed by princes of Turk lineage. It is said that they were originally from Tibet. The first of them was named Barhtigín, o o o o and the kingdom continued with his children for sixty generations. o o o o o The last of them was a Katormán, and his minister was Kalar, a Bráhman. This minister was favoured by fortune, and he found in the earth treasures which augmented his power. Fortune at the same time turned her back upon his master. The Katormán's thoughts and actions were evil, so that many complaints reached the minister, who loaded him with chains, and imprisoned him for his correction. In the end the minister yielded to the temptation of becoming sole master, and he had wealth sufficient to remove all obstacles. So he established himself on the throne. After him reigned the Bráhman(s) Samand, then Kamlúa, then Bhím, then Jaipál, then Anandpál, then Nardajanpál, who was killed in A.H. 412. His son, Bhímpál, succeeded him, after the lapse of five years, and under him the sovereignty of Hind became extinct, and no descendant remained to light a fire on the hearth. These princes, notwithstanding the extent of their dominions, were endowed with excellent qualities, faithful to their engagements, and gracious towards their inferiors. The letter which Anandpál wrote to Amír Mahmúd, at the time enmity existed between them, is much to be admired. 'I have heard that the

[1] [The *Fragments, Arabes et Persans*, were published in 1845; and this note must have been written by Sir H. Elliot soon after.]

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Turks have invaded your dominions, and have spread over Khurásán; if you desire it, I will join you with 5,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and 100 elephants, but if you prefer it, I will send my son with twice the number. In making this proposal, I do not wish to ingratiate myself with you. Though I have vanquished you, I do not desire that any one else but myself should obtain the ascendancy.' This prince was a determined enemy of the Musulmáns from the time that his son, Nardajanpál, was taken prisoner; but his son was, on the contrary, well-disposed towards them."

The publication of this extract by M. Reinaud has excited considerable discussion, and has given rise to some ingenious remarks and comments by those interested in this period of history, in which we have a series of names recorded, which add nearly a century to the barren annals of India previous to the Muhammadan conquest. A paper by Mr. E. Thomas, of the Bengal Civil Service, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IX. p. 177, is especially valuable, as in it he has endeavoured to trace the names of these particular kings upon a series of coins denominated Rájpút, of the bull and horseman type, and hitherto doubtfully ascribed to periods extending from A.D. 1000 to 1200. I shall avail myself freely of his remarks, though I am not prepared to coincide in his conclusions, for taking into consideration the difficulty of identifying Hindí names in Arabic manuscripts, in which ignorance and carelessness give rise to every imaginable kind of error, he has endeavoured to correct the Arabic from the unquestionable record of the coins themselves, which have hitherto existed without the ascription of a kingdom and a date, and "instead of applying coins to kings, to apply the kings to their own coins." It may easily be supposed that this principle gives too great a license to speculation, and it will appear in the sequel that very few of the attempted identifications can be admitted without question.

Before we examine these names in detail, it will be necessary to make a few general remarks on the subject of these Turks, and especially respecting Kanak, the most celebrated of them.

First of all, it admits of great question what particular position in the series of Kábul Turkish kings this Kanak occupied. M. Reinaud both in his translation of Al Bírúní in *Fragments Arabes*, and his

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Mémoire sur l'Inde, considers him to be the great Kanika or Kanishka of the Buddhists, and it is respecting this Kanak that the anecdote is related which will be found in this work, Vol. II. p. 10. Mr. Thomas, trusting to translations or abstracts of Al Bírúní, makes Kanak the last of the Turkish kings, and the immediate predecessor of the Brahmin Samand; but as the existence of the great Kanak who opposed the Rái of Kanauj is not to be disputed, he must consider that the last of the Turks was a second Kanak.

This point requires further consideration, and we must consider what our several authorities say concerning it. The passage in the first line of the extract which I have translated thus, "The last of them was a Katormán," is in the original Arabic of Al Birú —

و كان اخرهم لكتوزمان

which M. Reinaud translates, "The last of them (the Turks) was Laktouzemán," which is certainly correct, provided the reading is admitted to be so; but Mr. Thomas, after examining various copies of the *Jámi'u-t tawárikh* and *Bindkiti*—the former of which is a translation, and the latter an abridgement of Al Bírúní's account, finds great reason to dispute it, and leans altogether to another interpretation. He finds the following in an excellent Arabic version of the *Jámi'*, in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society—

و رجع كنك الي ولايته و هو آخر ملوك كتورمان

"and Kanak returned to his country, and he was the last of the Katormán kings."

The corresponding passage in the Persian *Jámi'* in the British Museum is—

و كنك بلولايت خود معاودت كرد و آخرين بادشاهان كتورمان بود

Binákiti has the following—

و بعد از و كنك و او اخرين بادشاهان كتورمان بود

"and after him was Kanak, and he was the last of the Katormán kings."

All the copies of *Binákiti* which I have seen concur in this reading, and of three several copies of the Persian *Jámi'u-t tawárikh*

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which I have examined, two are in conformity with the extract given above, with the exception of reading Katoriyán for Katormán, and a third has—

بعد از باسديو از جمله ملوك ايشان يكي كنك بوده و ان آخرين
بادشاهان كيورمان بوده است

"after Básdeo from among their rulers (*i.e.*, of the Indians), one was Kanak, and he was the last of the Kayormán kings."

The omission of all notice of the Kábul Turkish dynasty, and the making Kanak succeed Básdeo, and the Brahmans succeed Kanak, without any notice or allusion to there being intermediate kings, is a culpable omission on the part of Rashídu-d dín and Binákití. The making Kanak the last of the Turkish dynasty does not seem authorized by the only original of Al Bírúní's *Tárikhu-l Hind* which we possess, and Rashídu-d dín must have had other copies or other works to have authorized him to make this statement. M. Reinaud (*Mem.* 30) considers that he has used some other work of Al Bírúní's which has not come down to us, but this may reasonably be doubted.

M. Reinaud altogether ignores these readings of the manuscripts consulted by Mr. Thomas, and merely observes upon them, "On a vu ci-devant, que le vizir de Perse Raschid-eddin, avait, dans son Histoire des Mongols, mis à contribution un écrit d'Albyrouny autre que celui-ci, et que ne nous est point parvenu. Malheureusement, les manuscripts de l'ouvrage de Raschid-ed din diffèrent entre eux: au lieu de *Laktouzeman*, ils portent *Katourman*, et on ne distingue pas bien s'il s'agit là d'un prince ou d'un pays." Notwithstanding this, I have been given to understand by those who have seen the original manuscript of the *Tárikhu-l Hind*, that even that bears a closer resemblance to *Katourman* than *Laktouzeman*.[1] Taking all circumstances into consideration, I am disposed to get rid of the name of Laktouzeman from the *Tárikhu-l Hind*, and to substitute for it, by two slight changes in the original, al Katormán, which repre-

[1] [The name occurs only twice in Reinaud's printed extract. In the first instance, it is given as quoted above, but in the second it is لكتورزمان *Laktúrzamán*. See *Fragments*, p. 135.]

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sents the name of a tribe, or prince of that tribe, as well as the name of the country in which that tribe resided. I have therefore translated the disputed line, "The last of them was a Katormán."

Let us now enter upon some of the considerations which this name suggests.

The Katormáns, or Kators, have hitherto been better known to modern than ancient history. We are informed that it was the name of one of the tribes of Káfiristán,[1] and that the ruler of Chitral to this day bears the title of Sháh Kator,[2] and I have heard the same designation given to the chief of Gilgit. The country of Kator is also spoken of by Sádik Isfaháni, as being the country of the Siyáh-poshes, or black-vested, on the borders of Kábul.[3]

These Kators boast still of their Grecian lineage, and their claim to this honour is by no means, as many have supposed, of modern origin, attributable to our own enquiries after the descendants of the followers of the Macedonian conqueror.[4]

We find at the period of Timur's invasion of India, the Katorians making themselves conspicuous for their opposition to that monarch. After leaving Inderáb he entered their difficult country by way of Kháwah, and after an expedition of eighteen days reduced them to submission. As we thus have proof that this country and people were called by the name of Kator at so early a period, it seems probable that the Kators whom we read of in Abú-l Fazl Baihakí are no other than the descendants of the dynasty we have been considering, and that the Ghaznivide sovereigns organized them among their troops, as we know from the *Táríkh-i Yamíní* that Mahmúd was in the practice of doing with conquered nations, as exemplified in his treatment of the Khiljís, Afgháns, and Indians. It is evident from the extracts given in this work from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* and the *Táríkh-i Mas'údí*, that a body of Kator troops was kept in pay, and that the Tilak mentioned therein was the commander of these foreign troops,

[1] Elphinstone's *Kabul*, vol. ii. pp, 376, 387.

[2] Burne's *Bokhara*, vol. ii. p. 209; and *Journal A. S. Bengal*, vol. vii. p. 331.

[3] *Takwimu-l-buldán*, p. 127.

[4] [For other references to the Kators, see *Thomas's Prinsep*, I. 314. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* III. 890, 1176. *Masson's Narrative*, I. 193. Vigne, *Ghazni*, etc., p. 235. Trumpp, in *Journ. R. A. S.* xix. 1. *Jour. des Sav.* Vol. V., 1855, where M. Viv. de St. Martin attempts to identify them with the Cadrusii of Pliny VI. xxiii.]

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which were rated as Indian, he being in one passage spoken of as commander of the Indians, in another of the Kator troops. It opens a very interesting subject of investigation to enquire if these Kators have no memorials of themselves in India. The identity of name and the period of the establishment of the Kators in Kumáún appear to render it probable that we have in them the descendants of those Kators who fought under the banners of the first Muhammadan conquerors.

A curious coincidence of names seems worth noticing in this place. It will be observed that Al Birúní makes the Turk kings of Kábul come from the mountains of Tibet, and Grecian and Chinese authors concur in saying that in the first years of the Christian era the valley of the Indus and some of the neighbouring countries were occupied by a race from Tartary. Ptolemy, Dionysius, and the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, give to the country watered by the Lower Indus the name of Indo-Scythia, and Ptolemy applies the same name to a country at the bottom of the Gulf of Cambay. The Chinese writers inform us that a people of Tatar race named Yue-chi or Yue-tchi crossed the Hindú-kush, and established themselves in Afghánistán. Fa-Hian speaks of these barbarians having occupied, long before his visit to India, the province of Peshâwar.

De Guignes has informed us, after Chinese authors, that the nomade race of Yue-tchi, being driven about the year 160 before Christ from its original seat in the western provinces of China, by another race called Hioung-non, established themselves in Transoxiana, and spread over the countries in that neighbourhood. Abel-Rémusat and Klaproth have also furnished us with further particulars from the same sources. We learn that the Yue-tchi took part in the struggle which took place between the Greek princes of Bactria and the Arsacidan monarchs of Persia, and that they contributed to the downfall of the former. A few years before Christ, the Yue-tchi chief, named Khieou-tsieou-hy, after subjugating the other independent rulers of his own tribe, proclaimed himself king, and conquered the countries situated between the Oxus, Hindú-kush and Little Tibet. His successor, Yan-kao-tchin, penetrated as far as India.

Some time after, the monarch of the Yue-tchi, whom the Chinese

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call Ki-to-lo, which Klaproth has converted into Ghidor, descended to the south of the Hindú-kush "in following the valley of the Indus" (?), and invaded India on the north. Among other regions he reduced the province of Peshâwar; but being himself compelled to return westward, left the government of the conquered country to his son.[1] M. Reinaud is of opinion[2] that it is to this Ki-to-lo that Fa-Hian alludes, when he says, "Formerly the king of the Yue-tchi, levied a powerful army, and came to attack the country he was anxious to obtain."

The conquerors, who remained in the valley of Kábul, received the name of the "Little Yue-tchi," while the mass of the nation was designated the "Great Yue-tchi." In these Little Yue-tchi we have the ancestors of our modern Játs, a subject which I may, perhaps, discuss at further length hereafter.

It is impossible not to be struck here with the coincidence of the name of Ki-to-lo with Kitor or Kator, the *l* and the *r* being as usual convertible. Here we seem to have the origin of the name Kitor, the establishment of a prince of that name between Kábul and the Hindú-kush, on the very site of the modern Káfiristán, or land of Siyáh-poshes and the country of Kitor, according to the authorities given above. It is probable that we are to look to one of his descendants for the Katormán, who was the last of the Turkish dynasty; and these united considerations have combined to induce me to adopt the readings to which I have given the preference above.

It is to be observed that Al Birúní asserts the Turkish dynasty of Kábul to have lasted for sixty generations; but we are not to suppose that the crown continued in the same family or tribe, but that they were members of the great Turkish stem of nations, which conveys no more definite notion than the Scythians of the ancients, or the Tartars of the moderns. There may have been Turks of other tribes who ruled in the kingdom, who, whether Sakas, Turushkas, Durárís, Yue-tchis, or Kators, would still be classed under the generic designation of Turks, as the last of the Turks appears to have reigned about A.D. 850. If we allow fourteen years as the

[1] *Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques.* Tom. i. p. 223. Laidlay's *Translation of Fa-Hian. Foe-koue-ki*, p. 81. *Tableaux Historiques d' l'Asie.* p. 134.

[2] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 83, from which work the preceding abstract of Yue-tchi history is taken.

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average duration of their reigns, we shall find the period of the conquest occurring about the first year of the era of Our Saviour; and if we allow sixteen years as the average duration, we shall exactly bring it to the period of the downfall of the Greco-Bactrian Empire in 125 before Christ.

Here, then, there is reason to suppose that the first monarch of the Turkish dynasty must have been the subverter of the Grecian Empire in the East. He is called by Al Birúní "Barhtigín;" tigín being a common Turkish affix, signifying "the brave," as Alp-tigín, Subuk-tigín. M. Reinaud conjectures that Barh or Barha answers, probably, to the word *pharahatassa*, which Lassen and Wilson have read on certain Greco-Barbarian coins, and to be the same name which the Greeks have converted into Phraates and Phraoites.[1] Al Bírúní informs us that the names of these princes were recorded on a piece of silk, which was found in the fort of Nagarkot, when it was taken by the Muhammadans; but that circumstances prevented his fulfilling his anxious desire to examine it.

Al Bírúní mentions that Kanak was of the number of these kings, and that he founded the Vihár, or Buddhist monastery at Pesháwar, called after his name even in Al Bírúní's time, and which, probably, occupied the site of the present conspicuous building, called the Gor-khattrí, at the eastern entrance of that town. The romantic anecdote which he relates of him, and which, probably, has little foundation in truth, will be found among the extracts translated from the *Tárikhu-l Hind*, in this volume.

M. Reinaud considers this Kanak to have reigned a little prior to the commencement of our era, and to be the same as the Kanika or Nika of Fa-Hian; the Kanishka of Hiuen-thsang and the Rájátaranginí and the Kanerkes of the Greco-Barbarian coins; and General A. Cunningham has formed the same opinion independently with reference to the two first identifications, considering the same monarch to be the Kanika of the Chinese, and the Kanaksen from whom many Rájpút families trace their lineage.[2]

According to Hiuen-thsang, Kanika or Kanishka reigned over

[1] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 73.

[2] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 73; Thomas' *Prinsep*, Index "Kanishka;" *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. xxiii.

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the whole valley of Kábul, the province of Peshâwar, the Panjáb, and Kashmír. He crossed the Hindú-kush and Himalaya, and subjected Tukháristán and Little Tibet. He received the title of the Lord of Jambu-dwípa, which is equivalent to "The Paramount of all India." He was a long time a stranger to the dogmas of Buddhism, and despised the law; until, by chance, he was converted to that faith, and became one of its most zealous disciples and promoters.

The same Chinese author states that he reigned four hundred years after the death of Buddha, which, as it occurred 544 years before our era, would bring it to more than a century before Christ; but as he expresses his dates in round numbers, we cannot rely much upon his precision. We may with more probability look for it a century later, if, at least, he be the same as Kanerkes, for among the coins and other objects bearing his name, which were found in the tope of Manikyála, and which would appear to indicate that that monument was constructed under the reign of that prince, certain Roman medals were also found of the period of Octavius and Antony extending to as low as 33 B.C.[1]

The Yue-tchi evidently established themselves in Kábul subsequent to the reign of Kanishka, and probably not long after, for Fa-Hian, about the year 400 A.D., speaks of their occupation of that valley, as if it were a transaction of no recent date. If we assign to Ki-to-lo the date of A.D. 200, we shall have nearly seven hundred years from the first to the last of the Katormán dynasty, during which, probably, other families and other tribes may have intermediately occupied the throne, without entirely subverting the right of the Yue-tchi conquerors of the valley.

The statement of Al Bírúní, respecting the occupation of Kábul by the Turks, is in strict conformity with Biládurí and Tabarí, and with the brief notices which the other early Arabic historians and geographers have given us respecting that city. They couple it, however, with the curious announcement of an occupation divided between the dominant Turks and subject Hindús. Mr. E. Thomas

[1] M. Raoul-Rochette, *Journal des Savants*, ann. 1836, p. 70. [Thomas' *Prinsep*. I. 150, and Index, v. Manikyála.]

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has considered this subject at considerable length in another excellent paper by him, on the Coins of the Ghaznivides.[1]

The first in order is Mas'údí, who visited the valley of the Indus in 303 A.H.= 915 A.D. He says nothing of the political and religious revolution which we have been considering, by which Brahmans had been substituted for Buddhist Turks. On the contrary, he designates the prince who reigned at Kábul by the same title as he held when the Arabs penetrated for the first time into those regions.

Istahkrí, who wrote within six years after Mas'údí travelled in India, says :—

وكابل لها قهندز موصوف بالتحصن واليه طريق واحد وفيها المسلمون و لها الربض بها الكفار من الهند

"Kábul has a castle celebrated for its strength, accessible only by one road. In it there are Musulmáns, and it has a town, in which are infidels from Hind."

Ibn Haukal began his travels in 331 A.H. = 942 A.D., and wrote an account of them thirty-five years later. He follows his predecessor implicitly in the main points, but respecting the occupants of the town, the Bodleian copy varies[2] from the Lucknow one, which bears the name of *Ashkálu-l Bilád*. In the former, "Hindú infidels" is converted into "Infidels and Jews." The latter reads :—

وليس في هذه المدن التي في نواحي بلخ اكثر مالا وتجارةً من غزنة وانها فرضة الهند و كابل لها قلعة حصينه و اليه طريق واحد فيها المسلمون و لها ربض به الكفار من الهنود

The statement of Al Bírúní, in his *Kánún-i Ma'súdí*, written less than a century after this, is :—

قلعه كابل مستقر ملوكهم الاتراك كانوا ثم البراهمه

Here there is no specification respecting the different occupancy of the castle and town, but nothing to impugn the correctness of what is asserted by Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal. There is no occasion to

[1] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ix. p. 267. [2] *Ibid*, p. 286.

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quote any of the later geographers, who add nothing to our information, and are careless as well as confused in their statements.

Before concluding this subject of the Turkish occupation of Kábul, the statement of Ibn Khallikán should be noticed, who states in his article on "Ya'kúb bin Lais," that Kábul, in the times of that prince, was inhabited by a Turkish race who appertained to a tribe called *Durári*. This name is new, and the assertion would authorise us to conclude that in his time the Turks were still predominant, though that fact would scarcely seem consistent with what we shall have to advance under *Kamlúa*. It is possible that the term Durárí may have connection with Darra, a hill pass, and that allusion may be to the country to the north of Kábul, just in the same way as in modern times the inhabitants of those same tracts are styled in Kábul "Kohistánís," or hill-men.

It does not appear when the city was either first or finally subdued by the Muhammadans. It is evident, however, that the first inroads were not followed by permanent occupation, and that there was no entire subversion of the native dynasty till the Ghaznivide dynasty rose to power.

The first invasion we read of was in the time of 'Abdu-llah, governor of 'Irák, on the part of the Khalif 'Usmán. He was directed by the Khalif to send an emissary to explore the provinces of Hind; and notwithstanding a discouraging report, 'Abdu-lla ordered the country of Sijistán to be invaded by one of his cousins, 'Abdu-r Rahman, son of Samra. 'Abdu-r Rahmán advanced to the city of Zaranj, and besieged the Marzabán, or Persian governor, in his palace, on the festival of the 'Íd. The governor solicited peace, and submitted to pay a tribute of two millions of dirhams and two thousand slaves. After that, 'Abdu-r Rahmán subdued the country between Zaranj and Kish, which was then styled Indian territory, and the tract between Ar-Rukhaj (Arachosia) and the province of Dáwar—in which latter country he attacked the idolaters in the mountain of Zúr, who sued for peace; and though he had with him 8,000 men, the booty acquired during this incursion was so great, that each man received four thousand pieces of silver as his share. Their idol of Zúr was of gold, and its eyes were two rubies. The zealous Musulmáns cut off its hand and plucked out its eyes, and then

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remarked to the Marzabán how powerless was his idol "to do either good or evil." In the same expedition, Bust was taken. After this, 'Abdu-r Rahmán advanced to Zábul, and afterwards, in the time of Mu'áwiya, to Kábul.[1] The year in which this inroad was made is not mentioned, but as 'Abd-ulla was removed from his government in 36 A.H., we may consider it to have taken place about the year 35.

In the year 44 A.H. Muhallab ibn Abú Sufra, whose army chiefly consisted of the tribe of Azd, which was very powerful in Khurásán, and contributed largely to the downfall of the Ummayides—advanced on the Indian frontier as far as Banna (Banú) and Alahwáz [or "Alahwár" = Lahore?] two places situated between Kábul and Multán. Firishta makes him penetrate as far as Multán, and opens his history by saying he was the first chieftain who spread the banners of the true faith on the plains of Hind. He says he plundered the country and brought back to the head-quarters of the army at Khurásán many prisoners who were compelled to become converts to the faith. Muhallab had been detached from the main army which had invaded

[1] Biládurí, quoted in *Memoire*, p. 173, and in *Geschichten der Chalifen*, vol, i. Anhang, p. x. *Tarjuma-i Futuhát* of Ahmad bin 'Asmi Kufi.—[I have found two Persian extracts from the *Futuhát* of Ahmad among the papers. They are short and important, so I give translations.—ED.]

Conquest of Sijistán by 'Abdu-r Rahmán Samrat under the Khalif 'Usmán.—'Abdu-llah, son of 'Amir, wrote for his nephew on the father's side, 'Abdu-r Rahmán Samrat bin Jandab bin 'Abd Shamsh bin 'Abd Sináf, and having fitted out an army for him, sent him to Sijistán. 'Abdu-r Rahmán led his forces to Zaranj. The people of the city offered battle, and a fierce fight ensued between the opposing parties. The city was taken, and the Musulmáns obtained great spoil, carrying off many captives from Sijistán, and incalculable wealth. 'Abdu-r Rahmán then marched to subdue Kábul.

Conquest of Kábul.—When 'Abdu-r Rahmán came in sight of Kábul, the ruler of the place (Kábul Sháh), who was lame, was in the city. He came out and fought several engagements with the Musulmáns, but retreated into the city, and came forth no more. 'Abdu-r Rahmán besieged it, and remained seated before it, fighting with the garrison for a whole year. He and his soldiers had to endure many hardships during the siege, but at length they carried the place by assault; and when they entered it, they put the fighting men to the sword, and made the women and children prisoners. Kábul Sháh was taken captive, and brought before 'Abdu-r Rahmán; but when he was ordered to be beheaded he turned Muhammadan, and repeated the creed. 'Abdu-r Rahmán treated him with honour and kindness. The plunder and the captives which had been taken in Kábul, Zaranj, and Sijistán, was collected, and a fifth portion was set apart and sent to 'Abdu-llah bin 'Amir, with a report of the conquest of Sijistán and Kábul.]

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Kábul from Merv, under 'Abdu-r Rahmán bin Shimar, and had made converts of twelve thousand persons. Muhallab subsequently made himself conspicuous as governor of Alahwár, and exterminator of the Azrakian insurgents, and as a traitor to his master, 'Abdu-llah ibn Zubair, the Khalif of Mecca. He was the ancestor of those chiefs, who, under the name of Muhallabís, often occur in the history of the later members of the Ummaya family, until they were nearly exterminated at Kandábíl in 101 H.[1] Gildemeister doubts the truth of this expedition, as Sijistán had not yet been conquered; but he forgets that the Musulmáns did not penetrate to India through Sijistán, but through Kábul.

In Biládurí's account of this interesting expedition, there is a curious relation which must not be altogether omitted. He informs us that in the country of Kíkán, Muhallab encountered eighteen Turks, mounted on horses with their tails cut. As they were all killed fighting, Muhallab attributed the activity and valour of "the barbarians" to the fact of their horses' tails being cut. "Upon which he ordered his own horses' tails to be docked; and he was the first amongst the Musulmáns who adopted the practice."[2]

About the same time, 'Abbád, the son of Ziyád, made an incursion on the frontier of India, by way of Sijistán. He went through Rúdbár to the Hindmand (Helmand), and after staying at Kish, he crossed the desert, and reached Kandahár. Although the country was conquered, many Musulmáns lost their lives in this expedition.[3]

Biládurí informs us that under the Khiláfat of Mu'áwiya, 'Abdu-r Rahmán, son of Samrah, penetrated to the city of Kábul, and obtained possession of it after a month's siege. He conquered also the circumjacent countries, especially Ar-Rukhaj (Arachosia). The king of Kábul made an appeal to the warriors of India, and the Musulmáns were driven out of Kábul. He recovered all the other conquered countries, and advanced as far as Bust, but on the approach of another

[1] *Erpenii Elmacin Historia Saracenica*, ann. 101.

[2] Biládurí, see Vol. i. p. 116. Briggs, *Firishta*, vol. i. p. 4. The Chinese authorities seem to allude to this expedition. *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, Tom. xv. p. 474. See also Tom. xvi. p. 372–5. Hammer, *Gemäldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, vol. ii. p. 9.

[3] Biládurí, ut suprà. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. i. p. 292.

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Musulmán army, he submitted, and engaged to pay an annual tribute.[1]

The Kábulís subsequently profited by the contests which distracted the Khiláfat, and the tribute was withheld; but in 64 A.H. = 683-4 A.D. 'Abdu-l 'aziz, the governor of Sístán, declared war against the king of Kábul, and in the combat which took place, that king was defeated and killed. The war continued under his successor, and he was compelled to submit to the payment of tribute, but whenever opportunity offered, renewed efforts were made by the Kábulís to recover their lost independence.[2]

Amongst the earliest attempts against Kábul may be noticed that of 'Abdu-llah, governor of Sístán, in 78 A.H.=697-8 A.D., or according to some, in the following year. When he arrived at Nímroz, Hajjáj desired him not to linger in Sístán, but to march without delay towards Kábul to enforce the payment of the tribute from Ranbal, to which that chief had agreed; and ordered him peremptorily not to return until he had subjugated the whole province. Ranbal retiring before his assailant, detached troops to their rear and blocking up the defiles, entirely intercepted their retreat, and in this situation exposed to the danger of perishing by famine, 'Abdu-llah was compelled to purchase the liberation of himself and followers for a ransom of seven hundred thousand dirhams.[3]

To wipe out the disgrace which the Muhammadan arms had sustained, 'Abdu-r Rahmán bin Muhammad bin Asha's, was despatched to Kábul by the famous Hajjáj in 81 A.H.=700-1 A.D.;[4] or in the preceding year, according to some authors, he was sent at the head of forty thousand men into Sístán, and having there united to his own troops the troops of the province, marched without delay against the prince of Kábul. 'Abdu-r Rahmán returned to Sístán laden with booty, but incurred the displeasure of Hajjáj by not remaining to secure his conquest. Exasperated by a threat of supersession, he determined to carry his arms against his master, and, in order to strengthen his power, concluded a treaty with the enemies of his faith, in which it was

[1] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 179. [2] *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 178.

[3] *Tárikh-i-Alfi*, Ann. 68, p.m. Muhammad. See the extracts from that work in a subsequent volume of this compilation. Price's *Mahommedan Hist.*, Vol. i.. p. 454.

[4] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 179; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Tom. I. p. 449; Ockley's *History of the Saracens.* [82 A.H.] Bohn's Edit. p. 490.

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stipulated that if his expedition should be attended with success, Ranbal should be absolved from every species of tribute, provided the latter should agree to afford him an asylum in the event of failure. After many vicissitudes of fortune, 'Abdu-r Rahmán was at last compelled to seek the protection of his ally, who, after treating him for some time with kindness and hospitality, was at last seduced by the promises or by the threats of Hajjáj to deliver up his guest. 'Abdu-r Rahmán frustrated the vindictive designs of his enemy by throwing himself down from a precipice while he was on his way—A.H. 84.[1]

The interest which this contest excited throughout the Khiláfat seems to have invested the Prince of Kábul with a fictitious celebrity, insomuch that he is the hero of many Arab stories of the holy wars on the frontiers of Hind. Nevertheless there is no certainty as to the proper mode of spelling the name. The various readings of the European authors who have noticed him show how little the orthography is settled. Ockley[2] calls him "Zentil;" Weil,[3] "Zenbil;" Reinaud,[4] "Ratbyl" and "Zenbyl." Wilson,[5] "Rateil, Ratpeil, Ratbal, Rantal, Zantíl—variations easily accounted for by the nature of the Persian letters." E. Thomas,[6] "Ratpíl;" Price,[7] "Reteil," "Ratteil," or "Retpeil."[8]

Price observes that the name bespeaks him to be either a Tártar or Hindú, and that the real name might perhaps have been Vittel, still common among the Hindus. Wilson considers it as a genuine Indian appellation; Ratná-pála or Rutun-pál.[9]

[1] Price's *Mahommedan History*, Vol. i. pp. 455-463.
[2] *History of the Saracens*, Bohn's Edit., p, 490.
[3] *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i. pp. 449, 461.
[4] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 71, 72, and 178.
[5] *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 133.
[6] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. xii. p. 344.
[7] *Retrospect of Mahommedan History*, Vol. i., pp. 454-5.
[8] [The Mujmalu-t Tawárikh (Paris MS. p. 274), says:—

و پادشاهان زمین کابل و سندرا رتبیل گویند

"The kings of Kábul and Sind are called Ratbíl." Ibn Khurdádba (Oxford MS. p. 26), has ملک سمرقند طرخان سکستان ربتل which M. Barbier de Meynard (*Journ. Asiatique*, 1865, p. 251), renders "*Le roi de Sistán Rotbil.*" Mas'údí (Paris Ed. ii. p. 87), has "Zenbil qui est resté commun jusqu' á ce jour." The various readings of the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát* have been noticed in a previous page, *suprá*, 178.]
[9] *Ariana Ant.* p. 133.

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Mas'údí, in his chapter in the *Murúj*, which is consecrated to the kings of Syria, makes mention of a prince who reigned in the valley of the Indus, and who after having subjugated Eastern Persia, advanced to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. The name of this prince was Ranbal, under one of its various modifications, and he adds that the name formed in his time the designation of the indigenous princes of the country, and he calls the Buddhist princes of Kábul by this epithet, which he makes common to all. In this he is borne out by Tabarí, and M. Reinaud is induced therefore to consider the word significative.[1] But it is not improbable that this assertion arises from the ignorance of the Muhammadans, and that they were ready to apply all the stories relating to the border chiefs of India to that one who had obtained the greatest notoriety with historians by his transactions with the generals of the Khiláfat, just as the *Hadika Sanái* speaks of Jaipál being the king of India in the time of Bahrám, and Hátifí speaks of Rái Pithaurá as the same even in the time of Timúr.

The *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát* ascribes the name to a contemporary of Ya'kúb Lais, which would make him one hundred and sixty years later than the invader of Syria, a long time for a title to have remained attached to a succession of petty chiefs. Moreover, at one time we find him ruler in Sind, at another in Kábul, though at the period spoken of those countries were not united under one dominion.

Khákí Shírází says:—"In the year twenty-two the province of Sijistán was conquered for 'Umar-bin Khattáb, by the hands of 'Amru bin al Tamímí; and in the same year Makrán was subdued by Abdu-llah bin 'Abdu-llah Anán, who marched against it from Kirmán. The ruler of that province, whose name in the language of the country was Zambíl, was also ruler of Sind, and was killed."

In the opening of the history of Mas'úd the Ghaznivide, by Abú-l Fazl Baihakí, reference is made to the Palace of Ranbal, where it certainly seems to apply to an individual rather than a class.[2]

The Ranbal of whom we have been speaking as the opponent

[1] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 178.

[2] [Tabarí, the Mujmal, and Mas'údí are all clear as to the import of the name, and its use as a dynastic royal title. Weil says it is "a general name for the king of the Turkomans, but more especially for the prince of Kábul and the territories between Hirát and Kábul.—*Geschichte*, p. 449."]

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ally, protector, and betrayer of 'Abdu-r Rahmán, must have been one of the Turkish dynasty of Kábul, of the Buddhist persuasion. We find, from the Arabic histories of the period, that some of his relatives still held dominion in Transoxiana, though the relationship was probably rather that of tribe than family. If the family had been Hindú rather than Turkish, Ran-bal, "strong in battle," would have been sufficiently significative to render that the most likely reading of this disputed name. The probable prevalence, however, of the language of the Hindús in these parts might still have encouraged the use of the terms, notwithstanding that the Brahmans had not yet attained their supremacy.

In 107 A.H.=725–6 A.D., under the Khiláfat of Hashám, part of the dominions of Kábul was taken, but the capture of the town itself is not noticed.[1]

The lieutenants of the Khalifs Al Mahdí and Ar Rashíd took tribute from the Ranbal of Sijistán, proportioned to the strength or weakness of that prince, and named governors to the countries where Islám prevailed—A.H. 158–193=A.D. 775–809. When Al Mámún was made governor of Khurásán, he demanded double tribute. He took Kábul, and the king submitted, and professed Islám. An agent on the part of Mámún resided in that city, and a post was established which enabled Al Mámún to procure from it fresh myrobalans.[2]

After this we read nothing of Kábul till the time of the Saffárides —A.H. 256=A.D. 868–9.[3] In the succeeding year[4] Ya'kúb Lais took Kábul, and made its prince a prisoner. The king of Ar Rukhaj was put to death, and its inhabitants forced to embrace Islám. Ya'kúb returned to his capital loaded with booty, and carrying with him the heads of three kings; and many statues of Indian divinities, which were amongst the booty, were sent to Baghdád for presentation to the Khalif.[5]

This Muhammadan conquest appears to have been more durable

[1] Gladwin's *Ayín Akberí*, Vol. ii. p. 209. Price's *Mahommedan History*, Vol. i, p. 567. [2] Biládurí, quoted in the *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 196–7.
[3] *Historia priorum regum Persarum*, etc., p. 19. [4] *Tabakát-i Násirí.*
[5] Ibn Asír, *Kitábu-l Fihrist*, and Ibn Khallikán, quoted in *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 209.

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than the preceding ones, for we find coins of Ya'kúb struck at Panjshír, to the north-east of Kábul, in the years 260 and 261 H.[1]

By referring to the passages given above from the geographers, we shall learn the state of the occupancy of Kábul from the time of the Saffárides to that of the Ghaznivides, which commenced as early as the time of Alptigín, according to the statement of Abú-l Fazl, and it is probably to his time that the story related by Al-Birúní refers, where he states that when the *Espehbed*, or general-in-chief, had the gates of Kábul opened to him, the inhabitants imposed upon him the condition not to eat cow's flesh or indulge in unnatural crimes.[2] Neither condition is strictly observed by the modern occupants.

We will now proceed to examine more particularly the attempted identification of the several names of this series of Kábul kings :—

Turks.	Kamlú.
Barhtigín.	Bhím.
Kanak.	Jaipál I.
Katormán.	Anandpál.
o o o	Jaipál II.
Brahmans.	Bhímpál.
Kalar.	o o o
Sámand.	

Barhtigín has been already sufficiently remarked upon.

Kanak—Katormán.—Both these names have also been the subject of extended remarks. It will be observed that all the authorities quoted above from the original, make Kanak the last of the Turks, excepting only the *Tárikhu-l Hind*, which makes him only one, and the most famous one of the middle series of the Turkish kings for sixty generations. Allowing that Kanak is Kanishka, for which ample ground has already been advanced, this becomes impossible, and we must fall back upon the better authority of the *Tárikhu-l Hind*, and consider the Katormán or Laktúzamán as the last. In the more modern narratives of Rashídu-d dín and Binákití we must place a full stop after "Kanak returned to his country." Then proceed, "the last of the kings was the Katormán." This requires

[1] Frœhn *Summarische Uebersicht*, etc., and *Bulletin de l'Académie*, Tom. x. p. 81.
[2] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 246.

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no violent alteration of the text. Indeed the mere omission of ﻫ from the Arabic, and ﻭ from the Persian reconciles everything, and this last omission is actually made in the British Museum MS.

The writers themselves knew little of the state of the case, and wished merely to translate Al Bírúní, who knew well enough what he was writing. For instance, Binákití wishing to reduce the narrative of the *Jámi'*, makes it appear that Ujen was the predecessor of Kanak. Haidar Rází, again, among the names of the illustrious kings of India who succeeded Basdeo (here meant not for him of Kanauj, but the great Krishna) mentions Arjun and Jasand (the former being manifestly the famous hero of the *Mahá-bhárata*, and the latter Jarásandha), and "after him came Kanak, Chand." This, thorough indifference to correct chronology, enables us to see that by Ujen is meant Arjun, the senior of Kanak by several centuries. Mr. Thomas is persuaded that to this Kanak, the last of the Turks, are to be ascribed the coins which bear the name of Sri Vanka Deva "of the elephant-and-lion type of coin, which preceded the bull-and-horseman money introduced by the Brahmans. The similitude of names and the needful correspondence of all available evidence are surely sufficient to authorise our indicating Vanka Deva" as the Kanak above mentioned. This is by no means admissible, and he has himself since found that the real reading on the coin is "Varka," and has, consequently, altogether abandoned this speculation.[1]

Kalar " is, we have little doubt, the Syálapati of our coins. There is less difference in sound between Syála and Kalar than would at first be imagined; so that if our translator, Al Bírúní, wrote his Arabic version from oral tradition, this slight change in the initial pronunciation of the name would be fairly probable." This is carrying speculation to an extreme, and there is no warrant whatever for the presumed identification.

[1] [Mr. Thomas, who might naturally desire to reply to these early criticisms on his confessedly initiatory essay on the coins in question, agrees with me in thinking that Sir H. Elliot's text should be preserved intact in the present publication, without comment or controversy on his part. This kind of knowledge is happily progressive, and many valid advances may be admitted to have been made between the theories of 1847 and 1868, without compromising the original author, or his censor of days gone by. Many of the objections here advanced have already been answered, in anticipation, by Mr. Thomas, in his edition of *Prinsep's Essays* (London, 1858), an extract from which will be found below (p. 428).]

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It is to be observed that the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* and its followers omit all notice of Kalar, making Sámand the immediate successor of Kanak.

The Syála or Syál-pati (ποτις in Greek), of whom so many coins are found in Afghánistán, was probably a leader, and, perhaps, even the progenitor of the Syál Játs of Jhang Syál and other localities in the Panjáb.

Samand.—Coins of Samanta, or Samanta Deva, are found in great profusion not only in Afghánistán, but throughout the Panjáb and the whole of Northern India, and one has even been found in the province of Posen.[1] Mr. Thomas is of opinion that this is owing to his having called in the coins of his Buddhist predecessors, in order to give prevalence to his own creed of Brahmanism by the substitution of the bull-and-horseman type for that of the elephant-and-lion, which is considered emblematic of Buddhism;[2] but this supposition seems defeated by the fact of our finding Samanta coins with the elephant also upon them. The name of this reviver of the old faith became so celebrated, that we find it upon the coins of his successors, extending even down to the Muhammadan conquest of Dehli, in 1192 A.D., and the coins of Ráí Pithaurá.

Professor Wilson attributed these coins to a Rájpút prince, who lived many years afterwards. M. Reinaud never hesitated to recognize in these medals the name of the king of Kábul, and his opinion was confirmed by the examination which M. Adrien de Longpérier made of them.[3]

It may be considered presumption to oppose such an array of authority in favour of this identification, but, nevertheless, I hesitate to concur in it without more cogent arguments than those that have yet been adduced. Putting aside the improbability that one man's name should be stamped on a series of coins, extending through more than two centuries, sometimes in supercession, and sometimes in conjunction with, that of the reigning monarch—and that, too, even in the case of the later Ghaznivides—there seems so obvious a solution

[1] M. Longpérier in *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 223.

[2] *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ix. p. 181.

[3] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 212. *Journal Asiatique*, Feb. 1845, p. 192, and *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 219.

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of this continuance of a single name, that it requires far less boldness to adopt this simple explanation, than to seek grounds for establishing a position which, from its many improbabilities, is always open to question. It may, perhaps, be admitted that the coins which bear the simple name of Srí Samant Deva are to be referred to the Sámand of Abú Ríhán; but even that admission is open to objection, there being a double mis-spelling in the name, for in the former we have a short *a* instead of a broad one, and a *t* instead of a *d*.[1]

It appears to me, then, that Samanta, whenever it is found with another name, is throughout merely a title, meaning the warrior, the hero, the *preux chevalier*, the leader of an army, the Amír; and that after being used concurrently with Srí Hamír on the later Ghaznivide coins, it was by the early Ghorian monarchs altogether displaced by that more appropriate title.

At this latter period the prevalence of the title of Samant is obvious from its frequent use by the bard Chand, who has celebrated the exploits of Rái Pithaurá, and his three hundred Samants, or stalwart knights.

Kamlúa.—Mr. Thomas wishes to appropriate to this monarch a medal bearing the legend of *Khvadavayaka* or *Khedavayaka*, while he confesses that even to liberal ears these names are not quite accordant in sound. He then seeks to justify the appropriation by mutations, blots, or intermixture of letters.[2] We must reject this, it being not worthy of the least credit; and the discovery of the name of Kamlúa in another history sets the question at rest, and establishes the correctness of Al Bírúní.

This discovery is in other respects important, as enabling us to fix a synchronism by which we may conjecture the periods of the other monarchs of this dynasty. In one of the stories translated from the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát*,[3] it will be found that he was a contemporary of 'Amrú Lais, who reigned between 265-287 A.H.= 878-900 A.D. Kamlúa is there called the Rái of Hindústán, and he must have ruled sometime within this period.

If we admit that these names represent a continuous series of

[1] [Longpérier reads the name with a long *d*—*Śámanta*. See *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, 221-223.]

[2] *Jour. R. A. S.*, ix. p. 180.

[3] See *supra*, p. 172.

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successive monarchs, and not rather those who alone were conspicuous, we shall have to place the commencement of Kamlúa's reign as late as possible within the twenty-two years above-named. For we must connect it with another synchronism which we obtain from the same *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát*, wherein we learn that Mahmúd was only fourteen years old when the defeat of Jaipál occurred near the miraculous fountain, which—as he died in A.H. 421,[1] when he was sixty-three years old—reduces that date to 372 A.H., or 982-3 A.D., fifteen years before the death of Subuktigín.

Jaipál died in 1002 A.D., and it is evident from the statement in the *Tárikh-i Yamini*, that he was then a very old man. He had opposed Subuktigín, while yet that warrior was only general of Alptigín, and therefore before 976 A.D., making his reign at least a quarter of a century. If we assume that Kamlúa's reign commenced in 890 A.D., being about the middle of that of 'Amrú Lais, we shall have to divide the period extending from 890 to 1002 A.D., between the reigns of Kamlúa, Bhím and Jaipál, being an average of thirty-seven years for each, which seems much too long. But as there is no disputing the dates, we must admit the long duration of 112 years for only three reigns, or admit that the names of unimportant monarchs have been omitted; just as in the case of the Turkish series, of which only Kanak is mentioned, between the first and last of the dynasty.

In the same way, between Kalar and Sámand, and Sámand and Kamlúa—there may have been other omissions, and even long interregna of Muhammadan supremacy; and we may thus throw back the period of the Brahmanical revolution to an earlier date than has yet been conjectured. It must be confessed this would relieve us of some difficulties, and enable us to dispose of other names of this series, of which we have incidental notice elsewhere: as, for instance, in the *Sairu-l Mulúk*, where we meet with the name of Lomak.

Syála, Khedavayaka, Varka, and even Ranbal may have been individuals of the Kábul series, either Turk or Hindú, though not honoured with distinct mention by Abú Ríhán. Numismatists,

[1] April, 1030. See the inscription on his tomb in Thornton's *Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India*, vol. i. p. 200, [and *Journ. R. A. S.*, xvii. p. 161.]

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indeed, are now so certain that these coins do belong to the Kábul series, and trace with such confidence the relative antiquity of each extant medal from the difference in devices and execution, that we may readily concede the point to such able and experienced enquirers. All that is required is that there should be no unnatural forcing to suit preconceived theories.

Mr. Thomas has conjectured on other grounds that the accession of Sámand occurred in 935 A.D.,[1] but his computation does not rest on any such specific dates as the two mentioned above, and he considers that, under any circumstances, it is imperfect, and that "the utmost the materials at our command enable us to assert with any degree of certainty is that Syála's usurpation took place early in the tenth century;" but even this certainty is dispelled by the establishment of the fact that Kamlúa was, unquestionably, a contemporary of 'Amrú Lais. Altogether, we may consider the subversion of the Turk by the Brahman dynasty to have occurred about 850 A.D., shortly before its capture by Ya'kub Lais; and as it appears from the Arab geographers that Musulmáns held the castle, it is evident that the Brahmans were only occasionally dominant, and did not hold their power without long and frequent interruptions.

Bhím.—The coins of Bhím are found in Kábulistán, but are seldom, if ever, met with in India. There is no reason to doubt that this is the same Bhím as the Srí Bhím Deva of the bull-and-horseman series, and this is the only one of which the identification can be admitted without question.

M. Reinaud considers that this Bhím is the one mentioned by 'Utbí and Firishta as the founder of Nagarkot;[2] but there is more reason to believe the hero of the *Mahá-bhárata* to be the one indicated.

Jaipál I.—It is strange that no coins of Jaipál are found. Firishta calls him the son of Ishtpál,[3] and distinctly avers that he was a Brahman, and Bírúní also includes him in that dynasty; but the introduction of the term Pál, which is now continued to the close of the dynasty, might incline us to suppose that a new family had com-

[1] *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ix. p. 179.

[2] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 257.

[3] [Briggs' translation says "Hutpál," but the lithographed text has "Ishtpál."]

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menced. This seems in other respects not improbable, for in the opening of the *Tárikh-i Yamíní* we find Jaipál's western border extended no further than Lamghán, Kábul being already in possession of Subuktigín. It seems probable, therefore, that the succession of the real Kábul sovereigns ceased with Bhím, and that the king of Northern India succeeded to the paramount sovereignty which, as far as the Muhammadans were concerned, had hitherto been held by the ruler of Kábul. It is a mistake to suppose that Jaipál was king of Dehli. It does not appear that any such place existed in his time, and Abú-l Fidá's determination of its latitude and longitude on the authority of the *Kánún-i Mas'údí* is a misquotation, which it is of importance to correct, for there is nowhere mention of Dehli either in that work or in the *Tárikhu-l Hind*. The principal places of his residence appear to have been Lahore, Bhera, and Waihind; and it may be doubted if any of these places, except perhaps the last, had been held by the kings of Kábul.

The assertion that he was a Brahman probably arises from ignorance on the part of Firishta. Al Bírúní is not specific in his statement that he was a Brahman, but merely includes him in the dynasty which commenced with a Brahman, and he may no more have been really of that caste than were the Bahmaní sovereigns of the Dekhin, though they were called after one. The term Brahman, in the conception of a Musulmán, might merely imply that he maintained the doctrines of that faith, and from his position was its staunchest defender and champion. There seems ground to suppose he must have been a Rájpút, and some reasons have been assigned in the note on Mahmúd's invasion for considering him a Bhattí.

Anandpál.—Mr. Thomas observes[1] that the coins of Anandpál are common, and are plentiful in the Panjáb and the northern parts of the Ganges Dúáb. But these are evidently to be referred to the monarch of Delhi, who lived a century and a half later, and we have to deal with Anandpál not Anangpál. 'Utbi calls him Andpál.

Jaipál II.—This is not the name given by Al Bírúní, where it appears more like Tardijanbál, and in the other authors who mention him it goes through various forms. Tadan Jaipál, Nanduwa

[1] *Jour. R. A. S.*, ix. p. 121, [and later, *Prinsep's Essays*, i. 330.]

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Jaipál, Turu Jaipál, Parou Jaipál, Nardajanpála, Niranjanpál, Tasdar Jaipál, and many more.[1] The latest reading proposed by M. Reinaud is Trilochan Pál, after the "three-eyed" Siva. Persian authors generally call him Nabíra Jaipál, or the grandson of Jaipál, and in that relationship no doubt he stood to the first Jaipál. Hence Dow calls him "Pitterugepál." The real name was, perhaps, Púr Jaipál, or Jaipál junior, Jaipál the son or grandson. Al Bírúní tells us that his father Anandpál was an inveterate enemy of the Musulmáns from the time that Púr Jaipál was taken prisoner, but Púr Jaipál himself was well disposed towards them.

According to 'Utbí we find him holding dominion as far eastward as Kanauj and the Ráhib, respecting which the note on the ninth and twelfth expeditions of Mahmúd may be consulted. The same author mentions another son of Anandpál, by the name of Brahman Pál, who is probably a different one.

Abú Ríhán informs us that he was killed in 412 A.H.=1021-2 A.D. It does not appear exactly when he began to reign, but he certainly opposed Mahmúd during the Kanauj campaign in 409 H.

Bhim Pál.—In him we have the last of the dynasty of Kábul and Northern India. As he is mentioned by Abú Ríhán, he must have succeeded to some remnant of his father's domains; but it does not appear that in his time he contested the advance of the Muhammadans, though before he ascended the throne we find him taking an active part in defending his father's dominions, under the name of Nidar Bhím, "Bhím the Dauntless."[2]

From his letter to Chand Rái, which is recorded by 'Utbí, it would appear that he was inclined to peaceful counsels, and that bitter experience had taught him the hopelessness of contending with his relentless and sanguinary rivals.[3]

From a statement in the *Tárikhu-l Hind*, we may infer that his capital was Bárí, to the east of Kanauj.

Neither of Bhím Pál, nor of any other of the Pál family, are any coins extant.

Bhím Pál survived his father five years, and died, therefore, in 417 A.H., the eventful year of the capture and plunder of Somnát. Haidar Rází gives nine years as the period of his reign.

[1] [See *supra*, pp. 45–47.] [2] [Supra, p. 38.] [3] [Supra, p. 48.]

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NOTE B.

Extract of Mr. Thomas' Edition of Prinsep's Essays, (1858. *Vol. I. p.* 331), *referred to in page* 9 *suprà*.

"Before I leave the subject, I may be permitted to make some observations in reference to an original suggestion of my own, that the Srí Hamírah, on the reverse of the immediately succeeding Moslem coins, was designed to convey the title of the spiritual representative of the Arabian Prophet on earth, embodied for the time being in the Khalíf of Baghdád. Sir H. M. Elliot, placing himself under the guidance of Capt. Cunningham, has contested this inference. I am not only prepared to concede the fact that Muhammad bin Sám uses this term in connection with his own name on the lower Kanauj coins, but I can supply further independent evidence, that my opponents could not then cite against me, in the association of this title with the name of the early Sultáns of Dehli in the Pálam Inscription (1333 Vikramáditya); but, on the other hand, I can claim a still more definite support in an item of testimony contributed by the consecutive suite of the selfsame fabric of coins, where the हमीर: (*hamirah*) is replaced by the word षलीफ (*khalífa*). As far as I have yet been able to ascertain, this transition *first* takes place on the money of 'Aláu-d dín Mas'úd (639-644 A.H.); and here, again, I can afford, in all frankness, to cite further data that may eventually bear against myself, in recording that this reverse of *Srí Khalífa* is combined in other cases with a broken obverse legend of ... षमीरषिम ... which, being interpreted to stand for the *Amiru-l Múminín* of the Arabic system, may either be accepted as the Sanskrit counterpart legend of Altamsh's anonymous coins in the Persian character,"[1] or be converted into a possible argument against my theory, if supposed to represent the independent spiritual supremacy claimed by subsequent Sultáns of Dehli; which last assignment, however, will scarcely carry weight in the present state of our knowledge. As regards the difficulty raised respecting the conventional acceptance of the *Srí Samanta Deva* of the coins as an historical, rather than an individually titular, impress, I have always been fully prepared to recognize the linguistic value of the

[1] Pathán Sultáns of Dihli, by Ed. Thomas. London, Wertheimer, 1847; p. 17.

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word *Samanta*, and yet claim to retain the *Sri Samanta Deva*—which comes down to us, in numismatic sequence, in the place of honour on so many mint issues—as an independent name or title, to which some special prestige attached, rather than to look upon it as an ordinary prefix to the designation of each potentate on whose money it appears. And such a decision, in parallel apposition to the succession of the titles of *Sri Hamira* and *Khalifa*, just noticed, would seem to be strikingly confirmed by the replacement of this same legend of *Sri Samanta Deva* on the local coins of Cháhad Deva, by the style and title of the Moslem suzerain, to whom that rája had eventually to concede allegiance.

The two classes of coins to which I allude may, for the moment, be exemplified, the one in the type given in 'Ariana Antiqua,' xix. 16; the other in pl. xxvi. fig. 31, Vol. i. *(Prinsep)*.

The former, when corrected up and amplified from more perfect specimens, will be found to bear the legends: Obv. **असावरी श्री समन्त देव**. Rev. **श्री चाहड देव**—while the latter will be seen to display an obverse epigraph of **असावरी श्री समसोरन देवे**, with a reverse similar to the last.

I understand this obverse legend to convey, in imperfect orthography, the name of Shamsu-d dín Altamsh—whose other coins, of but little varied type, have a similarly outlined name, with the Moslem *Sri Hamirah* on the reverse.

NOTE C.

The Historians of the Ghaznivides.

The contents of this volume relate more especially to the history of the Ghaznivides. It therefore seems expedient to take a general review of the authors who have particularly treated of that dynasty.

First in order comes 'Utbí, who has already been sufficiently noticed. It may be remarked generally that he is deficient in dates, and, though the chief and earliest authority on all which relates to the early invasions of India, he evidently had no personal knowledge of that country, a circumstance which of course greatly detracts

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from his value. He is fuller in the reign of Subuktigín and the transactions in Turkistán than any of his successors.

Thirty years later comes Abú-l Fazl Baihakí, of whose voluminous and important work only a portion has come down to us.

After an interval of more than two centuries follows the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh*, composed in 674 H., about a century after the extinction of the dynasty. The short notice which this work devotes to the Ghaznivides has been translated as an extract from that work, but it is of little authority, and confuses dates irremediably towards the close of the dynasty, in which the transactions were carried on too far eastward to be within the foreign ken of the author. Indeed he confesses that he knows nothing of their successors, the Ghorians, beyond the names of three of their kings.

The next, but after a period of two hundred years from 'Utbí is the *Tabakát-i Násiri*, the chief value of which is that it quotes the lost volumes of Abú-l Fazl Baihakí. It is for this reason, however, greatly to be regretted, especially as he is one of the earliest Muhammadan authors who wrote in India, that his notice of Mahmúd's reign is so very curt; for it is that in which we most feel the want of Baihakí's familiar gossiping narrative. It is true he is quoted in the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát*, *Tárikh-i Guzida*, *Ráuzatu-s Safá*, and *Firishta;* yet it may be doubted if any except the author of the first ever saw his *Tárikh-i Násiri*, which is mentioned by name in the *Tabakát*. In some of the other Ghaznivide reigns, this work differs from others, as will be seen from the passages which are extracted in the article TABAKÁT-I NÁSIRI in this volume.

The great copyist and extractor, Rashídu-d dín, follows after the lapse of about twenty years. In his *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, he follows 'Utbí implicitly, as far as the *Yamini* extends, taking out not only his facts, but giving a literal translation of that work, even to the images and similes. So little does he attempt to improve upon the *Yamini*, that he even leaves out the important expedition to Somnát, which was undertaken after the close of that work. This resource fails him altogether in the later reigns, which are consequently very unsatisfactorily disposed of in the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*.[1]

About twenty years later follows the *Tárikh-i Guzida* of Hamdu-lla

[1] [See an article by Major Lees, in *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. iii. N.S., 1868.]

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Mustaufí—although he mentions the *Makámát* of Abú Nasr Miská'ti, and the *Mujalladát* of Abú-l Fazl Baihakí, he does not appear to have read them: at least he gives no information derived from them, and altogether his account of Mahmúd's reign is very meagre. He mentions the names of the towns taken by him, omitting, however, all notice of Somnát, and without stating the dates of their capture. He is so often quoted by Mírkhond, Khondamír, and Firishta, that he has had more credit than he deserves in this portion of his universal history.

After a long interval of about a century, we have Mírkhond, who in his *Rauzatu-s Safá* has given us the first detailed account of the history of the Ghaznivides. It is founded in the early portion upon the *Yamini*, but in later reigns rests upon some other authorities which are not quoted. Those which are mentioned, as the *Násiri* and *Guzida*, are too meagre to have furnished the fuller information found in the *Rauzatu-s Safá*. This portion has been translated by F. Wilken into Latin, and published with the original text at Berlin in 1832, under the title of *Historia Gasnevidarum*. He has added in footnotes passages from Firishta and Haidar Rází, where the details are more complete than in the *Rauzatu-s Safá*. Haidar Rází, however, is no original authority. I have found all the passages, except two, quoted by Wilken to be word for word the same as the *Tárikh-i Alfi*, even where other authorities are quoted, as Ibn Asír, Ibn Kasír, and Háfiz Abrú. The chief omission to be noted in Mírkhond's account is that of the expeditions to India intervening between those of Kanauj and Somnát, and the attack upon the Játs of Júd after Mahmúd's return from Somnát.

Mírkhond is followed by his nephew Khondamír in the *Khuláasatu-l Akhbár* and the *Habíbu-s Siyar*. The former has been translated by Price with additions from Firishta, and from the latter a translation will be found in a later volume of this work. He follows the *Rauzata-s Safá* closely, and has no new authorities, omitting some passages, but dealing more copiously with the biographies of cotemporary poets and ministers. Altogether, Mírkhond's narrative is preferable, and in this, as well as in many other portions of his history Khondamír might have saved himself the trouble of attempting to rival his uncle.

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The next authority of any value is the *Tárikh-i Alfi*. Like as in other portions of that work, it is, in the history of the Ghaznivides, also somewhat deficient in connexion, and troublesome, from adopting a new era; but. altogether, it is copious and correct. 'Utbí and Mírkhond are the chief authorities of the *Tárikh-i Alfi*, but something is added from the less known histories, which have already been mentioned as being quoted at second hand by Haidar Rází. It is to be regretted that Abú-l Fazl Baihakí is not amongst them. Here also we have no detailed account of the Indian expeditions between those of Kanauj and Somnát, and that to Thánesar is not mentioned.

Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, in his *Tabakát-i Akbari*, gives a succinct account of the history of the Ghaznivides, and is particular in mentioning his dates. He notices very cursorily the events in Turkistán, Sístán, and 'Irák, confining his attention principally to what related to India. In his work we, for the first time, find mention of several expeditions to India, which are passed over by his predecessors; and it is, therefore, to be regretted that he does not signify on what authority he relates them. The only probable source, among those mentioned as his general authorities, is the *Zainu-l Akhbár*. Nizámu-d dín is followed closely by Firishta.

'Abdu-l Kádír, in his *Tárikh-i Badáúni*, follows Nizámu-d dín implicitly; but, in order to show the variations, he occasionally quotes the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh*, and the *Lubbu-t Tawárikh*. He adds, also, some verses of poets who were contemporary with the Ghaznivides.

The *Muntakhabu-t Tawárikh* of Khákí Shírází is very brief, and scarcely deserves notice. It chiefly follows the *Habibu-s Siyar*.

We next come to the history of Firishta, which gives the most complete and detailed account which we have of the Ghaznivides. Dr. Bird complains of the author's ignorance of the geography of Upper India; but he has exhibited no more than his predecessors, and in one or two instances attempts corrections. His chief resource is the *Tabakát-i Akbari*, but he has also used the *Tárikh-i Yamini*, the *Tárikh-i Guzida*, the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, and the *Habibu-s Siyar*. Some of the other works which he quotes there is reason to believe he never saw. The translation by Briggs is generally correct and faithful in this portion, and there are no omissions in it of any great consequence.

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The *Khuldsatu-t Tawárikh* discusses this history in a peculiar fashion of its own. It omits all notice of transactions on the frontiers of Persia and Turkistán, and confines itself solely to India, insomuch that it leaves out whole reigns in which the sovereign had no connection with India: and, in consequence, preposterously confines the whole number of reigns to seven only. There is no other novelty in this chapter, except that it substitutes two new readings of places, which if they are derived from the history of Mahmúd by 'Unsurí, which is quoted in the preface, may be considered authentic.

These are all the authorities which it seems necessary to notice, as all the subsequent ones follow in the wake of Firishta. Abú-l Fidá, Ibn Shuhna, Ibn Asír, Ibn Kasír, Nikbi, and Lárí, have had all that is valuable in them extracted by the diligence of European authors, who have translated, abridged, or commented on the reigns of the Ghaznivides. The Turkish histories of the period, such as the *Nakhbatu-t Tawárikh*, and the work of Munajjim Báshí, we may fairly presume to have been exhausted by the industry of Hammer-Purgstall amongst the fourteen different histories which he quotes as authorities upon Mahmúd's reign—so that the only hope now left us for ascertaining any new fact with respect to the history of the Ghaznivides is in the recovery of the missing volumes of Memoirs, which we know to have been written by contemporary writers, and to have been in existence less than two centuries ago—such as those of Abú-l Fazl Baihakí, Abú Nasr Mishkání, and Mulla Muhammad Ghaznawí. The Makámát of Abú Nazr Mishkátí[1] (Mishkání) is mentioned by Firishta (Briggs I. 32 and 97), and the same author is referred to in Wilken (Gasnevidarum, p. 189). Firishta quotes from him the anecdote about Mas'úd, which has been given from the *Tabakát-i Násirí* (*supra*, p. 271), and which is there also attributed to Abú Nasr Mishkán. The *Tárikh-i Mulla Muhammad Ghaznawí* is mentioned by 'Abdu-r Rahmán, who wrote the *Mir-átu-l Asrár* and *Mir-át-i Mas'údí*, in Jahángír's time. The author was contemporary with Sultán Mahmúd, of whom his work is said to give an ample account.

[1] [In Briggs' translation, the name is written "Mukutty."]

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NOTE D.

Mahmúd's Expeditions to India.

The times, places, and numbers of Mahmúd's expeditions to India have offered great difficulties to those who have dealt with the history of that ferocious and insatiable conqueror. We look in vain for any enquiry on the subject from the native historians of this period, who, in their ignorance of Upper India, enter names and years without the scruples and hesitations which a better knowledge or a more critical spirit, would have induced.

It is only when European authors begin to discuss the matter that we are taught how many difficulties there are to solve, how many places to identify, how many names to restore. Those who have added most to our knowledge of this period, and have occasionally interspersed their narratives or notes with illustrative comments, and who will be quoted in the course of this Note, may be thus named in the order of their publications:—D'Herbelot,[1] De Guigues,[2] Hunt (?),[3] Dow,[4] De Sacy,[5] Mill,[6] Wilson,[7] Audiffret,[8] Rampoldi,[9] Briggs,[10] Wilken,[11] Ritter,[12] Bird,[13] Hammer-Purgstall,[14] Elphinstone,[15] and Reinaud.[16] It is needless to mention Gibbon, Malcolm, Conder, Gleig, Murray, and others, whose works, however useful, are mere copies and abstracts of others, and add nothing to our previous information.

It has been usual to consider the number of Mahmúd's expeditions

[1] *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. "Mahmoud." Paris, 1697.
[2] *Histoire Générale des Huns*, Tom. II. Paris, 1756.
[3] *Modern Universal History*, Vols. II. and III. London, 1766.
[4] *History of Hindoostan*, Vol. I. London, 1768.
[5] *Notices et Extraits des Manuscripts*, Tom. IV. Paris, 1798-9.
[6] *History of British India*, Vol. II. London, 1818. [7] *Ibid*, 1840.
[8] *Biographie Universelle*, Art. "Mahmoud." Tom. XXVI. Paris, 1820.
[9] *Annali Musulmani*, Vol. VI. Milan, 1823.
[10] *History of the Mahom. Power in India*, Vol. I. London, 1829.
[11] *Historia Gasnevidarum*. Berolini, 1832.
[12] *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. Part 1. Berlin, 1835.
[13] *History of Gujarát*. London, 1835.
[14] *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, No. 73. Wien, and *Gemäldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Vol. IV. Leipsig, 1837.
[15] *History of India*, Vol. I. London, 1843.
[16] *Memoire sur l'Inde* in the *Mémoires de l'Institut*, Tom. XVIII. Paris, 1849.

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to India to be twelve. The first authority for this number is Nizámu-d dín Ahmad in the *Tabakát-i Akbarí;* and as Dow has also numbered them as twelve, most English authors following him as the standard, have entertained the same persuasion. But it is curious to observe that, while Nizámu-d dín mentions that there were altogether twelve, in recording them *seriatim*, he enumerates no less than sixteen; and Dow, while he marginally notes twelve, records no less than fifteen different invasions. Even Elphinstone, though he notes twelve, records more. The *Khuldsatu-t Tawárikh* gives twelve, and confines itself to that number, or in reality only to eleven, as by some mistake an expedition to Kashmír and Kálinjar are placed in one year, and the tenth expedition is omitted. The *Akhbár-i Muhabbat* follows it in both errors. I will not attempt to maintain this established number of expeditions, but will consider them in the actual order of their occurrence.

First Expedition.—Frontier Towns. A.H. 390 (1000 A.D.)—Nizámu-d dín Ahmad and Firishta mention that about the year 390 H. Mahmúd marched in the direction of India, and, after taking many forts and provinces, and establishing his own governors in them, he returned to Ghazní. This rests solely on the authority of these two authors, and is not supported by the *Tárikh Yamini;* but there is no improbability in the statement.

It was to have been expected that Mahmúd, after establishing himself on the throne of Ghazní, would have embraced the first opportunity of invading India; for, while yet a prince, he had seen how easily the hardy warriors of Zábulistán had overcome the more effeminate sons of India. His father Subuktigín is described in the *Yamini* as making several attacks upon the country of Hind, independent of the three which are more specifically mentioned, the scene of which was Kusdár and Lamghán. Even during the fifteen years of Alptigín's reign, Subuktigín is represented by Firishta in an untranslated passage to have made frequent attacks upon India, and even to have penetrated as far as Sodra on the Chináb, where he demolished idols in celebration of Mahmúd's birth, which, as it occurred on the date of the prophet's birth, Subuktigín was anxious that it should be illustrated by an event similar to the destruction of the idols in the palace of the Persian king

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by an earthquake, on the day of the prophet's birth. In the words of the *Bostán*:—

چو صتیش در افواه عالم فتاد تزلزل در ایوان کسریٰ فتاد

Near the Lamghán valley two actions were fought, or more probably in the valley of Jalálabád, for as the plural, Lamghánát, is frequently used, there seems reason to believe that the valley to the south as well as the north of the Kábul river was included in that province. The first action fought in this neighbourhood was brought to a conclusion by the effect of the miraculous fountain or stream in the hill of Ghúzak, which emitted storms, thunder, and cold, whenever some impurity was cast into it. A more particular account of this will be found in the extracts from the *Yamíní* and the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát*.[1]

What could have given rise to this extraordinary story is not easy to conceive, and no one has attempted an explanation. The most probable solution seems to be that a snow-storm came on, and not only harassed but alarmed the Hindús, who had never witnessed such a thing before; for it is quite compatible with probability that although the Lamghánát were then included in the country of Hind, yet that the soldiers, who, for the most part, came from the more eastern provinces, might never have seen a fall of snow. It is to be observed that the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* expressly says that Jaipál and the Hindús were unaccustomed to the *cold*, and that was the reason why they suffered more than the Musulmáns. It may fairly be surmised, then, that the snow and frost totally paralysed the Hindú warriors, and were felt as grievously by them as, nine centuries afterwards, by Indian and British troops combined, when they sustained the most grievous disaster that has ever befallen our nation. It is an extraordinary coincidence that the very scene of this first and last defeat of an Indian army was the same—what wonder if the cause also did not differ?

The minds of the natives of India would naturally have tried to account for such a supernatural phenomenon as a fall of snow, and superstition was at hand to render her assistance.

[1] [Supra, pp. 20 and 182.]

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There was a stone, celebrated amongst the Turkish nations, which had the peculiar property of causing rain, and hail, and snow, and excessive cold, and violent tempests, if the possessor, after repeating the name of God, and breathing upon it, threw it into the water. This stone is called the "Yedeh," or "Jedeh." The first stone of the kind was said to have been given to Japhet by Noah, to whom the secret was disclosed by Gabriel. The stone came into the possession of Turk, the eldest son of Japhet, and in an action which was fought between him and his nephew, for the possession of the stone, the latter was killed; and, as he was the father of the Turkománs, this stone is said to be the cause of the unceasing enmity between that tribe and the Turks. Subsequently, the art of using this stone was more generally disseminated, and occasioned magicians to be generally called "yedehehís;" and we have frequent mention of its use in Mongol history for purposes similar to those for which we suppose it to have been applied on the present occasion. As early as the year 2634 before our era, we find the following statement in a quotation by M. Klaproth, to prove the antiquity of the compass among the Chinese: "Tchi-yeou raised a thick fog, in order that by means of the darkness he might spread confusion in the enemy's army. But Hiuan-yuan constructed a chariot for indicating the south, in order to distinguish the four cardinal points."[1]

In an action between the Mongols and Chinese, with respect to the latter, Rashídu-d dín says: "In consequence of the arts of the magician, the Chinese felt, in the middle of summer, a temperature which they had never experienced, even in winter, and were paralysed." Bergman says that the stone used at present among the nomadic nations is the Bezoar. Marco Polo, also, speaking of a country not far from the confines of India, says:—"When the Carannas wish to overrun the country and rob it, they, by their enchantment and diabolical agency, cause the day to become dark, so that you can see to little or no distance." In the mountains between Kashmír and Tibet, there is a lake, into which, if animal flesh is thrown, we are informed by Abú-l Fazl, that a storm of snow or rain will arise. There is said to be a similar one at Dámaghán, in

[1] *Lettre à M. A. Humboldt sur l'invention de la Boussole.* Paris, 1836; and Mr. Davies, in the *British Annual* for 1837.

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Tabaristán, and Zakaríya Kazwíní mentions one near Ghazní, which is, no doubt, the one alluded to in Subuktigín's battle with Jaipál. Altogether, we may consider Jaipál's army to have been surprised and paralyzed by a snow-storm, and that superstition ascribed the unusual visitation to the "Yedeh" stone.[1]

Second Expedition.—Peshâwar—Waihind. A.H. 391–2.—Mahmúd left Ghazní in Shawwál, 391 H., and a severe action took place on the 8th of Muharram, 392, at Pesháwar, in which he was completely victorious, and Jaipál and fifteen of his principal chiefs and relations were taken prisoners, after the loss of 5000 men.

He is then represented by all the later authorities to have marched from Pesháwar to Batinda, and invested it. Elphinstone observes that Batinda is beyond the Sutlej, "and seems formerly to have been a place of more consequence than its situation in a sort of desert would promise. It is said by Colonel Tod to have been the residence of the Rájá of Láhore, alternately with the capital, from which he took this name. As the battle of Pesháwar was on the 27th of November, Mahmúd would reach Batinda towards the end of the cold season, when the rivers of the Panjáb, though not all fordable, would offer little obstruction to cavalry." Dr. Bird also speaks of Batinda as being in the most easterly and inaccessible part of the Panjáb kingdom, and following the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* and Firishta, says that Jaipál used to reside there. The latter indeed says he resided there for the convenience of opposing the Muhammadans—which is an absurdity, if we are to understand the most eastern city of his dominions. Rampoldi, with his usual confusion of names and places, makes his residence Multán.

All these difficulties about Mahmúd's movements are at once obviated by correcting the reading, and rejecting Batinda altogether. The real name is Bihand or Waihind, as is plainly indicated in the *Yamíní*.[2] It was a place of considerable importance, on the western

[1] Respecting this stone and these fountains, further information may be obtained by referring to Bergman, *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken*, Th. iii. p. 183. Miles, *Shajrat ul Atrak*, pp. 24, 26, 66. Gladwin's *Ayeen Akberee*, Vol. II. p. 134. *Marco Polo*, Murray's Ed., p. 221. *Modern Universal History*, Vol. IV. p. 417. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, Tom. II. p. 615. *Khuldsatu-t Tawdríkh*, Art. "Humáyún." *Mir-átu-l Istilák*, Art. "Yedek." *Asáru-l Bilád* and *Bahru-l Buldán*, Art. "Ghazní."

[2] [Ibn Asír gives the name of the place correctly as "Waihand."]

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bank of the Indus, about fifteen miles above Attock, on the old high road from Láhore to Pesháwar, and only three marches from the latter. It was the capital of Eastern Kandahár, and is noticed by Bírúní, Baihakí, and Abú-l Fidá, from which latter author we learn that its foundation is attributed to Alexander the Great. The name is now Húnd, and while I was in the neighbourhood I could not find that even any first syllable was ever added to it, either by natives or strangers.

By the capture of Waihind, Mahmúd's progress becomes easy and natural, and instead of having to cross and recross several foaming streams and marching through a hostile and difficult country, he has not yet crossed even the Indus.

Third Expedition.—Bhera (*Bhátía*). A.H. 395 (1004–5 A.D.)—After a rest of three years, during which attention was occupied by affairs in the west, we find Mahmúd returning to India to take the city of Bhateea (Briggs), Battea (Dow), Bhatía (Elphinstone), Bhátnah (Bird), Bahadiyah (*Univ. Hist.*), Bhadiyah (Rampoldi), Bahatia (S. de Sacy), Hebath (D'Herbelot),[1] Bihatia (Hammer-Purgstall). Briggs says he has failed in fixing the position of this place. Elphinstone says, "a dependency of Láhore, at the southern side of Multán." Bird says it is now called Bhatnír, situated on the northern extremity of the Bikanír desert. Reinaud says it is to the south-east of Multán, and in the middle of an arid country, apparently on the testimony of 'Utbi, but he makes no such assertion. Hammer-Purgstall conceives it to be the present Baháwalpúr. But how could a dependency of Láhore be on the southern side of Multán, itself independent? How could Mahmúd advance over all the Panjáb rivers to attack a city in a desert? Or Baháwalpúr, leaving a country full of hostile and martial populations in his rear? How could Bijí Rái, deserting his fort, "take post in a wood on the Indus," as Firishta says, if Bhátía were on the other side of the Sutlej? or how could he "take refuge on the top of some hills," as 'Utbí says, when there are no hills within a hundred and twenty miles from either place?

Here again we must correct the reading, and all becomes explicable and easy. The real name of the place is Bhera. It lies on the

[1] D'Herbelot in one part of his article on Mahmúd speaks of his deriving immense plunder from Baarea, the strongest fort in India.

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left bank of the Jailam, under the Salt range. It bears evident marks of great antiquity, and has on the opposite side of the river the extensive ruins of Buraria, above Ahmadábád, which strike every beholder with astonishment. The only works which read Bhera are the *Khuláṣatu-t Tawárikh* and its followers the *Akhbár-i Muhabbat*, etc. That Dow's copy of Firishta must have been very near it, is evident, for, although Mahmúd advances against the city of "Battea," he is made by a strange inadvertence to take the city of "Tahera." 'Utbí [and Ibn Asír] certainly read Bhátía, and Al Bírúní mentions Bhátía and not Bhera, but his Bhátía scarcely seems the one we are dealing with.

Whether Bhátía is written by mistake, or whether Bhátía is an old name of Bhera, is difficult to say. The latter is very probable, for the Bhatí or Bhattí Rájpúts still point to this tract as the place of their residence before their advance to the eastward, and their name is still preserved in the large town of Pindí Bhattían, on the Chináb. It is worthy of remark, as observed by Mr. E. Thomas,[1] that of the list of Hindú kings given by Al Bírúní, the four last beginning with Jaipál I. add the designation of Pál to that of Deva, borne by their Brahman predecessors. This would imply the succession of a new tribe, which he considers to be Bhattí Rájpút. There is no improbability in this, for there is no authority except that of Firishta for declaring Jaipál to be a Brahman, and Bhátia therefore may have been the local title of the capital of the tribe. Firishta[2] makes the Rájá of Bhátía to be a different personage from the Rájá of Láhore; but he afterwards tells us that the Láhore dominions extended from Kashmír to Multán—which, as has been shown, includes Bhátía.

It is to be observed, moreover, that Mahmúd does not pass through Multán, or the province of Multán, to get there, but passes "by the borders of Multán," as Firishta says, or "crosses the Indus in the neighbourhood of Multán," as 'Utbí says. Now, as Multán must have extended, as it always has, even down to the days of Mulráj, nearly up to the Salt range, it is probable that Mahmúd came from Ghazní by the valley of Banú, and following the course of the

[1] *Jour. A. S.*, ix. 184. [2] Briggs i. 9.

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Khuram, crossed the Indus near Ísákhel and the old town of Rorí, and so, passing the Sind-Ságar Doáb through Mitta Tiwána, reached Bhera by way of Khusháb and Sháhpúr.

A subsequent campaign also indicates the position of Bhera, as will be noticed more particularly hereafter. Meanwhile it is to be observed that Mahmúd annexed Bhera to his dominions, which, had it been any place trans-Sutlej, would have been out of the question.

Fourth Expedition.—Multán. A.H. 396.—[Ibn Asír and] the *Habíbu-s Siyar* place the expedition to Bhátía and Multán in the same year, but it is quite evident from the *Yamíní* that special preparations were made for this new campaign. Dr. Bird considers that Firishta has misplaced this campaign, and that it should be deferred till after the defeat of Ílak Khán. I see no reason whatever to doubt that it is correctly ascribed to the year 396 H., and that it has nothing whatever to do with the invasion which took place after Ílak Khán's defeat.

We find the governor or ruler of Multán with a Muhammadan name, "Abí-l Futúh, or "Abú-l Fath," and he is not an infidel but a heretic, one "who introduced his neologies into religion." There can be little doubt, therefore, that he was a follower of the Karmatian heresy, which we know, from Al Bírúní, to have prevailed extensively at Multán, and for a long period previous to this invasion. "He says: "When the Karmatians became masters of Multán, their chief broke the idol in pieces, and massacred its ministers; and the temple, which was built of brick, and situated on an elevated spot, became the grand mosque in place of the old one, which was closed on account of the hatred borne against the Ummayide Khalífas, under whose rule it was constructed. Sultán Mahmúd, after subduing the Karmatians, reopened the old mosque, so that the old one was abandoned; and now it is as a plain, destined to vulgar uses."

The authors which treat of this period do not,—except in a few instances, as the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, and the *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh*—expressly say that Multán was held by Karmatians, but by "Mulá-hida," a more generic term, which, though it might include Karmatians, was more generally, at a subsequent period, used to designate

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the Isma'ílians.[1] For more on the subject of the occupation of Multán at this period, the passages mentioned in the note may be consulted.[2]

Abú-l Fath Dáúd was the grandson of Shaikh Hamíd Lodí, who is represented to have done homage to Subuktigín. The word "tribute," used by Briggs, is not authorized. Elphinstone says that Hamíd Khán had joined the enemies of his faith for a cession of the provinces of Multán and Laghmán, and submitted to Subuktigín after his victory over the Hindús. This statement is made on the authority of Firishta.[3] Dáúd invited the co-operation of Anandpál, who, being defeated at Pesháwar, was pursued as far as Sodra,[4] on the Chináb. From Sodra Mahmúd goes, by way of Batinda, to Multán, which is so circuitous a route as to be absurd. Here, again, Bhera should be read, which is in the direct line between Sodra and Multán.

Ibn Asír, Mírkhond, and Haidar Rází make Dáúd flee away to Sarandíp, but 'Utbí says a fine was levied from the inhabitants of 20,000,000 dirhams. Firishta says an annual tribute was fixed on Dáúd of 20,000 golden dirhams, or dínárs, with promise of implicit obedience and abstinence from heresy for the future.

The *Biographie Universelle* contains a curious statement, respecting this expedition: "La révolte du gouverneur qu'il avait laissé à Moultan et le débordement des fleuves qui semblait la favoriser, obligèrent Mahmoud de demander passage à Andbal. Sur son refus, il le poursuivit à travers le Candahar et le Kaboulistan jusqu' à Kaschmyre."[5] What Kandahár and Kábulistán have to do with the pursuit is not easy to say. Authors agree in saying Mahmúd wished to march through Anandpál's territory, but it is very difficult to discern the reason of the request, as he had already crossed the

[1] Defrémery, *Histoire des Seldjoukides*, pp. 59, 86, 136–9.

[2] Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 142. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. V. p. 6. Renaudot, *Anciennes Relations*, p. 172. Núru-l Hakk, *Zubdatu-t Tawdríkh*, fol. 366. Mír Ma'súm, *Tárikh-i Sind*, Ch. 2 and 3. *Khuldsatu-t Tawdríkh*, v. "Baber." *Mir-átu-l Abrár*, v. "Baháu-d dín Muhammad Zakaríyá." *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, Vol. III. v. "Multán." *Hadikatu-l Akálim*, v. "Dípálpúr."

[3] Briggs I. 9.

[4] Hammer-Purgstall identifies Sodra with Weirabad (Wazírábád), but they are two different towns.

[5] [This statement is generally supported by Ibn Asír. See *suprá*, p. 24.]

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Indus, beyond the borders of his territory, and by a route which would lead him more directly towards his object.

'Unsurí informs us that Mahmúd took two hundred forts on his way to Multán.

Fifth Expedition.[1]—*Defeat of Nawásа Sháh*, A.H. 398.—When Mahmúd was called away from Multán by Ilak Khán's invasion of his territory, he left his Indian possessions in charge of Sewakpál, or "Sukhpál, a son of one of the Rájás of India,"[2] and who, having been formerly made a prisoner in Pesháwar by Abú 'Alí Sanjarí, had become a convert to Islám. Sukhpál was taken prisoner by Mahmúd's advance cavalry, and was compelled to pay the sum of 400,000 dirhams; and being made over, as Firishta informs us, to Tigín the Treasurer, was kept in confinement during the rest of his life.[3]

Dr. Bird says that there was no such expedition as this, and that Firishta has confounded it with the previous expedition to Multán; but as it is mentioned by 'Utbí, Mírkhond, and Khondamír, as well as by Firishta, there is no reason whatever to discredit it.

Dr. Bird adduces, as an additional proof of confusion, that the name Nawása, "a grandson," belonged to Abú-l Fath Dáúd, because he was a grandson of Sheikh Hamíd Lodí; but there is no ground for saying that Dáúd was so called, as the name might have belonged just as well to the grandson of Jaipál, as of Sheikh Hamíd. He apostatised to idolatry, after being converted, whereas Dáúd could only have apostatised to the Karmatian heresy, and not to idolatry and plural worship. The designation of Nawása is considered doubtful. His name was Sewakpál or Sukhpál; Ritter says Samukkel. Dow reads "Shoekpal, who, on conversion to Islám,

[1] [Under the year 397 H. Ibn Asír gives the following brief account of this expedition:—"When Yamínu-d daula had finished (his differences) with the Turks he went on a campaign to India. The cause of this was that one of the sons of the sovereign of India named Nawása Sháh had become a Musulmán under the hands of Mahmúd, and had then been appointed ruler over part of Mahmúd's conquests in that country. After Mahmúd had retired he apostatized from Islám and assisted the infidels and rebels. When Mahmúd approached, the Hindu fled before him, so he again occupied the country, brought it once more under the rule of Islám, appointed one of his officers over it, and then returned to Ghazní."]

[2] [These are the words of Firishta according to the lithographed edition of the text.]

[3] Haidar Rází says that Mahmúd came to Naubár, in pursuit of the rebel, who fled to the remote parts of Hind, on learning his approach.

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assumed the name Zab Sais." D'Herbelot has "Nevescha;" S. de Sacy, "Nawaschteh;" Wilken, "Nuvasch Shah." The *Tabakát-i Akbarí* says, "Súkpál, the grandson of the Rájá of Hind." The readings in Firishta are by no means uniform. They are Áb sahárá, Ábsár, Áb basháer and Záb sá. The *Tárikh-i Alfí*, and some other authorities, make it Záb Sais or Záb Sháh. Hammer-Purgstall says, "Ssabsa or Schiwekpal." All these are changes rung upon the word "nawása,' or "grandson," especially "a daughter's child." Bird says, Price is mistaken in calling him Nawása Sháh; but 'Utbí gives this name, and there is no reason why we should reject it. It may have been bestowed upon him by Mahmúd as a mark of endearment, and Shah, "king," may have been added as a term of aggrandizement, or it might have been Sáh, a common title of respect. But what is more probable than all is that he was the grandchild (by a daughter) of Jaipál, because, in 'Utbi's account of the expedition to Kanauj, we find Bhím Pál, the great-grandson, complaining that his uncle had been forcibly converted to Islám. *Sukh Pál*, therefore, was the name, *Nawása* the relationship to Jaipál, and *Sáh* the honorific title. He was probably one of the relations of Jaipál, made over by him as hostage to Mahmúd; and that, perhaps, was the period of conversion.

The movement by which his seizure was effected was so rapid, and a new invasion of India was entered upon so soon after, that it is probable the scene of the transaction was the valley of Pesháwar.

Sixth Expedition.—Waihind, Nagarkot.[1] A.H. 399 (1008–9 A.D.).—It will be observed that the account of the commencement of this expedition is described very differently in the *Yamini*, the *Habíbu-s Siyar* and Firishta. I prefer, as on former occasions, the former, the river of Waihind, or the Indus, being a more probable place of action than Pesháwar, which was then within the Muhammadan border. That the Gakkhars may have performed the part assigned to them is probable enough, whether the action was fought at one place or the

[1] [Ibn Asír places this campaign in the year 368, and says that Mahmúd encountered Brahman-pál on "the banks of the river Waihand (which is changed in some MSS. to Handmand). Many men were lost in the waters, and the Hindus were near gaining a victory, when God made the Musulmáns to triumph. Mahmúd pursued the foe to Bhím-nughur (Bhím-nagar), which he took, and gained immense plunder."]

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other; but that the Gakkhars are the ancestors of the modern Játs, as Dr. Bird asserts, is altogether a mistake, and likely to lead to serious errors.

About the proceedings at Nagarkot all accounts agree, and that Nagarkot is the same as Kot Kángrá can admit of no doubt, for the name of Nagarkot is still used. Its position is well described, and corresponds with present circumstances. The impassable waters which surround it are the Bán-ganga and the Biyáh. The town of Bhím, which is about a mile from the fort, is now on the spot called Bhawan, which means a temple raised to a Saktí, or female deity, and Bhím is probably a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhím. M. Reinaud considers that it was called Bhím-nagar from Srí Bhíma deva, of the Kábul dynasty. The different forms which the name assumes in different authors are shown at p. 34. Elphinstone is mistaken in saying that Nagarkot derived peculiar sanctity from a natural flame which issued from the ground within its precincts. This flame is at Jwálá-mukhí, fifteen miles distant, where carburetted hydrogen issues from the sandstone rocks, and fills the superstitious pilgrim with awe and veneration. These jets of gas are made to burn with increased vigour by the removal of plugs, whenever a distinguished visitor is likely to pay well for this recognition of his superior sanctity.

Dr. Bird, who has given a most critical examination of these invasions, says that the capture of Nagarkot and the previous action beyond the Indus occurred in two different years. He observes: "If we might trust Firishta, Mahmúd at this time (after the battle of Pesháwar) marching into the mountains captured the celebrated fortress of Nagarkot. It was not, however, till the following year, A.H. 400, according to the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* and *Habíbu-s Siyar*, that this expedition was undertaken; and as the hostile armies prior to the last battle had consumed three or four months in operations west of the Indus, it is not probable that Mahmúd could have marched into India at the commencement of the rainy season. The Hijra year 399 given for the march to Pesháwar, or the previous year A.D. commenced the 5th September, A.D., 1008; and as the spring season, when he left Ghazní, would not commence till A.D. 1009, he must have spent the summer in Kábul, and set out for Hindústán about October."

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I cannot trace in the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* and the *Habíbu-s Siyar* the assertion attributed to them; but let us leave these inferior authorities and refer to the *Yamíní*. There we find that it is in pursuit (of the flying enemy) that Mahmúd went as far as the fort called Bhímnagar." The campaign, therefore, must have been continuous, and there was no break between the action trans-Indus and the capture of Nagarkot. He has already traversed the same road as far as Sodra on the Chináb, and he would only have had ten or twelve marches over a new line of country.

In these enquiries we must be very cautious how we deal with the word "spring." Both Bird and Elphinstone speak of the conquerors setting out in the spring of a Christian year, but the spring of a Ghaznivide invader is the autumn of the Christian year. It is the period when the breaking up of the rains admits of warlike operations. It is the *Dasahra* of the Hindús, and the season of the commencement of their campaigns. So, in the first decisive action against Jaipál, we find Mahmúd leaving Ghazní in August, and fighting the action at Pesháwar in November. And so here we find him leaving Ghazni on the last day of Rabí'u-l ákhir, or the end of December, which, though unusually late in the season—so late, indeed, as to render marching in the uplands almost impossible—would still have enabled him to fight his action on the Indus at the beginning of February. He might then have completed his operations at Kángrá before the end of March, and have left India again before the severe heat commenced. The only difficulty about the whole campaign is his leaving Ghazní in the heart of winter; but that the action on the Indus and the one at Nagarkot occurred in the fair weather of the same year, there is no sufficient reason to doubt.

The opening part of the expedition is mentioned in more detail by Firishta, than by 'Utbí and Khondamír. His account is as follows:—

"In the year 399 H., Mahmúd having collected his forces, determined again to invade Hindústan, and punish Anandpál, who had shewn much insolence during the late invasion of Multán. Anandpál hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindústán, who now considered the expulsion of the Muhammadans from India as a sacred duty.

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Accordingly, the Rájas of Ujjain, Gwáliár, Kálinjar, Kanauj, Dehlí, and Ajmír entered into a confederacy, and, collecting their forces, advanced towards the Panjáb with a greater army than had ever taken the field against Amír Subuktigín. Anandpál himself took the command, and advanced to meet the invader. The Indians and Muhammadans arrived in sight of each other on the plain of Pesháwar, where they remained encamped forty days, neither side shewing any eagerness to come to action. The troops of the idolaters daily increased in number, and aid came to them from all sides. The infidel Gakkhars also joined them in great strength, and made extraordinary exertions to resist the Musulmáns. The Hindú females, on this occasion, sold their jewels, and sent the proceeds from distant parts to their husbands, so that they, being supplied with all necessaries for the march, might be in earnest in the war. Those who were poor contributed from their earnings by spinning cotton, and other labour. The Sultán perceived that on this occasion the idolaters behaved most devotedly, and that it was necessary to be very circumspect in striking the first blow. He therefore entrenched his camp, that the infidels might not be able to penetrate therein.

Mahmúd, having thus secured himself, ordered six thousand archers to the front to attack, and endeavour to draw the enemy near to his entrenchments, where the Musulmáns were prepared to receive them. In spite of the Sultán's precautions, during the heat of the battle, 30,000 infidel Gakkhars, with their heads and feet bare, and armed with spears and other weapons, penetrated on two sides into the Muhammadan lines, and forcing their way into the midst of the cavalry, they cut down men and horse with their swords, daggers, and spears, so that, in a few minutes, they slaughtered three or four thousand Muhammadans. They carried their success so far that the Sultán, observing the fury of these Gakkhar footmen, withdrew himself from the thick of the fight, that he might stop the battle for that day. But it so happened that the elephant upon which Anandpál rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphtha-balls and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. The Hindús, deeming this to be the signal for flight on the part of their general, all gave way, and fled. 'Abdu-llah Tái, with five or six thousand Arab horse, and Arslán Jázib, with 10,000 Turks, Afgháns,

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and Khiljís, pursued the enemy for two days and nights, so that 8,000 Hindús were killed in the retreat. Thirty elephants and enormous booty fell into the hands of the pursuers, with which they returned to the Sultán."[1]

Seventh Expedition.—Nárain. A.H. 400.—The *Tabakát-i Akbarí* and Firishta do not mention this expedition at all; but it is recorded in the *Yamini*, *Rauzatu-s Safá* and the *Habíbu-s Siyar*. The latter gives no name, but mentions an invasion of Hind in A.H. 400, between the transactions at Nagarkot and Ghor.

It is not easy to identify the place. 'Utbí speaks of it as in the middle of Hind, where chiefs were reduced who up to that time had obeyed no master. Mírkhond calls it "Nárín;" S. de Sacy has "Nardin," which he thinks there is reason to believe was situated in a part of India to the west of the Indus. This would be probable enough had it not been declared by 'Utbí to be in the heart of India, and a country of hill and valley. Hammer-Purgstall speaks of the "Máhárájá of Nardín." Reinaud confounds the campaigns of Náráin and Nardín.

On his return to Ghazní, after this expedition, Mahmúd received an embassy from the ruler of Hind (Jaipál), offering an annual tribute of fifty elephants, laden with rarities, and an Indian force of two thousand men—a curious stipulation, proving how early Indians became mercenary soldiers, even under their most bitter persecutors. This shows that this particular expedition must have made a great impression on Jaipál, and induced him to sue for humiliating terms.

It is barely possible that the Nárín,[2] between Inderáb and Kúndúz, may be indicated. It is the same longitude as Kábul, which we know to have been then comprised in India; and, with reference to Balkh and Ghazni, it might have been considered so far to the eastward and so difficult of access, as to deserve being spoken of as in the heart of Hind. In Istakhrí's map of Khurásán, the position is almost included within "Bilád Hind," and its neighbourhood to

[1] [This and the other passages from Firishta, are taken from Briggs' translation, but I have compared them with the text, and have made the translations more literal and exect.—Ed.]

[2] This town is not mentioned by the Arab geographers, but it was passed by Lieut. Wood. See his *Journey to the Oxus*, p. 409.

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Káfiristán gives colour to the mention of the "chief of the infidels." What militates greatly against this supposition is, that elephants formed part of the booty; and there are many other considerations also which compel us to look out for Náráin elsewhere.

Under all the circumstances mentioned, I am disposed to look upon Náráin as meant for Anhalwára, the capital of Gujarát, which Abú Ríhán tells us was called Nárána or Náráin in his time. It is to be observed that Mahmúd merely proceeded *towards*, not *to*, Náráin, and the country in the direction of Ajmír and Rájpútána was open to his incursions by the previous conquests of Bhátia and Multán. This was, perhaps, merely a preparative to his expedition to Somnát, and the reports he received of its wealth may, on this occasion, have sharpened his appetite for plundering that temple. This expedition would have been sufficient to instil alarm into Jaipál. Náráin was "in the middle of Hind," and Mahmúd would have advanced towards it "over ground hard and soft," and there "the friends of God might have committed slaughter in every hill and valley." It is evident from the statements in the *Mir-át-i Mas'údi*, that the Musulmáns had some relations with Ajmír previous to 401 H.; and it was, probably, on this particular occasion that it was visited by Mahmúd. The visit which that work makes him pay at a later period, just previous to the conquest of Kanauj, seems highly improbable.[1]

Eighth Expedition.—Multán. A.H. 401.—In the year 401, after the conquest of Ghor, Mahmúd marched to Multán, where he maimed and imprisoned the Karmatians and other heretics, and brought Dáúd prisoner to Ghazní, and confined him in the fort of Ghúrak for life. The *Tabakát-i Badáúní* says Ghorí, and as Mahmúd had just conquered Ghor, it is not improbable that he may have confined his prisoner there.

The authorities for this expedition are the reverse of those for the last. It is mentioned in the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* and Firishta, and it is not mentioned in the *Yamini*, *Rauzatu-s Safá* and *Habibu-s Siyar*. This would give reason to surmise that these two were in reality but one expedition, but the circumstances of the two are so different, not

[1] [I have allowed this notice of the Seventh Expedition to remain as it was written by Sir H. Elliot, but were he alive, he would probably change or greatly modify his opinions after a perusal of the note upon Nárána by Gen. Cunningham, printed at p. 393, vol. i. of this work.—Ed.]

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admitting in any way of the same construction; and they are so consonant with the vow made by Mahmúd, that he would engage in a religious war every year, that there is no reason to reject either as improbable. The omission by 'Utbí is important, but others of a similar kind will have to be noticed; and while I am prepared to admit that we must not impugn what he actually states; yet he may, perhaps, have omitted, through ignorance or negligence, some transactions which actually took place. The *Mir-át-i Mas'údi* says that after this second capture and plunder of Multán, it was deserted, and that Anandpál, who is there called "the Zamíndár of Multán," had fled to Uch, where he resided.

Ninth Expedition.—Ninduna [or *Nárdín.*][1] A.H. 404 (1013 A.D.)—Firishta inserts the expedition to Thánesar in A.H. 402, but I am disposed to follow the *Yamini*, and place that expedition subsequent. The long delay which occurred between this and the eighth expedition may have been owing to the league which was entered into between Anandpál and Mahmúd, and this invasion may have been occasioned by the death of Anandpál, which according to Firishta occurred at this time. A very full account of the preparations for this expedition will be found among the extracts from the *Yamini*, where it is stated that it was entered upon in the year 404—a year to which all the other authors ascribe it. Here we find the invader starting before the winter set in, and his progress arrested by a heavy fall of snow—so he could not have left the highlands till the commencement of spring; and as the year began on the 13th of July, 1013, he could scarcely have entered Hindústán before February, 1014, leaving himself but a short time for operations in that country,

Consequently, we find him proceeding no farther than the hill of Bálnát,[2] a conspicuous mountain overhanging the Jailam, and now generally called Tilla, which means a hill. It is still occasionally called Bálnát, and there is a famous Jogí establishment on its highest summit of great repute, and resorted to by members of that fraternity from the most distant parts of India.

[1] [The *Yamini* calls the place Nárdín (*suprà*, p. 37), and so does Ibn Asír. The *Habibu-s Siyar* also has Nárdín. The two former place the conquest in 404 H., but the latter in 405 H. The expeditions to Náráin and Nárdín are confounded by some writers, both Oriental and European.]

[2] [In the text of Firishta the name is "Bálnát," not "Bulnát," as in the translation. Sanskrit, "Bála-náth."]

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The action which preceded the capture of Ninduna appears to have been fought at the Márgala pass, which answers well to the description given of it by 'Utbí. The subsequent operations are described more fully by Nizámu-d dín Ahmad:—

"In A.H. 404, the Sultán marched his army against the fort of Ninduna, situated on the mountain of Bálnáth. Púr[1] Jaipál left veteran troops for its protection, while he himself passed into one of the mountain valleys *(darra)* of Kashmír. The Sultán having reached Ninduna, invested it, and by mining and other modes of attack, put the garrison under the necessity of capitulating. Sultán Mahmúd with a few of his personal attendants entered it, and took all the property he found there. Having left Sárogh as governor of the fort,[2] he himself proceeded to the Kashmír valley, where Púr Jaipál had taken up his position. This chief, however, did not await his arrival, but fled, and when the Sultán reached the pass he obtained great spoil and a large number of slaves. He also converted many infidels to Muhammadanism, and having spread Islám in that country, returned to Ghaznín."—*Tabakát-i Akbarí.*

It will be observed that 'Utbí calls the chief "Nidar Bhím," and Nizámu-d dín Ahmad calls him Purú Jaipál, but the difference is reconciled by considering Nidar Bhím as the governor, whom Jaipál left in the garrison when he fled towards Kashmír; and as we know from the *Yamíní* that Purú Jaipál's son was called Bhím-pál, we may consider this governor to have been the identical Bhím-pál, with the epithet of Nidar, "the dauntless."

The name of Ninduna cannot be restored. It is evidently the same place as is mentioned in Wassáf as being a noted town in the Júd hills, and by 'Abbas Shírwání in his *Shir-shahí.* D'Herbelot calls it "Marvin," in which he is followed by Rampoldi, who confounds it with the capture of Thánesar. Dow calls it Nindoona, S. de Sacy, "Nazin" and "Nazdin." Briggs, "Nindoona." Mírkhond speaks of the victory, but does not name the place. Ritter places it near Muzaffarábád, because one stage to the west of it lies a place called "Dunni."

[1] ["Taru" in the MS. I have used.]

[2] At the beginning of Mas'úd's reign we still find this chief occupying the same post, according to Abú-l Fazl Baihakí.

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The pass to which the Rájá fled was doubtless that of Bhímbar, or it might have been near where the Jailam debouches into the plains. Either way, Mahmúd would not have had far to go before his return to Ghazní. Briggs is wrong in representing him as plundering Kashmír. The original mentions nothing but a pass leading into Kashmír.

Tenth Expedition.—Thánesar. A.H. 405.—The *Habíbu-s Siyar* makes this expedition occur in the same year as the one to Bálnát. The *Rauzatu-s Safá* ascribes it to the following year. The *Yamíní* makes it occur subsequent to the Bálnát campaign, but says nothing about Mahmúd's returning intermediately to Ghazní. We have seen, however, that the season was so late as not to admit of his proceeding to Thánesar direct from Bálnát, unless he passed the season of the rains in India, which is not probable. The *Tárikh-i Alfí* omits all notice of this expedition.

Supposing Thánesar to have been the place visited, it is difficult to reconcile 'Utbí's narrative with the geographical features of the country. If Mahmúd had reached Thánesar by crossing the upper part of the desert of Rájpútána, he could have come to no stream with large stone or precipitous banks, or one flowing through a hill-pass. If, again, he had come to any stream with such characteristics he would nowhere have had anything like a desert to pass. Chandiol on the Chináb would alone answer the description, but that would be only halfway to Thánesar.

Firishta's account is as follows:—

"In the year 402 Mahmúd resolved on the conquest of Thánesar,[1] in the kingdom of Hindústán. It had reached the ears of the king that Thánesar was held in the same veneration by idolaters, as Mecca by the faithful; that there was an old temple there, in which they had set up a number of idols, the principal of which was called Jagsom, and was believed to have existed ever since the creation of the world. When Mahmúd reached the Panjáb, he was desirous that, in accordance with the subsisting treaty with Anandpál, no injury should be sustained by that prince's country, in consequence

[1] Briggs and Hammer-Purgstall represent this place as thirty miles west from Dehli, but it is one hundred and twenty miles north of it.

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of the Muhammadan army passing through it. An embassy was accordingly sent to inform the Rája of his design against Thánesar, and desiring him to depute his officers to remain with the army, in order that the villages and towns which belonged to him might be protected from the camp followers.

"Anandpál, agreeing to this proposal, prepared an entertainment for the reception of the king, at the same time issuing orders for all his subjects to supply the camp with every necessary of life.

"The Rája's brother, with two thousand horse, was also sent to meet the army, and to deliver the following message:[1]—'My brother is the subject and tributary of the king, but he begs permission to acquaint his majesty that the temple of Thánesar is the principal place of worship of the inhabitants of the country; that, although the religion of the king makes it an important and meritorious duty to destroy idols, still the king has already acquitted himself of this duty, in the destruction of the idols in the fort of Nagarkot. If he should be pleased to alter his resolution regarding Thánesar, and to fix a tribute to be paid by the country, Anandpál promises that the amount of it shall be annually paid to Mahmúd; besides which, on his own part, he will present him with fifty elephants, and jewels to a considerable amount.'

"Mahmúd replied: The religion of the faithful inculcates the following tenet: 'That in proportion as the tenets of the Prophet are diffused, and his followers exert themselves in the subversion of idolatry, so shall be their reward in heaven;' that, therefore, it behoved him, with the assistance of God, to root out the worship of idols from the face of all India. How, then, should he spare Thánesar.

"This answer was communicated to the Rája of Dehlí, who, resolving to oppose the invaders, sent messengers throughout Hindústán to acquaint the other Rájas that Mahmúd, without provocation, was marching with a vast army to destroy Thánesar, now under his immediate protection. He observed that if a barrier was not expeditiously raised against this roaring torrent, the country of Hindústán would be soon overwhelmed, and every state, small and great,

[1] Hammer-Purgstall says that Anandpál, the Rája of *Mulián*, sent his brother *Muhammad* to deliver this message. The confusion of names is surprising in such an author.

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would be entirely subverted. It, therefore, behoved them to unite their forces at Thánesar, to avert the impending calamity.

"Mahmúd having reached Thánesar before the Hindús had time t assemble for its defence, the city was plundered, the idols broken, and the idol Jagsom was sent to Ghaznín, to be trodden under foot in the street, and decapitated. Immense wealth was found in the temples. According to Hájí Muhammad Kandahárí, a ruby was found in one of them, weighing 450 miskáls, the equal of which no one had ever seen or heard of.

"Mahmúd, after the capture of Thánesar, was desirous of proceeding to reduce Dehlí; but his nobles told him that it would be impossible to keep possession of it, till he had rendered the Panjáb a province of his own government, and had secured himself from all apprehension of Anandpál (Rája of Láhore). The king resolved, therefore, for the present, to proceed no further, till he had accomplished these objects. Anandpál, however, conducted himself with so much policy and hospitality towards Mahmúd,[1] that the Sultán returned peaceably to Ghaznín. On this occasion, the Muhammadan army brought to Ghaznín 200,000 captives, so that the capital appeared like an Indian city, for every soldier of the army had several slaves and slave girls."—*Firishta.*

There is nothing in the *Yamíni* to warrant this mention of Dehlí, the existence of which is nowhere alluded to by contemporary writers. The frequent mention therefore by Firishta of Dehlí and its Rájá, in the transactions with the Ghaznivides, seems not to rest on any solid foundation.

Mírkhond makes no mention of Thánesar by name, but speaks of the "Moslem" elephants. 'Utbí and Khondamír make mention of these elephants in connection with Thánesar. Though Firishta leaves no doubt that *he* considered the holy Thánesar to be meant, it is probable some other place may be alluded to; yet I know no place in India where he could, immediately after crossing a desert, have come upon a stream flowing through a hill-pass, except it be Kach Gandáva in Sindh, which is obviously out of the direction.

Dr. Bird considers Nárdín to have been in Káfiristán, and

[1] [This sentence is not in the printed text.]

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Thánesar to be Panjshír, which is the name of a river joining that of Ghorband, and giving name to a pass which leads through Hindú Kush from Kábul to Turkistán, but here we should want both the desert and the elephants.

The term "Moslem" elephants is curious. The *Universal History* endeavours to explain the word thus:—

"Mahmúd Ibn Subuktigín now undertook another expedition into India, and reduced the kingdom of Marwin, which had a capital of the same name. Here he was informed that an Indian idolatrous prince occupied a province, which produced a race of elephants, called Moslem, or faithful elephants. This information excited him to attempt the conquest of that province; which having effected, he brought off with him a vast quantity of spoil, and a great number of those elephants. They were termed Moslem, or faithful elephants, because they sometimes performed a sort of genuflexion and prostration not unlike those of the Moslems or Muhammedans; which induced many of the latter to believe that they were religious animals."

Dr. Bird calls them "elephants of Sulaiman." S. de Sacy, "Saileman." Wilken, "Moslem." With regard to their being Moslems and their adoration and genuflexions, see D'Herbelot, Art. "Fil." The *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* and D'Herbelot designate them as Musulmán. The reading of the *Yamíní* and of Ibn Asír is "Sailamán,"[1] which no doubt is related to the word Sailán and like "Sailání," signifies merely "Ceylonese elephants."

Eleventh Expedition.—Lohkot.[2] A.H. 406.—This was an attempt to penetrate into Kashmír, which was entirely unsuccessful, for Mahmúd advanced no further than Lohkot, and then returned, There is no allusion to it in the *Yamíní*,[3] the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, or the *Habíbu-s Siyar*,

[1] [The name is written with *swad*, not with *sin*, which is fatal to the supposed connection with "Moslem."]

[2] [This place appears again in the "Fourteenth Expedition" of the year 413 H. (page 464 *infra*), where also the siege was unsuccessful. The circumstances of the two accounts are so similar as to make it probable that they relate to the same event. There is no record of the siege in the *Yamíní*, the inference to be drawn from which fact is that it occurred after the close of that work in 413 H.]

[3] There is an allusion to an attempt in Kashmír at the opening of the Kanauj Expedition, but this seems only to imply that he marched under the Lower Kashmír hills. Hammer-Purgstall actually represents Mahmúd as plundering the *capital* of Kashmír.

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but it is mentioned in the *Tárikh-i Alfi*, the *Tabakát-i Akbari*, and Firishta.[1] The *Tabakát-i Akbari* ascribes it to the year 407, and calls the place simply Kot. Reinaud[2] considers that this attack was made during the expedition to Kanauj, but this is highly improbable; for though the governor of the passes leading into Kashmír came to pay his respects on that occasion, Mahmúd did not penetrate even the lower hills.

The position of Lohkot is difficult to fix. It is perhaps the same strong place which Al Bírúní and Rashídu-d dín speak of as Lohúr or Loháwar, in the hills of Kashmír[3]; and as they describe it as not far from Rájáwar, one of the boundaries of Hind, on the north, I think we may look for an identification in the present Kotta, where there is a lofty fort of evident antiquity. If so, he must have returned by the bed of the Panjál river, and the waters from which he could not extricate his army must have been those of the Jailam, expanding over the plain so accurately described by Quintus Curtius, and so faithful to present appearances.

Firishta thus speaks of this campaign:—

"Mahmúd, in the year 406, again marched with the design of entering Kashmír, and besieged the fort of Loh-kot, which was remarkable on account of its height and strength. After a while, when the snow began to fall, and the season became intensely cold, and the enemy received reinforcements from Kashmír, the Sultán was obliged to abandon his design, and return to Ghaznín. On his route, having lost his way, he came upon a place where the whole plain was covered with water—wherever they went they saw nothing but water. Many of his troops perished. This was the first disaster that the Sultán suffered in his campaigns against India. After some days he extricated himself with great difficulty from his peril, and reached Ghaznín without having achieved any success."

Twelfth Expedition.—Kanauj, Mathura. A.H. 409.—A full account has been given of this celebrated invasion by 'Utbi and Khondamír. As the statement of Nizámu-d dín differs from Firishta in some

[1] [Ibn Asír makes a brief reference to it under the year 406, recording only Mahmúd's great losses from the waters. He does not name the place.]

[2] *Fragments, Arabes et Persans*, p. 118. [3] [Vol. i. pp. 62–65.]

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respects, it is given below. It is to be observed that all the authors, except Mírkhond, concur in representing that 409 H. was the year of this invasion, and most of them mention that he set out in the spring. This gives occasion to Dr. Bird to observe:—"As the spring season is mentioned, and as Hijra 409 commenced on the 20th May, A.D. 1018, Mahmúd must have left Ghazní in the end of the preceding year, 408, which would correspond with the spring of A.D. 1018. Muhmammadan historians, not attending to the fact of the seasons west of the Indus being the same as those in Europe, and forgetting the particular commencement of the Hijra years, are constantly committing such blunders." Consequently he makes six or seven months to elapse before Mahmúd reaches Kanauj.

Here, with all due deference be it said, Dr. Bird seems to have fallen into the very error which he condemns; for it is abundantly evident that here, as has already been observed respecting the sixth expedition,[1] that the Indian spring after the close of the rains is meant. That spring occurs in Afghánistán much about the same time as our own in Europe is admitted. Indeed, it is observed in Afghánistán with the same kind of joyous festivities as it was in Europe, before more utilitarian notions prevailed; but in this instance, where the months are mentioned, we can be left in no manner of doubt. Starting in the spring, we find from 'Utbí that Mahmúd crossed the Jumna on the 20th of Rajab, 409=December 1018, and reached Kanauj on the 8th of Sha'bán, 409=January, 1019, and as this is declared to be a three months' journey, he must have started in October, so that he might have the whole of the six months of the cold season before him. The spring therefore alluded to was evidently not in accordance with the European season.

Elphinstone has been led into the same error by following the guidance of Dr. Bird, and observes:—"The whole of this expedition is indistinctly related by Firishta. He copies the Persian writers, who, adverting to the season in their own country, make Mahmúd begin his march in spring. Had he done so he need not have gone so high in search of fords, but he would have reached Kanauj at the beginning of the periodical rains, and carried on all his subsequent movements in the midst of rivers during that season. It is probable

[1] Supra, p. 445.

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he would go to Peshâwar before the snow set in above the passes, and would cross the Indus early in November."

In this last passage he acutely suggests as Mahmúd's probable movement, that which actually occurred, except that he must have crossed the Indus in October. There is, therefore, no correction necessary, and the native authorities have been wrongly censured.

He continues:—"His marches are still worse detailed. He goes first to Kanauj; then back to Mírat, and then back again to Mattra. There is no clue to his route, advancing or retiring. He probably came down by Mírat, but it is quite uncertain how he returned." Dr. Bird also remarks upon Firishta's ignorance of geography, upon the army moving about in all directions, without any obvious reason.

All this arises from following Firishta too implicitly, without referring to more original and authentic sources. The statement in the *Yamini* is clear enough, and it does not appear why Firishta should have departed from it.

The *Yamini* says that, after passing by the borders of Kashmír, that is, close under the sub-Himalayan range, and crossing the Jumna, Mahmúd takes Baran, which is the ancient name of the present Bulandshahr, for which more modern authors, not knowing what "Baran" was, substitute "Mírat"—then Kulchand's fort, which is the Mahában of the other—then crossing the Jumna he takes Mathura—and then recrossing the Jumna, he proceeds to Kanauj, and takes that and its seven detached forts, of which the ruins of some may still be traced. He then goes to Munj, "a city of Bráhmans," or, as Briggs says, "of Rájpúts," for which there is no authority—his original being merely "fighting men." This place must be the same as the old town of Manjháwan, or Majháwan, the ruins of which are still visible on the Pandú river, ten miles south of Kánhpúr. It is in the heart of the country of the Kanaují Bráhmans. He then proceeds to Chandalbhor's fort of Asní, lower down on the banks of the Ganges, ten miles N.E. from Fathpúr, where at a later period we find Jaichand depositing his treasure. It is a very old town, founded, it is said, by Aswaní Kumára, the son of Súraj, who held a sacrifice there,

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and founded a city called after his own name. On the 25th of Sha'bán, after capturing Sharwa or Sarúa,—which I conceive to be either Seunra on the Ken, between Kálinjar and Banda, or Sriswa-garh on the Pahonj, not far from Kúnch,—he reaches the retreat of Chand Rái in the hills. These hills must be those of Bundelkhand, for there are no others which he could have reached before the close of Sha'bán, seeing he only arrived at Kanauj on the 8th. There is to be sure no mention of his crossing or recrossing the Jumna, but this is no valid objection, for neither is there any mention of his crossing the Panjáb on his return to Ghazní. Of the two places mentioned above, in the plains of Bundelkhand, Sriswa-garh or Sríswa-garh, appears the most probable; for we know it to have been a place of considerable importance in the annals of the Bundelkhand Rájas; for about two centuries after this, the bard Chand informs us, that several chiefs were slain in defending it against Pirthí Rái of Dehli, who for the purpose of capturing it, had crossed the river Sind, which was the boundary between his dominions and those of Parmál Chandel, the Rája of Mahoba. It is to be observed that no other author except 'Utbí mentions the name of Sharwa—later authors not being able to identify it. Mahmúd's progress under the explanation now given appears to have been regular and consistent.

The *Rauzatu-s Safá* observes the same order, with the omission of some of the names. First, the fort of a converted Hindú (Baran); then the fort of Kulchand (Mahában); then the holy city not mentioned by name (Mathura); then Kanauj; then Munj; then the fort of Chandpál; and lastly, the pursuit of Chand Rája. The *Habíbu-s Siyar* follows this statement, omitting all occurrences after the capture of Kanauj. Nizámu-d dín and Firishta have reversed this order, and make Mahmúd proceed direct to Kanauj, then back to Mírat or Baran, then to Mahában, then to Mathura, then to the seven forts on the banks of a river, which the *Tárikh-i Alfi* adds were under the Dehli Rája; then to Munj, then to the fort of Chandpál, then in pursuit of Chandrái.

The following is extracted from Nizámu-d dín Ahmad. The number of troops which accompanied the Sultán is not mentioned. 'Utbí says he had 20,000 volunteers from Transoxiana. Mírkhond

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says these were in addition to his own troops. Firishta says he had 100,000 chosen horse and 20,000 northern foot.

"In A.H. 409, Sultán Mahmúd marched at the head of his army with the resolution of conquering the kingdom of Kanauj. When, having crossed seven dreadful rivers, he reached the confines of that kingdom, the governor of the place, whose name was Kora, submitted to him, sought his protection, and sent him presents.[1]

"The Sultán then arrived at the fort of Barna. The governor, whose name was Hardat, left the fort under the care of his tribe and relations,[2] and sought to conceal himself elsewhere. The garrison, finding themselves unable to defend the fort, capitulated in a few days, agreeing to pay a thousand times a thousand (1,000,000) dirhams, which is equal to 2,50,000 rupees, and also to present him with thirty elephants.

"The Sultán marched thence to the fort of Maháwan, on the banks of the river Jumna. The chief of the place, whose name was Kulchandar, mounted his elephant with the intention of crossing over the stream and flying away, but the Sultán's army pursued, and when they approached him he killed himself with his dagger.

"To live in the power of an enemy
Is much worse than to die."

The fort was captured, and eighty-five elephants, besides much other booty, fell into the hands of the victors.

"Proceeding from this place, the king arrived at Mathura,[3] which was a very large city full of magnificent temples. It is the birthplace of Krishn (or) Básdeo, whom the Hindús venerate as an incarnation of God. When the Sultán reached the city no one came out to oppose him.[4] The Sultan's army plundered the whole city and set fire to the temples. They took immense booty, and by the Sultán's order they broke up a golden image which was ninety-eight

[1] In the *Yamíní* this conversion is ascribed to the ruler of Baran, and in the *Habíbu-s Siyar* also, which Firishta by some mistake has quoted as his own authority. Firishta makes Mahmúd stay three days in Kanauj.

[2] ["*Kaum o khweshán.*"] [3] [متورہ]

[4] Firishta says it belonged to the Rája of Dehli, for which there is no authority. He also says the Sultán remained twenty days at Mathura.

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thousand three hundred miskáls in weight; and there was also found a sapphire weighing four hundred and fifty miskáls.

"It is said that Chandar Ráí, who was one of the Rájas of Hindústán, possessed a very powerful and famous elephant. The Sultán desired to purchase it at a very large price, but could not get it.[1] When the Sultán was returning from Kanauj, this elephant one night broke away from the other elephants, and went without any driver to the Sultán's camp, who took it, and being much pleased, he called it Khudádád (the gift of God).

"When he returned to Ghaznín, he had the value of the spoil counted. It was found to consist of 20,000,000 dirhams, 53,000 captives, and 350 elephants."—*Tabakát-i Akbarí.*

There are not fewer difficulties to contend with when we come to consider the names of the Hindú chiefs. 'Utbí calls the ruler of Kanauj Ráí Jaipál and Purú Jaipál, meaning the same Jaipál who has already been spoken of as the Rájá of Lahore. Mírkhond and Khondamír also call him Jaipál. He is the same as the Nardajanpál of Al Bírúní, of which none of his commentators are able to restore the correct reading. Nizámu-d dín Ahmad and Firishta call him Kora, or, according to Briggs, Koowur-Ray. We are at a loss what grounds these later authors have for this statement. It may, perhaps, be equivalent to Purú, and be meant for Kunwar, "a rája's son," a term of common use in the present day. Bird says he was called Kora from the appellation of his tribe; but there is no such tribe, unless Gaur be meant, which would be spelt in nearly a similar form. However this may be, we must, improbable as it may seem, follow the statement of 'Utbí, and conceive that the Rájá of Lahore was at this time in possession of Kanauj. There are certain details given which favour this notion. The son of this Purú Jaipál is, according to the *Yamíní*, Bhím-pál, who writes to Chand Rái, respecting the Musulmáns, as if he had long been in communication with them. This Bhím-pál speaks of his uncle having been forcibly converted, which uncle, as we have already seen, seems evidently to be the same as Nawása Sháh. We also find Purú Jaipál holding

[1] Previous to this Firishta makes the Sultán attack Rája Chandpál, who evacuates his fort, and sends his treasure to the hills. He makes Chand Rái also fly to the hills.

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dominions on the other side of the Ganges during the next campaign on the Ráhib. We may suppose, therefore, that, without being *de facto* ruler throughout these broad domains, he may have held a sort of suzerainty or paramount rule, and was then in the eastern portion of his dominions, engaged in settling the nuptials of his son, Bhím-pál, or had altogether transferred his residence to these parts, to avoid the frequent incursions of his Muhammadan persecutors, who, in their late expedition to Thánesar, had shown that it was impossible for him to maintain independence in Lahore. Like as the reigning family was driven from Kábul to Bhera, and from Bhera to Lahore, so it seems now to have been driven from Lahore to Kanauj.

The Chandálbhor Phúr, or Púr, in some copies of the *Yamini*, the ruler of Ásí, may, perhaps, indicate that the Rájá was a Chandel Rájpút, for Ásí is close to the spot where we find that clan now established. The name Phúr may have some connection with the legendary Fúr, or Porus, who opposed Alexander; for, be it observed, his capital is represented by Indian geographers to have been in the neighbourhood of Allahabad; and the Rájás of Kumáún, who are themselves Chandels, represent themselves to be descended from this Fúr, the ruler of Kanauj and Prayág. So addicted are the Asiatics to ascribe this name to Indian potentates that some Arabic authors name even Rái Pithaurá as Puras. On this name and the analogies which it suggests, much might be added, but it would lead us beyond the immediate purport of this Note to discuss them.[1]

Chand Rái, perhaps, also indicates the same lineage, for his dominions must have adjoined Bundelkhand, in which province are included Mahoba and Chanderí, the original seats from which the Chandels emigrated.

Thirteenth Expedition.—Battle of the Ráhib. A.H. 412.—'Utbí mentions no year for this expedition. Nizámu-d dín Ahmad attributes it to 410; Firishta to 412. The latter is the most probable. Mírkhond and Khondamír make no mention of it. 'Utbí places the scene on the Ráhib, which we know from Al Bírúní to be on the

[1] Compare Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. Part 1. p. 453. Elphinstone, *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 467. Lassen, *Pentopotamiâ Indicâ*, p. 16. Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, Vol. I. p. 91. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II. pp. 147, 195. *Hadikatu-l Akálim*, v. "Allahábád." *Yádgár-i Bahádurí*, v. "Kanauj." Bird's *History of Gujarát*, p. 138. *Haiyátu-l Haiwán*, by Shaikh Abu-l Fath Damarí.

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other side of the Ganges, and is either the Rámgangá, or the Sye—apparently the latter in the present instance.

The other authors place the scene on the Jumna, and we might consider their account to refer to some other expedition, were not Purú Jaipál mentioned in both, as well as the circumstance of the surprise by eight men swimming over the river. It is also worthy of remark that Al Bírúní gives the death of Púr Jaipál in 412 A.H., which makes it highly probable that he was slain in this very action, though that fact is not expressly mentioned in the *Tarikh Yamíní*.

Dr. Bird doubts this expedition altogether, because another expedition occurs against Kálinjar, and the two appear to have been in reality one. But here not even Firishta represents that Mahmúd went to Kálinjar, though he was engaged with the Rája of that place. 'Utbí's statement must be received as conclusive respecting a movement as far as the Ráhib; though he mentions nothing about Kálinjar or Nandá Rája. Indeed, in that author we nowhere find mention of that submission to the Sultán, on account of which the Rái of Kanauj was sacrificed to the vengeance of the Hindú confederacy.

That Purú Jaipál should be found on the other side of the Ráhib, as 'Utbí says, or come to the aid of Nandá Rájá, according to Nizámu-d dín and Firishta, is confirmative of the probability previously noticed, that he had then established himself far to the eastward of Lahore.

The following is the statement of Nizámu-d dín:—

"It is said that when Sultán Mahmúd heard that a Rája named Nandá[1] had slain the Rái of Kanauj, for having recognized and submitted to the Sultán, he resolved to invade his territory. So, in A.H. 410, he marched again towards Hindústán. When he reached the banks of the Jumna, Púr Jaipál,[2] who had so often fled before his troops, and who had now come to assist Nandá, encamped in face of the Sultán; but there was a deep river between them, and no one passed over without the Sultán's permission. But it so happened

[1] Firishta adds that many of the neighbouring princes had joined in league with Nandá, whom he calls Rájá of Kálinjar.

[2] Firishta says the Rájá of the Panjáb, the grandson of Jaipál. [Sir H. Elliot's MS. gives the name as "Tarú Jaibál."]

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that eight of the royal guards of Mahmúd's army having crossed the river together, they threw the whole army of Púr Jaipál into confusion, and defeated it. Púr Jaipál, with a few infidels, escaped. The eight men[1] not returning to the Sultán, advanced against the city of Bárí,[2] which lay in the vicinity. Having found it defenceless, they plundered it, and pulled down the heathen temples.

The Sultán advanced from hence to the territory of Nandá, who, resolving on battle, collected a large army, which is said to have consisted of thirty-six thousand horse, one hundred and five thousand foot,[3] and six hundred and forty elephants. When the Sultán approached his camp, he first sent an ambassador, calling upon him to acknowledge fealty, and embrace the Muhammadan faith. Nandá refused these conditions, and prepared to fight. Upon this, the Sultán reconnoitred Nandá's army from an eminence, and observing its vast numbers, he regretted his having come thither. Prostrating himself before God, he prayed for success and victory. When night came on, great fear and alarm entered the mind of Nandá, and he fled with some of his personal attendants, leaving all his baggage and equipments. The next day the Sultán, being apprized of this, rode out on horseback without any escort, and carefully examined the ground. When he was satisfied that there was no ambush or strategical device, he stretched out his hands for plunder and devastation. Immense booty fell into the hands of the Musulmáns, and five hundred and eighty of Nandá's elephants, which were in the neighbouring woods, were taken. The Sultán, loaded with victory and success, returned to Ghaznín."[4]—*Tabakát-i Akbarí.*

Fourteenth Expedition.—Kírát, Núr, Lohkot, and Láhore.[5] A.H. 413. We now lose the guidance of 'Utbí, and are compelled to follow the more uncertain authority of later writers. It has been questioned

[1] Firishta says that these eight must, of course, have been officers, each followed by his own corps. He gives no name to the city which was plundered.

[2] Nizámu-d dín is the only author who states this. His account is fully confirmed by the statement of Abú Ríhán, that Bárí became the Hindú capital, after the loss of Kanauj.

[3] Forty-five thousand, in Firishta.

[4] Because, as Firishta adds, he was apprehensive about what might occur in the Panjáb and other countries in his rear, and was satisfied with what he had done that year.

[5] [Compare with this General Cunningham's Note, Vol. i. p. 395.]

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whether this expedition ever took place. Elphinstone and Reinaud take no notice of it, and Bird says that it is a mere repetition of the previous one to Bálnát; and "the narratives evidently refer to the same places and transactions." Even if they did refer to the same places, there is no reason why the transactions should not have been different. As Firishta asserts that Kuriat[1] and Nardein lie apparently between Turkistán and Hindústán, it is evident that he thought he was dealing with places which had not yet been mentioned. His authority for assigning this position to the tract is not the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, in which it is merely stated that the country has mountain passes, is very cold, abounds with fruit, and that its inhabitants worship lions. This latter, no doubt, alludes to the worship of Sákya Sinha (lion) the Buddha. But, though Firishta had little authority for his assertion, it is evident that he was correct in making it Kuriat. First, we must restore the true reading of Nardein. The latter, in the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* and *Kanzu-l Mahpúr* is correctly given as "Núr;" and "Kuriat" in the same works, in the original of Firishta, is correctly given as "Kírát." Now, the position of Kírát and Núr is ascertained by referring to Al Bírúní's account of the Kábul river, which is thus described by him: "This body of water—the Kábul river—passes through the country of Lamghán, near the fort of Dirúna, and is then joined by *the waters of Núr and Kírát.*[2] When it reaches opposite Pesháwar, it forms a considerable stream," etc. Here, then, we must look for the waters of Núr and Kírát, between the towns of Jalálábád and Pesháwar, and we shall find that the country alluded to is that drained by the Kuner and Landye rivers—that is, Swát, Bajaur, and part of Káfiristán. This tract exactly corresponds with the description given in the *Tabakát-i Akbarí;* and plenty of Buddhist remains survive to explain the allusion to the worship of lions.

[1] Dow reads "Kiberat;" Briggs, "Kuriat" in the translation, but "Kairát" in the text; Wilken, "Ferath;" and "Kabrath." The real reading being Kírát, which name may be the same as that of the mountaineers of Sanskrit geography.

[2] [In page 47, Vol. i., my translation of the Persian version of this passage differs:—"uniting near the fort of Dirúna (the waters) fall into the Núrokírát;" and this is correct according to the Persian text, "..... *nazdik-i kala'i Dirúna mujtami' mi-shavad wa dar db-i Nurokirit md-uftad.*" Sir H. Elliot follows Reinaud's translation of the text of Bírúní, which certainly seems more accurate than the Persian version. See *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 276.—Ed.]

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On the supposition that Núr and Kírát were in the neighbourhood of Bajaur, there is no difficulty in tracing the progress of the conqueror during this invasion. On his way from Ghaznín, he makes an incursion across the Kábul river, and while his general is engaged in capturing Núr and building the fort, to overawe the wild inhabitants, he himself proceeds to the impregnable Lohkot, by the same road which he had previously travelled; and then returned to Ghaznín after visiting Lahore.

As the *Habíbu-s Siyar* gives no account of this expedition, the following narrative is taken from Nizámu-d dín Ahmad. Firishta adds to it that the king of Lahore fled to Ajmír, and that Mahmúd, before returning to Ghazní, nominated commanders to the conquered provinces of Hindustán, and left troops for their protection. This author is mistaken in speaking of the stone which was found at Nárdín, and was represented to be four thousand years old. He has in this respect, from similarity of name, confounded this expedition with that against Ninduna or Nárdín, in the Bálnát hills.

"About this time, the king learned that the inhabitants of the two mountainous tracts *(darra)* of Kírát and Núr, were all worshippers of idols, and possessed some very strong positions. The Sultán immediately gave orders that his forces should be collected; and having taken many blacksmiths, carpenters, and stone-cutters with him, he proceeded towards those places. When he approached the country, he first attacked Kírát. This place was very cold, and abounded with fruit; and its inhabitants were worshippers of lions. The chief of that forest, however, made submission, and accepted Islám. All the other people also followed his example. Sáhib 'Alí[1] ibn Ílár, a Muhammadan, was sent to reduce Núr, which he accomplished. He founded a fort at this place, and left 'Alí bin Kadr Júk[2] as governor of it. Islám spread in this part of the country by the consent of the people and by the influence of force.

"In A.H. 412,[3] the king advanced toward Kashmír, and invested

[1] Firishta says son of Arslán Jázib.

[2] Firishta says Saljúkí, and it is not improbable that some of that enterprising race were in Mahmúd's service.

[3] Firishta gives no year, but it may be implied that he alludes to 413 A.H., as he has a separate expedition for both 412 and 414.

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the stronghold of Lohkot.[1] He stayed before it one month, but finding the fort, on account of its strength and loftiness, altogether impregnable, he decamped and proceeded towards Lahore and Bágar. He directed his followers to plunder the hill country, and immense booty was collected. The Sultán returned in the commencement of spring to Ghaznín."—*Tabakát-i Akbarí.*

Fifteenth Expedition.—Gwáliár and Kálinjár. A.H. 414.—This is another expedition resting only on the same authorities, and respecting which also doubts have been entertained, but there seems no reason to suppose that the restless bigotry of Mahmúd did not undertake this new expedition. It does not appear that he had yet visited Kálinjár, though he had been twice in the neighbourhood. The mention of Gwáliár in connection with it seems to separate this altogether from the other expeditions towards Bundelkhand and the Lower Doáb.

The following is from the *Tabakát-i-Akbarí*:—

"In A.H. 413 (1021 A.D.) Mahmúd again undertook an expedition against the territory of Nandá. Having reached the fort of Gwáliár, he besieged it. Four days after, the chief of the place sent messengers promising thirty-five elephants, and solicited protection. The Sultán agreed to the terms, and from thence proceeded to Kálinjár. This is a fort unparalleled in the whole country of Hindústán for its strength. He invested this fort also, and, after a while, Nandá, its chief, presented three hundred elephants, and sued for peace. As these animals were sent out of the fort without riders,[2] the Sultán ordered the Turks to seize and mount them. The enemy perceiving this, was much surprised, and Nandá sent a copy of Hindí verses in praise of the Sultán, who gave it to the learned men of Hind and other poets who were at his court, who all bestowed their admiration upon them. He was much pleased with the compliment, and in return conferred on him the government of fifteen forts,[3] besides some other presents. Nandá acknowledged

[1] [See note in p. 456 *supra.*]

[2] Firishta says that in order to put the bravery of the Sultán's troops to the test, the Rája had intoxicated these elephants with drugs, and that Mahmúd ordered a select body of horse to seize or kill them or drive them away from the camp.

[3] Among which, adds Firishta, was Kálinjár itself.

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this favour by sending immense riches and jewels to the Sultán, who then victoriously and triumphantly returned to Ghaznín.

"In A.H. 414, Mahmúd mustered all his forces, and found them, besides those which were employed on duty in the different parts of his kingdom, to consist of fifty-four thousand horse and one thousand three hundred elephants."—*Tabakát-i Akbarí.*

Sixteenth Expedition.—Somnát. A.H. 416–7.—The accounts of this celebrated expedition are given in great detail by most authors. Those who follow [Ibn Asír and] Mírkhond make it commence with 416 H. Those who follow Firishta with 415 H. Dr. Bird has given good reason for preferring the former year, where he shows the necessity of paying attention to the Indian seasons in examining these expeditions. A few additional circumstances, not to be found in the *Habibu-s Siyar*, are mentioned by other authors, and are shown in the following extracts.

Though the position of Somnát is well-known in the district of the Guzerát peninsula, now called Bhábrewár, yet by some extraordinary mistake, in which he has been followed by Rampoldi, D'Herbelot considers it to be the same as Viziapur in the Dekhin.

[From the *Kámilu-t Tawáríkh* of Ibn Asír[1]:—

"In the year 414 H. Mahmúd captured several forts and cities in Hind, and he also took the idol called Somnát. This idol was the greatest of all the idols of Hind. Every night that there was an eclipse the Hindús went on pilgrimage to the temple, and there congregated to the number of a hundred thousand persons. They believed that the souls of men after separation from the body used to meet there, according to their doctrine of transmigration, and that the ebb and flow of the tide was the worship paid to the idol by the sea, to the best of its power. Everything of the most precious was brought there; its attendants received the most valuable presents, and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 vil-

[1] [The account given of this expedition by Ibn Asír is the oldest one extant, and has been largely drawn upon by later writers. Firishta must have used it, Kazwíní copied his account of the temple from it (see Vol. I. of this work, p. 97), and the extracts which follow this show how much other authors are indebted to it. The whole account is more specific in its details than those of its copyists. For these reasons the Editor has inserted it here in full.]

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lages. In the temple were amassed jewels of the most exquisite quality and incalculable value. The people of India have a great river called Gang, to which they pay the highest honour, and into which they cast the bones of their great men, in the belief that the deceased will thus secure an entrance to heaven. Between this river and Somnát there is a distance of about 200 parasangs, but water was daily brought from it with which the idol was washed. One thousand Bráhmans attended every day to perform the worship of the idol, and to introduce the visitors. Three hundred persons were employed in shaving the heads and beards of the pilgrims. Three hundred and fifty persons sang and danced at the gate of the temple. Every one of these received a settled allowance daily. When Mahmúd was gaining victories and demolishing idols in India, the Hindús said that Somnát was displeased with these idols, and that if he had been satisfied with them no one could have destroyed or injured them. When Mahmúd heard this he resolved upon making a campaign to destroy this idol, believing that when the Hindús saw their prayers and imprecations to be false and futile, they would embrace the faith.

"So he prayed to the Almighty for aid, and left Ghazní on the 10th Sha'bán, 414 H., with 30,000 horse besides volunteers, and took the road to Multán, which place he reached in the middle of Ramazán. The road from thence to India was through a barren desert, where there were neither inhabitants nor food. So he collected provisions for the passage, and loading 30,000 camels with water and corn, he started for Anhalwára. After he had crossed the desert, he perceived on one side a fort full of people, in which place there were wells. People came down to conciliate him, but he invested the place, and God gave him victory over it, for the hearts of the inhabitants failed them through fear. So he brought the place under the sway of Islám, killed the inhabitants, and broke in pieces their images. His men carried water away with them from thence and marched for Anhalwára, where they arrived at the beginning of Zí-l Ka'da.

"The chief of Anhalwára, called Bhím, fled hastily, and abandoning his city, he went to a certain fort for safety and to prepare himself for war. Yamínu-d daula again started for Somnát, and on his

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march he came to several forts in which were many images serving as chamberlains or heralds of Somnát, and accordingly he (Mahmúd) called them Shaitán. He killed the people who were in these places, destroyed the fortifications, broke in pieces the idols, and continued his march to Somnát through a desert where there was little water. There he met 20,000 fighting men, inhabitants of that country, whose chiefs would not submit. So he sent some forces against them, who defeated them, put them to flight, and plundered their possessions. From thence they marched to Dabalwárah, which is two days' journey from Somnát. The people of this place stayed resolutely in it, believing that Somnát would utter his prohibition and drive back the invaders; but Mahmúd took the place, slew the men, plundered their property, and marched on to Somnát.

"He reached Somnát on a Thursday in the middle of Zí-l Ka'da, and there he beheld a strong fortress built upon the sea shore, so that it was washed by the waves. The people of the fort were on the walls amusing themselves at the expense of the confident Musulmáns, telling them that their deity would cut off the last man of them, and destroy them all. On the morrow, which was Friday, the assailants advanced to the assault, and when the Hindús beheld the Muhammadáns fighting, they abandoned their posts, and left the walls. The Musulmáns planted their ladders against the walls and gained the summit: then they proclaimed their success with their religious war-cry, and exhibited the prowess of Islám. Then followed a fearful slaughter, and matters wore a serious aspect. A body of Hindús hurried to Somnát, cast themselves on the ground before him, and besought him to grant them victory. Night came on, and the fight was suspended.

"Next morning, early, the Muhammadans renewed the battle, and made greater havoc among the Hindús, till they drove them from the town to the house of their idol, Somnát. A dreadful slaughter followed at the gate of the temple. Band after band of the defenders entered the temple to Somnát, and with their hands clasped round their necks, wept and passionately entreated him. Then again they issued forth to fight until they were slain, and but few were left alive. These took to the sea in boats to make their escape,

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but the Musulmáns overtook them, and some were killed and some were drowned.

"This temple of Somnát was built upon fifty-six pillars of teak wood covered with lead. The idol itself was in a chamber; its height was five cubits and its girth three cubits. This was what appeared to the eye, but two cubits were (hidden) in the basement. It had no appearance of having been sculptured. Yamínu-d daula seized it, part of it he burnt, and part of it he carried away with him to Ghazní, where he made it a step at the entrance of the Jámi'-masjid. The shrine of the idol was dark, but it was lighted by most exquisitely jewelled chandeliers. Near the idol was a chain of gold to which bells were attached. The weight of it was 200 mans. When a certain portion of the night had passed, this chain was shaken to ring the bells, and so rouse a fresh party of Bráhmans to carry on the worship. The treasury was near, and in it there were many idols of gold and silver. Over it there were veils hanging, set with jewels, every one of which was of immense value. The worth of what was found in the temple exceeded two millions of dínárs, all of which was taken. The number of the slain exceeded fifty thousand."[1]—*Ibn Asír.*]

The following is from the *Tárikh-i Alfí*:—

"It is said that the temple of Somnát was built by one of the greatest Rájas of India. The idol was cut out of solid stone, about five yards in height, of which two were buried in the earth. Mahmúd, as soon as his eye fell on this idol, lifted up his battle-axe with much anger, and struck it with such force that the idol broke into pieces. The fragments of it were ordered to be taken to Ghaznín, and were cast "down at the threshold of the Jámi' Masjid,' where they are lying to this day. It is a well-authenticated fact that when Mahmúd was about to destroy the idol, a crowd of Bráhmans represented (to his nobles) that if he would desist from the mutilation they would pay several crores of gold coins into his treasury. This was agreed to by many of the nobles, who pointed out to the Sultán that he could not obtain so much treasure by

[1] [The continuation of this chapter, relating to Mahmúd's return, will be found, *supra* page 249.]

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breaking the image, and that the proffered money would be very serviceable. Mahmúd replied, "I know this, but I desire that on the day of resurrection I should be summoned with the words, 'Where is that Mahmúd who broke the greatest of the heathen idols?' rather than by these: 'Where is that Mahmúd who sold the greatest of the idols to the infidels for gold?'" When Mahmúd demolished the image, he found in it so many superb jewels and rubies, that they amounted to, and even exceeded an hundred times the value of the ransom which had been offered to him by the Bráhmans.

"According to the belief of the Hindús, all the other idols in India held the position of attendants and deputies of Somnát. Every night this idol was washed with "fresh" water brought from the Ganges, although that river must be more than two hundred parasangs distant. This river flows through the eastern part of India, and is held very sacred by the Hindus. They throw the bones of their dead into it.

"It is related in many authentic historical works that the revenue of ten thousand populated villages was set apart as an endowment for the expenses of the temple of Somnát, and more than one thousand Bráhmans were always engaged in the worship of that idol. There hung in this temple a golden chain which weighed two hundred Indian *mans*. To this were attached numerous bells, and several persons were appointed whose duty it was to shake it at stated times during day and night, and summon the Bráhmans to worship. Amongst the other attendants of this temple there were three hundred barbers appointed to shave the heads of the pilgrims. There were also three hundred musicians and five hundred dancing-girls attached to it; and it was customary even for the kings and rájas of India to send their daughters for the service of the temple. A salary was fixed for every one of the attendants, and it was duly and punctually paid. On the occurrence of an eclipse multitudes of Hindús came to visit this temple from all parts of Hindústán. We are told by many historians that at every occurrence of this phenomenon there assembled more than two hundred thousand persons, bringing offerings. It is said in the history of Ibn Asír and in that of Háfiz Abrú[1] that the room in which the idol of Somnát was

[1] In Firishta this is related on the authority of the *Zainu-l Ma-asir*.

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placed was entirely dark, and that it was illumined by the refulgence of the jewels that adorned the candelabra. In the treasury of this temple there were also found numberless small idols of gold and silver. In short, besides what fell into the hands of his army from the plunder of the city, Mahmúd obtained so much wealth in gold, jewels, and other valuables from this temple, that no other king possessed anything equal to it.

"When Mahmúd had concluded his expedition against Somnát, it was reported to him that Rája Bhím, chief of Nahrwára, who at the time of the late invasion had fled away, had now taken refuge in the fort of Kandama,[1] which was by land forty parasangs distant from Somnát. Mahmúd immediately advanced towards that place,[2] and when his victorious flags drew near the fort, it was found to be surrounded by much water, and there appeared no way of approaching it. The Sultán ordered some divers to sound the depth of the water, and they pointed him out a place where it was fordable. But at the same time they said that if the water (the tide) should rise at the time of their passing it would drown them all. Mahmúd, having taken the advice of religious persons, and depending upon the protection of the Almighty God, proceeded with his army, and plunged with his horse into the water. He crossed over it in safety, and the chief of the fort having witnessed his intrepidity, fled away. His whole property, with numerous prisoners, fell into the hands of the army of Islám. All men who were found in the fort were put to the sword.[3]

"After this conquest, Mahmúd proceeded to invade the territory of the Bhátís, whose chief, being apprised of his intentions, proffered his obedience and submission.[4] The king left him in possession of his dominions, and returned to his own capital of Ghaznín."—*Tárikh i-Alfi.*

From the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*:—

"When Mahmúd resolved upon returning home from Somnát, he

[1] Firishta says Gandaba, which Briggs conceives to be Gandaví. Some copies read Khadába or Khandáva. [Ibn Asír has Kandahat, *supra* p. 249. It is probably Khandadár in Káthíwár. See Vol. i. p. 445.]

[2] [The MS. I have used breaks off abruptly here.—Ed.]

[3] The statements in this paragraph are taken from the *Rauzatu-s Safá.*

[4] This is also mentioned in the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, but is not noticed by Firishta.

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learned that Parama Dev, one of the greatest Rájas of Hindústán, was preparing to intercept him. The Sultán, not deeming it advisable at the time to contend with this chief, went towards Multán, through Sind. In this journey his men suffered much in some places from scarcity of water, and in others from want of forage. After enduring great difficulties, he arrived at Ghaznín in A.H. 417.

"In this year, Al Kádir Bi-llah wrote a letter to him, accompanied with standards (signalising him as sovereign[1]) of Khurásán, Hindústán, Nímroz, and Khwárizm, and granted titles to the Sultán, his sons and brothers. To the Sultán he gave the title of Kahfu-d daulat wau-l Islám (Guardian of the State and of the Faith); to Amír Mas'úd that of Shahábu-d daulat and Jamálu-l Millat (Lustre of the State and Ornament of the Faith); to Amír Muhammad of Jalálu-d daulat and Jamálu-l Millat (Glory of the State and Ornament of the Faith); and to Amír Yúsuf, of Azdu-d daulat and Muwaiyidu-l Millat (Support of the State and Maintainer of the Faith). He at the same time assured Mahmúd that he would recognise the person whom he should nominate as his successor. This letter reached the Sultán in Balkh."[2]—*Tabakát-i Akbarí.*

The difficulties experienced in the desert are thus related by Minháju-s Siráj Júzjání. From the mention of Sind and Mansúra, it is evident that Mahmúd returned by a much more westerly course than he pursued in coming; and if we compare this narrative with the one given in the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát* (v. sup. p. 192), we shall be confirmed in this view, for the river there mentioned can be no other than the Sind or Panjnad.

From the *Tabakát-i Násirí*:—

"On his return from Somnát through the territory of Sind and Mansúría, he resolved to take his army by way of the desert. On his demand for guides, a Hindú came forward and promised to lead the way. When the army of Islám had for some time[3] marched

[1] [These words are not in the text but seem to be implied.]

[2] This letter must have been written in reply to one addressed to him by Mahmúd after his capture of Somnát, from which there is an extract given in Yáfií's history.

[3] [The text says "*yakshabd.*" In the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát* the period is said to have been three days—*supra*, p. 192.]

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behind him, and it became time to call a halt, people went in search of water, but it was nowhere found. The Sultán summoned the guide to his presence, and asked him where water was procurable. He replied, "I have devoted my life for the sake of my deity Somnát, and have brought thee and thy army into this desert, where no water is, in order that all may perish." The Sultán ordered the guide to be killed, and the army to encamp. He rested patiently until night came on, and then the Sultán went aside from the camp, and prostrating himself on the earth, entreated with the deepest supplication Almighty God for aid in this extremity. When about a quarter of the night had elapsed, a light shone to the north of the camp. The Sultán ordered his army to march in that direction, and when day broke the Omnipotent led them to a place where there was a supply of water. Thus did all the Musulmáns escape from this imminent danger."[1]—*Tabakát-i Násiri.*

From the *Rauzatu-s Safá:*—

"It is related that when Sultan Mahmúd had achieved the conquest of Somnát, he wished to fix his residence there for some years, because the country was very extensive, possessed many unusual advantages, as well as several mines which produced pure gold. Indian rubies were brought there from Sarandíp, one of the dependencies of the kingdom of Guzerát. His ministers represented to him that to forsake Khurásán, which had been taken from his enemies after so many battles, and to make Somnát the seat of government was very improper. In short, the King made up his mind to return, and ordered that some man should be appointed to hold and carry on the administration of the country. The ministers observed that it was impossible for a stranger to maintain possession, and therefore he should assign it to one of the native chiefs. The Sultán accordingly held a council to settle the nomination, in concurrence with such of the inhabitants as were well disposed towards him. Some of them represented to him that amongst the ancient royal families no house was so noble as that of the Dábshilíms, of whom only one member survived, and he had

[1] Firishta adds that many of the troops died raging mad from the intolerable heat and thirst.

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assumed the habit of a Brahman, and was devoted to philosophical pursuits and austerity.[1]—*Rauzatu-s Safá.*[2]

With respect to the name of Somnát, Firishta observes "that Soma was the name of a prince, after whom the idol Nát was called—Nát signifying among the Hindús lord or chief—and is rendered applicable to idols. Thus we have Jagnát, the lord of the creation." Bird, in one part of his work, says that it is derived from the Sanskrit *Swayambhú Náth*, "self-existing lord;" but in another part, more correctly, from Soma Náth, "the moon-lord," or "regent of the moon," which was one of the names under which Mahádeva was worshipped. It is evident from the statement of Al Bírúní that Somnát was no idol, but the lingam or phallic emblem of that deity. The embellishments of the story have been commented on by Wilson. "The earlier Muhammadan writers say nothing of the mutilation of its features, for, in fact, it had none; nothing of the treasures it contained, which, as it was solid, could not have been within it. * * * Firishta invents the hidden treasure of rubies and pearls with quite as little warrant. Somnáth was in fact a linga, a náth, or deity ascribed to Soma, the moon, as having been erected by him in honour of Siva. It was one of the twelve principal types of that deity, which were celebrated in India at the time of the first Muhammadan invasion." That there were, however, precious stones upon this lingam we know from the account of Al Bírúní, who tells us that the top was garnished with them and with gold. He also informs us that the name of "moon-lord" was derived from the fact of the stone being washed with more particular ceremony twice during the month, at the full and new moon.

The resemblance which the Muhammadan authors wish to establish between this lingam and the Arabian Lát seems to be a mere fancy; for though there was doubtless at one time considerable connection between these parts of India and Arabia, it does not appear to have been exemplified in this particular instance.

There is one other matter which seems to require a passing notice in this place, as of late years it has engaged some attention. I allude to the removal of the Somnát gates.

[1] See *infra*, extracts from *Majma'-i Wasáyá*.] [2] [Lith. Ed., Vol. iv. p. 48.]

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Seventeenth Expedition.—Játs of Júd. (A.H. 417.—This expedition is also recorded only by the later authorities, but the attack upon the Játs is not in itself improbable, though some of its attendant circumstances are. It is probable that, on the dissolution of the kingdom of Láhore, the Játs of the Júd hills acquired considerable power, and by predatory incursions were able to harry their neighbours. Their advance so far from their own country to attack the Muhammadan army, and the strength of the force with which they opposed it, show that they possessed no inconsiderable power. From a passage quoted by M. Reinaud from the *Kámilu-t Tawárikh*, (416 H.), it appears that they had invaded the principality of Mansúra and had forced the Musulmán Amír to abjure his religion.[1] It does not quite appear what particular portion of the hilly country is here meant, but most probably the Salt range, on the part nearest to Multán. The Játs have now moved further to the north and east, but some of their clans point to the Salt range as their original seats.

The chief improbability, and it is almost insurmountable, consists in Mahmúd's being able to organise a powerful fleet of fourteen hundred boats at Multán, and in being opposed by at least four thousand boats manned by mountaineers. Even in a time of the briskest trade, fourteen hundred boats could not be collected in all the rivers of the Panjáb. It is also remarkable that Mahmúd should choose to fight at all on the river, when his veteran troops would have been so much more effective on land than on water. If he could have equipped so large a fleet on a sudden emergency, it adds to the surprise which Elphinstone invites us to entertain, that Mahmúd. neither in going to or returning from Somnát availed himself of the Indus. On his return, however, he does seem to have come for some way on the banks of the Indus.

As the year 417 H. began on the 22nd Feb., 1026, there was ample time for Mahmúd to have returned to Ghazní in order to escape the heats and rains of Hindústán, and return again to Multán before the Ghazní winter, all within the same year.

The following account is taken from Nizámu-d dín Ahmad:—

"In the same year (417 H.), the Sultán, with a view to punish the Játs, who had molested his army on his return from Somnát, led a

[1] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 272.

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large force towards Multán, and when he arrived there he ordered fourteen hundred boats to be built, each of which was armed with three firm iron spikes, projecting one from the prow and two from the sides, so that anything which came in contact with them would infallibly be destroyed.[1] In each boat were twenty archers, with bows and arrows, grenades,[2] and naphtha; and in this way they proceeded to attack the Játs, who having intelligence of the armament, sent their families into the islands and prepared themselves for the conflict. They launched, according to some, four, and according to others, eight thousand boats, manned and armed, ready to engage the Muhammadans. Both fleets met, and a desperate conflict ensued. Every boat of the Játs that approached the Moslem fleet, when it received the shock of the projecting spikes, was broken and overturned. Thus most of the Játs were drowned, and those who were not so destroyed were put to the sword.[3] The Sultán's army proceeded to the places where their families were concealed, and took them all prisoners. The Sultán then returned victorious to Ghaznín."—*Tabakát-i Akbarí.*

NOTE E.

Coins of the Ghaznivides and Ghorians.

["The Coins of the Kings of Ghazní" form the subject of two valuable papers by Mr. Thomas in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,[4] the last of which is followed by a supplement on the Coins of the Ghorí dynasty. The same writer has also published two papers on the Coins of the "Patan Sultáns of Hindústán," beginning with Muhammad Ghorí (1193 A.D.), and extending to Sikandar Sháh (1554 A.D.) These articles contain so much that is useful by way of correction and illustration, that a few extracts and a general summary of the results so far as they relate to the reigns noticed in the present volume are here given.

[1] For a similar mode of armament about the same period, see *Chronicles of the Crusades*, p. 199.

[2] [قارورة. Apparently some explosive or inflammable missile.]

[3] Firishta adds that some of the Ját boats were set on fire.

[4] [Vol. ix. p. 267, and Vol. xvii. p. 138.]

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Among the coins noticed by Mr. Thomas is an important one described by M. Dorn in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint Petersbourg*, Tom. xii., 1855. This is a coin struck at Ghazní in 359 A.H., bearing the name of the Sámání suzerain Mansúr bin Núh and of Bilkátigín as ruler in Ghazní. The succession of Bilkátigín after the death of Alptigín has been passed unnoticed by almost all historians, but the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát* has two stories (pp. 180–181 *supra*) in which he is spoken of as ruler, and the *Tabakát-i Násirí* (p. 267 *supra*), on the authority of Baihakí, states that Bilkátigín was raised to the throne on the death of Alptigín's son, Abú Is'hák (in 367 A.H.), and that he reigned two years.

Firishta's version is that Alptigín conquered Ghazní in 351, and died in 365, when he was succeeded by his son, Abú Is'hák, who dying two years afterwards, was followed by Subuktigín. This account is consistent in itself, but it is not reconcilable with the fact of Bilkátigín's coin bearing the date of 359. It can hardly be supposed that the name of Bilkátigín would be found upon a coin struck at Ghazní in the life time of Alptigín, although indeed there are coins extant bearing the same name Bilkátigín which were struck at Balkh twenty-five years earlier in A.H. 324.

The *Tabakát-i Násirí* (page 267 *supra*) states that Alptigín died eight years after the conquest of Ghazní, which is placed by Firishta in 351 (962 A.D.) This would make the year of his death to be 359 (969 A.D.), the date of Bilkátigín's coin. Mr. Thomas, therefore, places the death of Alptigín in 359, leaving the interval between that year and 366, the date of Subuktigín's accession, to be filled up by Abú Is'hák and Bilkátigín.

"The opinion advanced by many Muhammadan authors that Subuktigín should be looked upon as the first monarch of the Ghaznaví race, is not borne out by the record on his money: on the contrary, however powerful and virtually independent they may have been, Subuktigín, Ismá'il, and Mahmúd himself in the early days of his rise, all acknowledged the supremacy of the Sámání emperors, and duly inscribed on the currency struck by themselves as local governors, the name of the Lord Paramount, under whom they held dominion. It was not until the year 389 A.H. (999 A.D.)

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that the house of Ghazní assumed independence as sovereign princes, which event is duly marked on Mahmúd's medals of the period, in the rejection of the name of the Suzerain Sámání, and the addition of the prefix Amír to his own titles.

"The numerous coins of Mahmúd, in their varied titular superscriptions, mark most distinctly the progressive epochs of his eventful career, commencing with the comparatively humble prænomen of Saifu-d daula, bestowed on him by Núh bin Mansúr in 384 A.H., proceeding onwards to the then usual Sámání titles of sovereignty, Al amir, As Saiyíd, conjoined with the epithets Yamínu-d daula and Amínu-l millat conferred on him by the Khalif Al Kádir-bi-llah, advancing next to the appellation Nizámu-d dín, and the occasional prefix of the pompous designations of Maliku-l Mamálik and Maliku-l mulúk, and finally ending in the disuse of all titular adjuncts, and the simple inscription of the now truly celebrated name he had received at his birth.

"The absence of any numismatic record of the title of Ghází, said to have been adopted by Mahmúd on his return from some of his early expeditions into India, leads to an inference, not altogether unsupported by other negative evidence, that the term in question was not introduced into current use, in the full sense of its more modern acceptance, till a somewhat later period.

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"Mahmúd is related to have assumed the title of 'Sultán,' and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term.[1] A reference to the coins of this prince, however, leads to some doubt on the subject, and although their testimony in no wise militates against the generally received account of the origin of the designation, yet it inferentially controverts the assertion of its immediate adoption and use by Mahmúd himself. * * * * Had Mahmúd assumed this prænomen, or had he received it from any competent authority, he would most probably have inscribed the appellation on his coins, whereon it will be seen he at one time much rejoiced to record his greatness. Moreover, had this title been adopted and employed by Mahmúd in the sense in which it was subsequently used, it is but reasonable to infer that it would have been continued

[1] *Khuldsatu-l Akhbán* (Price), ii. 282; *Elphinstone's India*, i. 538.

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by his immediate successors, and, as such, would have appeared on their money; whereas, the first Ghaznaví sovereign who stamps his coinage with the term is Ibráhím, 451 A.H. During the interval, the designation had already been appropriated by another dynasty, the Saljúk Tughril Beg having entitled himself Sultán so early as 437 A.H., if not before that date.

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"The coins of Mahmúd also afford evidence on the non-recognition of the Khalif Al Kádir-bi-llah in the province of Khurásán, until about eight years subsequent to his virtual accession. It is necessary to premise that in the year 381 A.H. the Khalif Al Taia'li-llah was dethroned by the Buwaihide Baháu-d daula, the then Amíru-l umará of the Court of Baghdád, and his place supplied by Ahmad bin Is'hák, who was elevated to the Khiláfat under the denomination of Al Kádir-bi-llah. The author of the *Tárikh-i Guzida* relates that 'the people of the province of Khurásán objecting to this supercession, which was justified by no offence on the part of the late pontiff, continued to recite the public prayers in his name; and it was not until Mahmúd of Ghazní, in disavowing his allegiance to the Sámánís, became supreme in that country, that any alteration in the practice was effected, when Mahmúd, between whom and the new Imám there existed a friendly understanding, directed the *Khutbah* to be read in the name of Al Kádir.'

"The accuracy of this relation is fully borne out by the archæological evidence furnished by the collection under notice, Mahmúd's coins invariably bearing the designation of the superseded Khalif Al Taia' in conjunction with his own early title of Saifu-d daula, up to the year 387 H., while his money of a closely subsequent period is marked by the simultaneous appearance of the name of Al Kádir in association with his own newly-received titles of Yamínu-d daula and Amínu-l millat.[1] Another medal bears unusually explicit testimony to this self-imposed submission, in the addition made to Mahmúd's detailed honorary denominations which are here seen to

[1] [These passages are very suggestive. The honours and high sounding titles conferred upon Mahmúd as a champion of the Faith had been well earned, but his merits might perhaps have passed unrewarded, but for the personal service rendered to the usurping Khalif.]

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conclude with the novel designation of *Walí Amíru-l muminín*—Servant of the Commander of the Faithful."

The coins of Alptigín bear the name of the Sámání sovereign 'Abdu-l malik, followed by "Alptigín." That of Bilkátigín has the name of Mansúr bin Núh, and below it "Bilkátigín." Those of Subuktigín are of similar character. They bear the names of Núh bin Mansúr and Subuktigín, as also that of the Khalif At Taia'-li-llah.

The various legends on the coins of Mahmúd have been already noticed.

MUHAMMAD.—The legend is, "*Jálalu-d daulat wa jamalu-l millat*, Muhammad bin Mahmúd;—the glory of the State and the beauty of the Faith, Muhammad son of Mahmúd."

Another coin bears his father's titles, "*Yamínu-d daulat wa Amínu-l Millat, Nizámu-d dín Abú-l Kásim Muhammad bin Mahmúd.*"

The name of the Khalífa Al Kádir bi-llah also appears.

MAS'ÚD.—The coins of this sovereign differ considerably in their legends. Some have the simple legend "*Mas'úd*" or "*Mas'úd bin Mahmúd.*" Others have the titles "*Sultánu-l mu'azzam, Maliku-l 'álam;* the great Sultán, king of the world." Another legend is equally high sounding, but of a religious character. "*Násir d 'llah Háfiz 'ibádu-llah, Zahír Khalífu-llah;* defender of the relig of God, protector of the servants of God, supporter of the Khalífa of God." In others this is contracted into "*Násiru-d dínu-llah Abú Sa'íd Mas'úd bin Mahmúd,*" and in others changed into "*Násiru-d dínu-llah Háfiz 'ibádu-llah*; defender of the religion of God, protector of the servants of God." On the earlier coins the name of the Khalífa Al Kádir bi-llah appears, on later ones the name of Al Káim bi Amru-llah, his son and successor designate is added, and after the death of Al Kádir the name of Al Káim appears alone.

MAUDÚD.—"*Shahábu-d daulat wa Kutbu-l millat;* the meteor of the State and the pole-star of Religion." In some coins "*Abú-l fath*; father of victory" is added; and in others it is substituted for *Kutbu-l Millat.* Another variety in the legend is "*Fakhru-l imlat*, the glory of the faith."

The name of the Khalífa, Al Káim bi Amru-llah.

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'Abdu-r Rashíd.—"*'Izzu-d daulat, Zainu-l millat, Sharafu-llah;* the glory of the State, the ornament of Religion, the honoured of God."

Khalífa's name, Al Káim bi Amru-llah.

Farrukh-zád.—On some coins the simple name "*Farrukh-zád*" or "*Farrukh-zád bin Ma'súd.*" On others the titles "*Jamálu-d daulat wa Kamálu-l millat;* the ornament of the State and the Perfection of Religion." He is also called in some "*Abú Shujá'*, father of courage."

Name of the Khalífa, Al Káim bi Amru-llah.

Ibráhím.—The legends of the coins issued in the long reign are very various. The simplest is "*Ibráhím bin Mas'úd.*" Another is "*Abú Muzaffar Ibráhím.*" Others are "*Sultánu-l 'azam,* the great Sultán;" "*Zahíru-d daulat,* the protector of the State;" "*Nasíru-d daulat, Zahíru-l millat,* defender of the State and protector of the Faith;" *Káhiru-l mulúk, Saiyidu-s Salátín,* conqueror of kings and chief of monarchs."

The Khalífa's name Al Káim bi Amru-llah.

Mas'úd II.—"*Abú Sa'd,* the happy;" "*Sultánu-l 'azam,* the great king; "*Sultánu-l 'ádil,* the just king;" "*Alá'u-d daulat wa Sanáu-l millat,* supreme in the State, pre-eminent in Religion;" "*Zahíru-l ímán,* defender of the Faith;" "*Nizámu-d dín,* administrator of Religion;" "*Mauláu-s Salátín,* king of kings." All these various titles were used, and sometimes two or more of them on one coin.

The Khalífa's name, Al Mustazhar bi-llah.

Arslán.—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam, Sultánu-d daulat, Malik Arslán bin Mas'úd.*"

The Khálífa, Al Mustazhar bi-llah.

Bahrám.—"*Bahrám Shah, Sultánu-l 'azam, Yamínu-d daulat.*"

Khalífa, Al Mustarshad bi-llah.

Khusrú Sháh.—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam, Mu'izzu-d daulat,* The Great Sultan, Glory of the State."

Khalífa, Al Muktafí l-Amru-llah.

Khusrú Malik.—"*Sultánu-l 'azam; Táju-d daulat,* Crown of the State; *Siráju-d daulat,* Lamp of the State."

Khalífas, Muktafí and Mustanjid.

Muhammad Ghorí.—This conqueror is called by many historians

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Shaháb-u-d dín, a name which the *Rauzatu-s Safá* tells us was changed to Mu'izzu-d din when his brother Ghiyásu-d dín became king. He is also commonly known as Muhammad Sám or Muhammad bin Sám, a name which the coins show him to have borne in common with his brother. The superscription on his coins is "*As Sultánu-l 'azam Mu'izzu-d dunyá wau-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sám.*" On some coins this is contracted into "*Sultánu-l 'azam Abú-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sám,*" and on others to "*Sultánu-l 'azam Muhammad bin Sám.*"

The most interesting coins, however, of this monarch are those described by Mr. Thomas (*J. R. A. S.*, xvii. p. 194) as struck in honor of his "Martyred Lord" by *Táju-d dín Yalduz*, at Ghazní, after the death of *Muhammad bin Sám*. Local coins are also extant of the closely succeeding kings: *Kubáchah* of Sind, *'Aláu-d dín Muhammad Khwárizmí, Jallálu-d dín Mankburín; Changíz Khán* and *Saifu-d dín al Hasan Ḳarlagh* of Ghazní and Multán.

Kutbu-d dín Aibak.—Coins unknown.

Árám Sháh.—"*Abú-l Muzaffar Áram Sháh Sultán.*"

Altamsh.—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam Shamsu-d dunyá wau-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar Altamsh as Sultán.*" Some of the copper coins have only the name "*Shams,*" and others "*Altamsh.*"

Ruknu-d dín.—"*As Sultánu-l mu'azzam Ruknu-d dín binu-s Sultán.*"

Sultán Raziya (Queen.)—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam Jalálatu-d dunyá wau-d dín Malikatu-l bint Altamshu-s Sultán Mihrat Amíru-l muminín,* the great Sultán, the glory of the world and the Faith, the Queen, the daughter of the Sultán Altamsh, the beloved of the Commander of the Faithful."

Mu'izzu-d dín Bahrám Sháh.—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam 'Aláu dunyá wau-d dín.*"

'Aláu-d dín.—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam 'Aláu-d dunyá wau-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar Mas'úd Sháh.*"

Násiru-d dín.—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam Násiru-d dunyá wau-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar Mahmúd ibnu-s Sultán.*"

The last two superscriptions are shortened on the smaller coins by stopping at the word *dín*.

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APPENDIX E.

The following extracts are taken from three works resembling the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát*. Like the *Jámi'*, these works are of a general character, but the stories selected from them were intended by Sir H. Elliot to illustrate the reigns of the Ghaznivides, and the extracts relate almost exclusively to that dynasty. The Appendix to this volume therefore seems the most appropriate place for their appearance. If introduced in chronological sequence, two of the extracts would come in much later and be far removed from the other works on the Ghaznivide dynasty.

Extracts from the *Majma'-i Wasáyá*.

[The following stories are taken from a work which the Munshí who translated them calls *Majma'-i Nasáyah*. In the list of works prefixed to Sir H. Elliot's original volume it is entered "No. lxxix. Wassaya, Nizámu-l Mulk." No copy of the work is to be found in Sir H. Elliot's library, nor have I been able to obtain access to one. There is no doubt, however, that the extracts are derived from the work of Nizámu-l Mulk Túsí, the celebrated wazír of Malik Sháh Saljúk. This work was largely used by Hammer in his *History of the Assassins*, and he refers to it as the "*Wassaya*, or Political Institutes of Nizámu-l Mulk." The title of the work then is *Majma'-i Wasáyá*; but it is possible that the copy used by the Munshí bore the title *Majma'i Nasáih*, which is almost identical in signification. The work consists of a series of counsels addressed to the author's own sons.

Malik Sháh Saljúk reigned from 1072 to 1092 A.D., and Nizámu-l Mulk fell by the dagger of an assassin one month before the death of his master. The work, then, was written in the decline of the Ghaznivide dynasty; and a few stories relating to them and to India have been selected. One passage concerning Nizámu-l Mulk himself, and Hasan Sabáh the founder of the sect of the Assassins, has no direct reference to India, but it is interesting, and it enables us to identify the work as being the same as that used by Hammer. (See *History of the Assassins*, Transl. p. 44.)

The wording of the Extracts has been revised in part by Sir H. Elliot and in part by some unknown hand, but the translation seems

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not to have been tested; it must therefore rest upon the authority of the Munshí.[1]]

Khwája 'Alí Kheshávand.

In the beginning of Sultán Subuktigín's reign the office of Wazír was conferred on Khwája Abú-l 'Abbás Isfaráíní, but Amír 'Alí Kheshávand, who was the head of the Hájibs and one of the greatest and most trustworthy officers of the Sultán, entertained hostility against him. The Khwája had informed the King of this, and therefore his Majesty was never angry with him. Although complaints were brought against him from different parts of the country, and his every action was immediately reported, yet the King saw no occasion to call him to account. If any person represented to the King any irregularity or misconduct on the part of the Khwája, he considered the man had been instructed by 'Alí Kheshávand; who at last, seeing his endeavours useless, abandoned the pursuit, but only waited for a suitable opportunity. At last the star of the Khwája's fortune began to decline, and the country under his rule fell into disorder. He appointed unjust governors in the provinces, who exercised tyranny over the subjects, so that a large portion of the country became desolate. In Khurásán and the bordering countries, more especially, such a dreadful famine prevailed, that it is recorded in history, and an account of it is given in many historical works. In short, the government assessment upon the lands was not at all realised, and the majority of the people emigrated from the country. Khwája Abú-l 'Abbás' only resource on seeing these circumstances, was to throw himself upon the King's mercy, and solicit remission. Reports were sent to his Majesty from all quarters, and the Khwája being greatly troubled and alarmed, sent in his resignation of the office of Wazír. The Sultán said he should suffer no punishment or injury if he paid into the treasury all the money which he had realized from the country, and which had been entered in his own accounts. On doing this he should be acquitted. The office of Díwán was, however, conferred on Khwája Abú-l Hakk Muhammad, son of Husain of Balkh. In this matter Shamsu-l

[1] [See Hammer, *History of the Assassins;* D'Herbelot, *Malek-schah;* Vuller's *Gesh. der Seldschuken*, 102, 160; *Defrémery, Histoire des Seldjoukides.*]

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Káh Khwája Ahmad Hasan was made mediator between the Sultán and Khwája Abú-l 'Abbás, and he took the messages from the one to the other. After much correspondence, it was settled that the Khwája should pay one hundred thousand dínárs into the royal treasury. The Khwája accordingly engaged to satisfy the demand, and he delivered all the property, movable and immovable, which he had amassed during his former employments of deputy of the *'amids*, superintendent of the post-office at Khurásán, and minister of the Sultán. After he had given over everything that he possessed, he represented his indigence and poverty to the King, who compassionated his case, and having called him to his presence, said, if you swear by my soul and head to your pauperism, nobody shall hurt you. He answered, I will not swear till I again enquire of my wives, children, and dependents, and if I find anything remaining with them, I will send it to the King, and then take the oath. Having said this, he returned, and on administering very binding oaths and using all kinds of threats, he found that some small things belonging to his son were in the possession of a merchant. He took them also, and sent them to the royal treasury, and after this he swore to his indigence by the King's soul and head. 'Alí Khesháwand, however, was still seeking cause to disgrace him and make him feel the result of his animosity, although at the same time he was aware of the oath that Khwája Abú-l 'Abbás had taken.

At this juncture the Sultán undertook an expedition to Hindústán, and one day 'Alí Khesháwand, having gone to him while he was sitting alone, told him how he had long since known the deceitful conduct of Abú-l 'Abbás, and that he had several times determined to bring it before his Majesty's notice, but he had hesitated lest the representation of it might be put down to some selfish motive. Your Majesty, said he, has discovered his other faults and embezzlements without my help, and now he has sworn to his indigence falsely, because he has still in his possession some rarities of such value that few kings can boast of in their stores. The Sultán was much surprised on hearing these words, and said, If it is true, Abú-l 'Abbás deserves great punishment. 'Alí Khesháwand observed, If the King order me, I can prove my assertion. The King remarked that in case he failed to prove it he should suffer death.

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This was agreed to, and 'Alí Khesháwand departed from the King's presence.

At this time Khwája Abú-l 'Abbás was in confinement in one of the forts. 'Alí Khesháwand, among the plunder from one of the kings of Hindustán, had obtained a dagger from his treasury, the handle of which was adorned with a large ruby of Yemen, sixty miskáls in weight. He had also taken from the store of the Sámání kings a jar which contained a sír of syrup. He had concealed these from every person that the King might not know of them. He now took both these rarities to the fort, and placed Khwája Abú-l 'Abbás in charge of his own men. After a few days he returned to the court, and having brought the dagger and the jar with him, he reported to the King that after many difficulties, and menaces and threats, he had discovered them; that one of them had belonged to the sovereigns of India, and was sent as a present to the throne, but that the Khwája had concealed it; and that the other he had stolen at the time when the treasury of the Sámání kings was taken possession of. Now, said he to the Sultán, what are your orders? Shall we take strong measures against him to realize the arrears or not? The King, in great rage, replied, I give you both these things, and you may exact from him the remainder of the government demands by any means you like. After this the Sultán proceeded to India, and 'Alí Khesháwand delivered the poor minister to his enemies, by whose severities he met the mercy of God.

Troubles of a Minister.

The object of relating this story here is to show that to be at enmity with great and powerful men is very dangerous, and is sure to bring evil. May God protect and help us!

Certain classes of men are particularly deserving of patronage and encouragement, such as the literati, the judicial and revenue officers, secretaries, ambassadors, and envoys. In all political and revenue matters their advice should be taken, because by this much benefit is derived and great advantage obtained. The aid of these people is indispensably necessary. It is impossible to manage the affairs of a kingdom without their instrumentality, and a minister can do nothing without their assistance. The difficult point is, that

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the minister's life, not to mention his property and wealth, is endangered. If a man, then, must choose the profession of a minister, he should obtain the help and co-operation of these men, and conciliate them by affability and kindness. He should raise them by his bounty and favour from indigence and poverty to opulence and abundance, from insignificance and meanness to dignity and importance, so that if any person should be envious of him, they may through gratitude give him assistance, and remain loyal and devoted to his cause, neither opposing nor revolting from him, but preventing others by their examples from quarrelling with him. For when one person shows a rebellious spirit, others join with him either secretly or openly, particularly those who may have suffered any hurt from the minister, or are jealous of his preferment. But perhaps you think, that if relations and confidants and trustworthy men be appointed to all offices, no mismanagement can take place or loss be sustained. You must know that this is a great mistake. Because, on the contrary, it is very dangerous for a minister to entrust his relations with the government duties. Don't you know that from the great confidence and implicit reliance which I place in your brothers, I have appointed them to conduct the affairs of the kingdom and have made them superintendents of all the officers of the different divisions of the country, and have entrusted one of them with the privilege of exercising a general control over all, and of reporting all matters, good or bad, to me. I am sure that they will strive to the utmost of their power to uphold their character and preserve my fame. Now-a-days, however, the chief lady is displeased with me because she wishes that the Sultán should appoint her son his heir-apparent; but her object is not realised, because he sees the marks of greater intelligence, wisdom, and prudence, as well as the symptoms of greatness and royalty in Barkiyáruk; while she considers him of no worth, and thinks that I have persuaded the King to entertain the opinion. At all events, she is disgusted with me, and seeks on all sides to find some one whom she may persuade to rise against me and make the Sultán angry with me. She is in search of my enemies and adversaries, but finds none, and therefore can only complain to the King that the Khwája has sent his people to different parts of the kingdom. This is known to nobody else but

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himself, but it has made an impression upon the King's mind. Still, if God please, the end will be good and no evil will ensue. I mean to say that if we entrust our relations and kinsmen with offices it creates suspicions against us, and is considered incompatible with honesty and justice; but if we employ strangers, may God protect us from their rebellion and quarrels! You know well what injuries I have received, am receiving, and must receive, from these people. The origin of my quarrel with him (Hasan Sabáh) was through Imám Muwáfik Naishápúri (may the Almighty cause his soul to enjoy peace!) who was one of the most learned and holy men of Khurásán. His age had advanced beyond seventy-five, and he was known to be a very successful teacher. Every lad that read the Kurán and religious books with him obtained a great degree of proficiency in that branch of learning. For this reason my father sent me with the Saint 'Abdu-s Samad from Tús to Naishápúr, and I became his scholar. He showed me much kindness and favour, and I felt great love and affection towards him. I was his scholar for four years, and he taught me with great attention and care. I was associated with four other students who were of equal age with me, and possessed great quickness of perception and solidity of judgment. After leaving the Imám they always came to me, and we sat together and repeated our past lessons. Hakím 'Umar of Naishápúr did not change his ancestor's abode. He was born in Naishápúr and continued to reside in it. The father of Makhzúl Ibn Sabáh 'Alí Bin Muhammad Bin Ja'far was a very pious man, and bigoted in his religion. He generally resided in Re, and Abú Muslim Rází, the ruler of the country, placed great confidence and faith in him, so that he referred to him all questions which arose regarding the Sunní persuasion, and also consulted with him in all matters of dispute. He always spoke oracular words; but to lower himself in the estimation of Abú Muslim he committed absurd and unlawful deeds.

As Imám Muwáfik Naishápúrí was the head of the people who followed the doctrines of the Sunní religion, that artful man, to clear himself of the charge of being a Ráfizí, brought his son to Naishápúr and placed him under the care of the said Imám, and himself, like a saint, chose a solitary life. At times he ascribed his

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descent to an infidel family of Gházat, and said that he was a descendant of Sabáh Khamírí, that his father came from Yemen to Kúfa, from that place to Kúm, and from thence to Re. But the citizens of Re, particularly the people of the country of Tús, denied the fact, and affirmed that his forefathers were natives of their country. In short, one day 'Umar Khayám (one of my schoolfellows) said to me, it is well-known that the pupils of Imám Muwáfik are sure to become men of fortune. There is no doubt of this, but let us make some agreement of union, to be fulfilled on one of the party becoming wealthy? I replied, you may propose any you like. He observed, I propose that if any one of us become rich, he shall divide his wealth equally with the other, and not consider it his own property. I agreed, and this was the promise made between us. It so happened that I went to Khurásán, Mawáráu-n nahr, Ghaznín, and Kábul, as I have shortly related before. When I returned from these places I was entrusted with the office of minister; and in the reign of Alp Arslán, Hakím 'Umar Khayám came to me, and I entirely fulfilled my promise. First, I received him with great honour and respect, and gave him presents, and then I told him, you are a clever and qualified man, worthy of being the head of all the King's officers, and by virtue of being a scholar of Imám Muwáfik, you shall be blessed in this office. I will bring you to the notice of the Sultán, and speak to him of your intelligence and honesty, in such terms that he will place confidence in you in the same degree that he does in me. On this, Hakím 'Umar observed, "you are of noble birth, and possess a generous disposition and excellent morals, and these induce you to do me this favour. Otherwise how could such an insignificant man as I am expect this kindness and hospitality from the minister of a kingdom which extends from east to west. I value your favour the more because it is shown with sincerity, and not out of compliment. Such conduct will enable you to obtain much higher dignity and rank. The favour and kindness which you have shown to me is undeniable, and if I were to devote my whole life to you I should still be unable to express my thanks for this single act of kindness. My sole desire is that I may always remain with you. To aspire to the rank which you advise me to obtain is not becoming, as it would evidently be very ungrateful on my part. May

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God keep me from doing such a thing! I therefore propose, through your assistance, to seek some retirement where I may apply myself to scientific studies, and pray for the increase of your life."—He persisted in this request; and when I saw that he had openly told me the secret of his heart, I wrote an order for an allowance of one thousand golden miskáls to be annually given to him out of the income of my estates at Naisháṕúr for his maintenance. After this he left me, and engaged in the study of sciences, particularly Astronomy, and made very great progress in it. In the reign of Malik Sháh he came to Merv and was greatly respected and rewarded there for his knowledge of Natural Philosophy. The King showed him much favour, and raised him to one of the highest ranks that were given to philosophers and learned men. But that irreligious man (Hasan Sabáh) was not so famous in the days of Alp Arslán as he was in Khurásán. He was born in the reign of Malik Sháh. In the year when the Sultán achieved the conquest over Kádir, and completely quelled the disturbances which he had raised, this man came to me in Naisháṕúr. As much regard and favour was shown to him in consideration of his old friendship, as any faithful and righteous person might show to the extent of his power. He was treated with fresh hospitality and kindness every day. One day he said to me, "Khwája, you are a lover of truth and possessed of excellent virtues. You know that this world is a worthless thing. Is it proper that for the wealth and pomp of this world you should break an agreement, and enrol yourself among those to whom the passage in the Kúran about the violators of promises refers." I observed, "May it never be!" He said, "Yes, you are exceedingly kind and affable, but you know yourself that this was not the agreement between us." I replied, "I acknowledge and admit that we have promised to be partners not only in our titles and ranks, but also in all the estates which we may acquire." After this (conversation took place between us), I took him to the King's court, and at a suitable opportunity I recommended him, and informed the King of the promise which we had made between ourselves. I praised him so much for the great wisdom and excellence of his disposition and character, that the King put confidence in him. As he was a very cunning and artful man, he put on the appearance of honesty, and gained

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much influence over the King's mind. He obtained such a degree of confidence, that in all important affairs and great undertakings, in which integrity and faithfulness in the agents were needed, the King engaged his assistance and acted according to his advice. In short, I assisted him in obtaining this rank; but at last, by his bad behaviour, many difficulties arose, and I was about to lose all the credit which I had acquired in the course of so many years. In the end he fully shewed the wickedness of his disposition; and marks of bitter animosity and malevolence displayed themselves in his every word and action. If any slight mismanagement took place in the ministerial office, he multiplied and magnified it and reported it to the King, and if the King consulted him about it, he represented the evil of it with some apparently specious arguments.

In Halab (Aleppo) there is a kind of white stone of which pots of all sorts are made. On one occasion it passed the Sultán's tongue that he wished he had some of this kind of stone in Isfahán, and he spoke about it again. One of the camp followers, hearing of the King's wish, after his Majesty had returned (to the capital), said to two merchants of Arabia that if they sent five hundred mans of that stone he would pay them double hire. Accordingly they agreed to carry the 500 mans of stone with their other commodities, each man having 500 mans weight of goods of his own. One of them had six camels and the other four. They divided the stones between them so that they had equal loads upon all their camels. When they reached Isfahán the camp follower came to me, and I took the stone to the King, who was much pleased, and ordered him to be invested with rich apparel, and gave a reward of one thousand dirhams to the merchants, which was to be divided among them by me. I gave six hundred dínárs to him who had six camels, and four hundred to the other. That ungrateful person (Hasan Sabáh) having heard of this, said that I had made a mistake in the division, and had apportioned the money unjustly; that the due of one was still left for the King to pay, and that I should have given eight hundred dínárs to the master of six camels, and two hundred to the other. These words were told the same day to the King, who called me; and when I went to him, that wretch was also standing there. The Sultán looked at me and smiled, and asked me what was the

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matter. He, then, throwing aside all disguise, said, "The King's money has been divided unjustly, and the due of one has not been given to him." I and the courtiers asked him how? He observed, "The whole load of ten camels consists of three divisions each of five hundred mans, and ten multiplied by three makes thirty. Again, four, the number of one person's camels, into three, makes twelve; and six, the number of the other person's camels, into three, makes eighteen. Now if ten be subtracted from each product, eight, the remainder of the latter product, was due to him who had six camels; and two, the remainder of the other product, to him who had four: and therefore eight hundred dínárs should have been given to the former and two hundred to the latter." In short, when, in spite of me and to puzzle the others, he had given this solution of the question, the King asked him if he could give a plainer statement so that he might understand. He said: "There were ten camels, and the whole load was 1500 mans; therefore each camel had a weight of 150 mans; hence, four camels of one person carried 600 mans; (*i.e.*,) five hundred mans of his own commodities and one hundred mans of the stone for the King. In the same manner, the six camels of the other person carried nine hundred mans, of which five hundred mans were of his own goods and four hundred mans of the Sultan's stone. Thus out of 1000 dínárs for five hundred mans weight of stone two hundred are due upon every hundred mans weight, and consequently eight hundred should be given to the one and two hundred to the other. This was the proper division according to a just calculation; but if it was only a reward without any regard being paid to the weight, then it was all right."[1] When that ungrateful person had spoken all this, the Sultán sided with me, and passed the matter by as a jest. But I saw that it had a great effect upon the king's mind. He (Hasan Sabáh) had several times made these kind of complaints. His grand object was to examine and rectify the accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the revenue of the country. Indeed he got through a great amount of work in the short space of time I was on leave. He

[1] Stories of arithmetical ingenuity are very common in the East. A decision on a similar knotty question is attributed to 'Alí. See Richardson's *Dissertation, Pref. to Persian Dict.*, p. lxiii.

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completed this great task in a very short time. But as all the nobles and government officers were aware of his excessive malevolence and jealousy, as well as of his acting contrary to the promises which we had made between us, he obtained praise from no one; and when he submitted the accounts, he suffered such disgrace that he had no courage left to stop at the court.[1] Had not this ungrateful person (whom may God protect!) been so disgraced, there was no remedy for me but that which he at last took.

My object in relating this is to show that one day's trouble of examining the records and accounts and reporting them is not considered equivalent to thirty years' official service, and hence you may judge of other concerns and troubles. May God guide and help! I have said all this to make you desist from seeking the office of wazír; and if it has made no effect upon you, it is necessary that I should mention in detail the rules and precepts which you must observe, and which will be of great advantage and use to you, if God pleases.

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The Value of Petticoat Influence.

When the kingdom of Khwárizm fell into the possession of Sultán Mahmúd, he ordered the ministers of his court to appoint some qualified person to the management of it. They were for some days consulting with each other. The greatest noble of the court, Altúntásh, contrived to have the appointment conferred upon himself; but when the offer was made to him, he outwardly showed great reluctance in accepting it. Khwája Ahmad Hasan, who was not well disposed towards him, and was anxious to get him out of the way, used his best exertions to get the patent of the appointment drawn up and signed. But as Altúntásh was the greatest pillar of the state, every one thought that the King would not like to send him away from the court. However, as Khwárizm was a very great kingdom, the Sultán agreed to the appointment, and ordered him to proceed to his new government.

[1] [The accounts which he rendered had been mutilated or falsified. See Hammer, *Assassins*, p. 45.]

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Altúntásh was a great friend of Imám Násiru-d-dín Girámí, who was one of the chiefs of Ghaznín. As he had no time to pay him a farewell visit, he despatched a man with a letter, in which, after expressing his anxiety to see him, he stated that he would not return again to Ghaznín, and expressed his hopes that the Imám, observing the obligations of friendship, would come over to Khwárizm. The Imám, who was desirous of seeing that country as well as Altúntásh, of whom he was an old and intimate friend, went to Khwárizm, where, on his arrival, Altúntásh showed him a thousand kinds of hospitality and favour.

My object in relating this story is to say, that one day the Imám observed that while Altúntásh was at court all the world came to his threshold to pay their respects; such a position in consideration of fame and honour, as well as pecuniary advantage, was an hundred times better than the governorship of Khwárizm. What made him prefer it to a rank in which he exercised influence over the whole kingdom? Altúntásh replied, "O Imám! I have not told this secret even to my dearest relations or sons, but I will not conceal the truth from you. I have resigned that power on account of Jamíla Kandahárí. For years I had the management of all the government affairs in my hands, and during that time she thwarted me in everything. For this reason there was darkness before my eyes, and I could use no remedy against the evil. Now I have sought retirement, and have procured release from all such troubles. If God please, I shall escape her machinations in this distant province."

Now from what I have said, the disadvantages of the ladies of the royal household being against us may be learnt, but the advantages of their being in our favour are equally numerous, and no one's patronage is more efficacious than theirs, for by no one is so much influence and power exercised over the royal mind as by them, as the following story of Khwája Ahmad Hasan illustrates.

The Power of Female Intrigue.

Sultan Mahmúd towards the latter part of his reign was frequently dissatisfied with Khwája Ahmad, and during this time his enemies were assailing him with their calumnies and opposition. Khwája

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Hasnak Mishkáti[1] had been many years watching to find a suitable opportunity of injuring him, and every day it was rumoured that Khwája Ahmad Hasan's place was to be bestowed on him, but as the King's new bride, the daughter of the Khán of Turkistán,[2] was in Ahmad's favour, nothing could be done against him. This lady was called in Ghaznín Mahd-i Chigil, and Jamíla Kandahárí was one of her favourite attendants. Under the protection of this lady the Khwája was safe from all dangers. Even such a person as Altúntásh, who was viewed as vicegerent of Subuktigín, could never succeed in any hostile design against him.

On one occasion, when the tents of the Sultán were pitched in the vicinity of Kábul, Khwája Ahmad came on some government business to Ghaznín, and it was reported to him that some merchants were going to Turkistán, who were to return to Ghaznín in the beginning of winter. The Khwája remembered that he required a certain number of *postíns* (great coats) every year for himself and sons, and thought it advisable that some agent should go with the merchants to effect the purchase. To this man's care he committed many valuable and rare commodities of Ghaznín to sell. The same day this news was conveyed to Khwája Hasnak by his spies, and he informed Altúntásh of it. This noble was much rejoiced on receiving the intelligence, and he told Khwája Hasnak that they "could not have found a better opportunity for disgracing him, since he always boasted that he never looked to his own advantage, but to that of the Sultán alone; whereas he is now sending merchants to trade in foreign countries. But we must ascertain this with certainty first, lest the disgrace recoil upon us." Khwája Hasnak said, "the report is perfectly true, and there is no doubt about its correctness; and verily if this fact were disclosed, the Khwája must suffer irremediable ruin."

The Khwája being apprised of their intentions, informed Jamíla Kandahárí of the matter. There was such friendly communication between the Khwája and Jamíla, that although it often happened that during a whole year they never had an opportunity of seeing each other, yet one could send messages to the other ten times a day,

[1] [He is called Hasnak Míkál in the *Dastúru-l wuzrd*, and Mankál in the *Zinatu-l majdlis*.]

[2] [Ilak Khán.]

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and in such a manner that, excepting the person employed on their mission, nobody knew anything of the matter. In short, Jamíla sent to tell him not to be afraid, because the remedy was very simple. At the same time she repaired to Mahd-i Chigil, and represented the matter to her, suggesting that the Queen should write letters to her mother and brothers, with a detail of the articles which the Khwája had given to the merchant, and add others that were suitable as presents to her royal relatives, mentioning that they were sent as presents on her part, and requesting that they also would send in return some articles of such kinds as were adapted to a female toilette. Jamíla recommended that these letters should be taken to the merchant as soon as possible by some unfrequented road, so that they might be given to him that very night, with the injunction that if the servants of Altúntásh should seize and carry him back, he should say nothing to them, but when conducted to the royal court, he should then declare that he was sent by Mahd-i Chigil, and show the letters and presents which he was commissioned to deliver.

In short, at the instigation of Khwája Hasnak, Altúntásh represented the case to the Sultán, who asked him whether it was a true report. Altúntásh replied that he had ascertained it for certain, and that it was all correct. The King then asked him how he knew that it was true? Altúntásh replied, "If you order me, I can bring the merchant with all the articles which are consigned to him." The King consented. On this Altúntásh immediately despatched his people after the caravan, and they brought the merchant back. According to the instructions. the merchant said nothing to his detainers on the way, but when he entered the court he cried out, that he was sent by Mahd-i Chigil, and then showed the letters under her seal, with the presents which had been despatched, such as scarfs, necklaces, etc. The informers were much chagrined and ashamed, and could advance no excuse for what they had done. On the other hand, Mahd-i Chigil complained to the King that, when after so long a period she had sent from the court of such a great king some trifling presents to her relations, her messenger had been intercepted, and the scarfs and necklaces exposed in open court. By such words she produced great effect upon the King's mind, and

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with much indignation he ordered the accusers to be put to death; but as Mahd-i Chigil knew that they were innocent, she was unwilling that the blood of so many persons should be shed through her false representations, and begged that their lives might be spared. In short, Altúntásh and Hasnak received a complete defeat, and were covered with ignominy and shame; while the merchant, after being much honoured, was again despatched to Turkistán.

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Sultán Mas'úd and Khwája Hasnak.

Sultán Mahmúd was always on bad terms with his eldest son Mas'úd; and Khwája Ahmad, although he was unable completely to reconcile them, yet on all occasions he greatly appeased the King's anger. Though he never met the prince except about once a year in the King's presence, he nevertheless did not cease to exert his friendly offices.

When Khwája Ahmad was dismissed, Khwája Hasnak Mishkátí was appointed in his place. This person was a youth of no experience, and but little acquainted with the vicissitudes of the world. His chief attractions were the sincerity of his heart, the affability of his manner, and the readiness with which he served a friend or chastised an enemy. Though the Sultán was in reality disgusted with Mas'úd, yet this secret sentiment remained concealed till the time that he declared his son Muhammad his heir. Hasnak was not in favour with Mas'úd, since, in accordance with the custom of Díwáns, he interfered greatly with the rights and privileges of his princely appanage. Mas'úd was so angry with him in consequence, that when one of the rulers of India sent a sword as a present to him, the person who brought it, expatiating on its value, observed that it was so sharp and well-tempered, that even iron could not resist it. When the assembly was broken up, the prince asked his intimate companions what particular use it was adapted for? Some said it was to cut off infidels' heads, and others observed that it was to destroy his Majesty's enemies. In this manner every one expressed his own opinion; but Mas'úd observed, that he would like to fasten it to his side, and when, on the morrow, Hasnak came to pay his

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respects to him, to cleave his head with it down to his breast. If I were to do this, the King would never demand my blood in retaliation for his murder. He said this in a determined tone, but those who were present dissuaded him, and remarked that a great disturbance would ensue, and the Sultán would be very angry. When the Khwája was informed of what the prince had resolved, he thanked God for his narrow escape.

A short time after this, Sultán Mahmúd expired, and Sultán Muhammad occupied the throne of sovereignty in Ghaznín. Sultán Mas'úd at this time was in Isfahán, whence he returned with all speed. Sultán Muhammad advanced to oppose him, but the ministers of Mahmúd's court, considering that Mas'úd was much better adapted to wield the sceptre of the kingdom, seized Sultán Muhammad, and kept him prisoner in a fort. They then proceeded as far as Hirát to welcome Mas'úd. At the meeting, when Hasnak dismounted from his horse, the attendants of the prince seized him, and suspended him from a gibbet. They then summoned Khwája Ahmad Hasan, and having entrusted him with the office of wazír, bestowed all kinds of honour on him. Although his ministry was not of long duration, yet it was very successful in its results. He was often heard to say, "Thank God, affairs have reached this conclusion; my friends are exalted, and my enemies crushed."[1]

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The Story of Dábshilím.[2]

When Sultán Mahmúd had achieved the conquest of Somnát, he wished to stay there for a year because the country was very extensive and abounded with curiosities. There were numerous mines which also produced gold; and the rubies of Sarandíp (which was one of its dependencies) were carried to all countries. But his ministers persuaded him that it was highly impolitic to leave

[1] [This story is given in the *Zínatu-l Majális*, but Abú-l 'Abbás is the minister it is told of, not Khwája Ahmad.]

[2] [This story is given by Firishta (i. p. 75); it is also repeated in the *Nigáristán*. Dábshilím is the name of the King of Hind to whom the brahman Bídpái (Pilpay) related his fables,—*Anwár-i Suhaili*. See also *Useful Tables* in Thomas' *Prinsep*, No. xxvii.]

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Khurásán, which had been conquered, after battling with so many powerful enemies, and to make Somnát the seat of government. In short, the King determined to return; and he ordered that some person should be appointed to govern and retain possession of the country. They represented that no more power or glory could be gained in that country, and therefore they proposed to him to entrust some native with the office. The Sultán consulted in the matter with such people of the country as were of a friendly disposition to him. Some of them told him that no chiefs of the country were equal to the family of Dábshilím, and that at that time only one person of that house was surviving, and he was engaged in worshipping God in the habit of a saint. He ought to have the governorship of the country. Others, however, objected to this, alleging that he was a man of a bad disposition, and had fallen under the wrath of God. He had not willingly taken retirement and devoted himself to worship, but he had been several times seized by his brothers, and in order to save his life he had taken refuge in a place of sanctity; but there was another Dábshilím, who was one of his relations, and who was a very wise, learned, and intelligent man, whom all respected for his philosophical acquirements. He was also at this time the chief of the principality. If the Sultán would appoint him governor and send a farmán to him, he might come and take upon him the management of the country. That he was also very honest and faithful in observing his promises; so that, notwithstanding the great distance which intervened, if he agreed to pay tribute, he would send it every year to Ghaznín. The King said if he presented himself before him the proposal might be accepted, but why should he give such a large kingdom to a person who had already borne the title of king in India, and had not yet come to meet him nor had proffered submission. In short, the devoted Dábshilím was called, and placed in charge of the kingdom. He agreed to pay a tribute, and promised never to act contrary to the King's orders as long as he lived, and also to forward all the gold and rubies which might be extracted from the mines to Ghaznín. But he said there was another Dábshilím among his relations, who was his bitter enemy, and on one occasion some bloodshed had even taken place between them. That he had no

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doubt this Dábshilím would come against him after hearing of the King's departure; and as he was not possessed of sufficient power, he must of course be overcome and lose the dominions. But if the King would now march against this enemy and remove the ground of fear, he would send annually a tribute to the treasury of Ghaznín equal to all the revenues of Khurásán, Zábulistán, and Kábulistán. The Sultán observed that he had come with the intention of making conquests, and since he had not returned to Ghaznín, he might as well therefore remain six months more. With this resolution he marched towards that Dábshilím's dominions. The people of the country, however, remarked to the pious Dábshilím that it was not proper for him to excite the King to invade his territory, because the person whom the Almighty had made great and powerful could not be subdued by his endeavours. This was also told to the King, who first hesitated, but as he had already marched his troops, he did not like to abandon his resolution. So he proceeded towards the enemy, and having conquered his country, took him prisoner, and gave him over to the pious Dábshilím, who represented that in his country it was considered a very great sin to kill a ruler, and if any king did commit the crime, all his army revolted against him. It was a custom among the kings of the country that when any of them prevailed over another and captured him, a dark room was made under the victor's throne, in which the captive ruler was placed on a cushion, and the doors of the room were shut. But a hole was made in one of them, and through it a dish of food was given to him, and then that also was shut. As long as the victorious king occupied the throne, it was his duty to send a dish of food every day to the subterranean abode, even if the captive died after only a few days' confinement. It happened that the prisoner lived many days. The pious Dábshilím said that as he could not keep him prisoner in this manner, he wished the Sultán would take the prisoner to Ghaznín, and that after he (the new ruler) had established his authority in the country, the captive might be sent back to be confined in the usual way. The King agreed to this, and returned. The pious Dábshilím mounted the throne of Somnát, and began to send successively to the Sultán the presents and rarities of the country; and he also ingratiated himself with all the ministers

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of his court by sending them presents. When he had confirmed himself in the governorship, he sent tribute, with some jewels, to the King, and asked him to send back his enemy to him. The Sultán at first hesitated in complying with his request, and was unwilling to render him up into the hands of his enemy; but as the devout Dábshilím had gained the favour of the ministers of the throne by his munificence, they all taxed the King with showing mercy to an infidel, and said that it was very improper for a king to act contrary to his promise. It was also to be apprehended that the pious Dábshilím might rebel, and the country be lost. At last the young prince was made over to the people of the pious Dábshilím, and farmáns were sent to the authorities in India to conduct him to the confines of Somnát. When he was taken to that country the pious Dábshilím ordered a dwelling to be made under the throne on which he used to sit. It was the custom among these people that when their enemy was brought near the metropolis of the kingdom, the ruler was to advance one march to receive him. He was also to put a dish and a vessel of water over his head, and make him go on foot before his horse till he arrived at court.[1] After this the King sat on the throne, and his enemy was taken to the subterraneous house, and there seated on a cushion. According to this custom Dábshilím went out; but it happened that the captive had not yet arrived. Dábshilím went out hunting, and exerted himself greatly in the field. When the hot wind began to blow, the soldiers and all the people sought shelter where they might rest, and Dábshilím also alighted and went to sleep under the shade of a tree, covering his face with a red handkerchief. In India there are plenty of birds of prey with hard claws and sharp bills. One of these birds came flying towards him, and when it saw the red handkerchief, it mistook it for a piece of flesh, and pouncing down on Dábshilíms' face, it tore out his eyes with his beak. This created great confusion among his people, and in the meantime the young captive was brought in. The pious Dábshilím was now blind and useless, and, since no other person beside this young man had a right to the

[1] This mode of receiving the banished monarch on his return seems to resemble the present practice of Hindu women forming a procession to meet a stranger with brass pots upon their heads in token of welcome.

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governorship, all the people saluted him as their king, and the few persons who held aloof were seized. In short the same dish and vessel of water which were brought for this young chief were placed on the head of the pious Dábshilím, and he was forced to run to the court, where he was placed in the prison he had prepared.

The moral of this story is, the person who really deserves honour and respect cannot be disgraced by the endeavours of his enemy. If for a season he be degraded, he soon recovers his rank. But the envious person brings on himself ignominy and shame.

2.—*Nigáristán.*

[This "Picture-gallery" is a collection of anecdotes and stories relating to various dynasties. It was compiled by Ahmad bin Muhammad bin 'Abdu-l Ghafúr al Ghaffárí al Kazwíní, commonly known as Kází Ahmad al Ghaffárí. *Nigáristán*, the name of the work, expresses by the *abjad* the date of its compilation, A.H. 959 (A.D. 1552). Twenty-eight standard works are mentioned in the Preface of the work as the sources from which the stories have been extracted.[1] There is a copy of the work in Sir H. Elliot's library, and also some miscellaneous extracts from other copies. There are other works which bear the same name.]

Mahmúd and Ahmad Hasan Maimandí.

It is related of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní that one day in his youth he went to take a walk in the gardens, and was accompanied by Ahmad Hasan Maimandí, who was one of his most favoured servants. As he passed by a rivulet, his eye fell upon a person who was loitering there, and he asked his companion who the man was? "A carpenter," he replied. The Sultán again asked him what his name was, and he replied, "Ahmad." "You seem to be acquainted with the man," says the Sultán. "No," answered he, "I never saw him before." "Then, how is it," observed the Sultán, "that you came to know his profession and name?" "I knew his name," he replied, "by his readiness to answer your Majesty when your

[1] [See Morley's *Catalogue*, p. 50; Hammer-Purgstall *Redekünste Persiens*, pp. 307-9; Krafft's *Catalogue der Handschriften der K.K. Orientalischer Akademie zu Wien.*]

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Majesty called me by my name; and as to his profession, I saw him walk round that dry old tree, and look carefully at it." The Sultán, on hearing these words, said, "You would indeed be a most sagacious fellow if you could tell me what that man has eaten to-day." "Honey, or the juice of some fruit," said Ahmad. The Sultán then called the man and asked him, first, "Do you know this boy (Ahmad Hasan)?" The reply was that he had never seen him before. Mahmúd then enquired of the man who he was, what was his name, and what he had eaten that day? The answer was exactly what Ahmad had already given. Greatly wondering, the Sultán turned towards Ahmad and asked him how he knew that the man had eaten honey? to which he thus replied: "I knew it because he kept wiping his mouth, and the bees were swarming around him."

Treasures of Bhím-nagar.[2]

It is recorded in many authentic histories that when the Sultán succeeded in capturing the fort of Bhím-nagar, on the confines of India, which was believed to be of incomparable strength, and commonly reported to contain immense wealth, he obtained as booty no less than seventy thousand millions of dirhams, seven hundred thousand and four hundred mans of gold and silver vessels, rare vestments of different kinds, the exact value of which appraisers found it impossible to calculate; and vast quantities of precious stones and pearls, beyond all computation. An edifice (*khána*) fell into the Sultán's hands, which measured 30 cubits by 15, the sides and covering of which were entirely made of pure silver.

A Splendid Comet.

In 330 A.H. (941–2 A.D.), a comet made its appearance, the tail of which reached from the eastern to the western horizon. It remained in the heavens eighteen days, and its blighting influence caused so severe a famine, that wheat, the produce of one jaríb of land, was sold for three hundred and twenty miskáls of gold. "When the value of a spike of corn was esteemed as high as the Pleiades, conceive what must have been the value of wheat."

The famine in the land was so sore that man was driven to feed

[2] [Nagarkot or Kangra. See *supra*, p. 35, and Briggs' Firishta, i. p. 48.]

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on his own species, and a pestilence prevailed with such virulence that it was impossible to bury the dead who fell victims to it.[1]

3.—*Zínatu-l Majális.*

[This is another collection of anecdotes and stories, which have been drawn, as the writer tells us in his Preface, from a great variety of histories and other works, from the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát* down to the *Nigáristán*. The work was compiled in 1004 Hijra (1595 A.D.), by Majdu-d dín Muhammadu-l Husna, commonly known as Majdí. There is a new and well-written copy of part of the work in Sir H. Elliot's collection, besides some extracts from a copy belonging to R. H. Cust, Esq.]

Extracts.

Destruction of Robbers by Poison.

It is related that in the reign of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní a number of Kúch and Bulúch robbers having taken possession of a strong place on the road to Hurmuz, plundered all the caravans that passed that way. On one occasion they robbed a body of merchants and killed a young man of Khurásán, who was of their number. His old mother preferred her complaint to Mahmúd, who observed that such accidents occurred in that part of the country because it was too far from his capital. The old woman replied, "Keep no

[1] The magnificent comet here noticed was splendid enough, even allowing for Oriental exaggeration, to have attracted attention in Europe; and it may, therefore, probably be noticed in the collection of Lubienietski. It would be one of particular interest if we could establish it as an early visit of Halley's comet; but astronomers date its probable appearance as occurring in A.D. 930. It is to be remembered, however, that the known and recorded intervals of that comet are August 1531, October 1607, September 1682, March 1759, and November 1835; and that between the perihelion passages of the first and second, and of the second and third, of those recorded appearances, there is no less a difference than fifteen months; and again a difference of eighteen months in the perihelion passage of the third and fourth re-appearance, arising from the disturbing action of the planets; so that if we allow during the several centuries which have intervened, a period of eleven years for the perturbations arising from that source, we may perhaps be permitted to recognise an old visitor in the comet of A.H. 330. It must be confessed, however, that the probabilities in favour of this surmise would have been greater had the recurring intervals been prolonged, instead of being abbreviated; but it is difficult for the mind to forego a hypothesis when once assumed, however weakly it may be supported by probable antecedents.

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more territory than you can manage." The Sultán was impressed by the truth of these words, and ordered proclamation to be issued that whoever wanted to go to Hurmuz should get ready, and the Sultán would furnish a guard.

When the travellers were ready, the King ordered three hundred of his guards (*ghulám*) to accompany them. But the merchants said that if there were a thousand horsemen they would be too few. The Sultán replied, that whatever property of theirs should be lost he would make good from his treasury. He then called an old man from amongst the guards, and gave him some instructions, which will be shortly mentioned. When the caravans reached Isfahán, the leader ordered some panniers of apples and other choice fruits to be loaded on camels, and these fruits were charged with poison. At every stage the fruit was taken out and examined, and if any was found rotten it was thrown away. In this manner, when they arrived at the abode of the thieves, they brought out the fruits and spread them on the ground as if to air them. The robbers fell on them, and the guards mounted their horses and took to flight. The merchants were in utter despair respecting the safety of their property and lives. The robbers fell upon the caravan, and bound the merchants, and then they began to eat the fruits which were spread out, and such as no individual had ever seen before in that country. After a short time the poison took effect upon them, insomuch that their hands and feet were quite paralysed. The guards then turned their horses' heads, set upon the half-dead robbers, and finished them with their sharp swords. In this manner the roads were made clear, and security established for travellers.[1]

Mahmúd's Distrust of his Uncle 'Abdu-r rahmán.

It is related in the *Táríkh-i Násirí* that when Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín came to Hirát, 'Abdu-r rahmán Khán, who was one of the ministers of state, lodged in a very comfortable dwelling belonging to a learned man of great renown. One day, 'Abdu-r rahmán represented to the King that the house in which he had put up

[1] [This is the same story as the one taken from the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát* (*supra* p. 194), but it is very differently told. It is also given in the *Táríkh-i Guzida*. See Reinaud, *Mém. sur l' Inde*, p. 171.]

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belonged to an old man, who was considered by the people to be very wise and learned. He had a private room, in which he always used to sit, and not come out again for a long time. I asked the people what he did there? They answered that he used to perform worship and say his prayers. "One night," said 'Abdu-r rahmán, "I suddenly went into the room, and saw a large vessel full of wine, and a brazen idol placed before him. After drinking, he prostrated himself before the image. I have brought the idol and the vessel here, in order that your Majesty may give any order you like about that deceitful old man." The Sultán, after a moment's consideration, ordered the man to be brought into his presence, that full enquiry might be made into his case. He then told 'Abdu-r rahmán to place his hands over the Sultán's head and swear that what he had said was true. 'Abdu-r rahmán exclaimed, "Upon your soul and head, all that I have said is a lie." "O coward!" said the King, "what caused you to bring such a charge against that old Fakír?" He replied, "the man had an excellent house, and I thought that your Majesty would punish him and give the house to me." The Sultán thanked Almighty God for having guarded him against an improper act which he might have committed in haste. As it was his habit to think and ponder on every subject, he discovered the truth in this matter, and he never trusted 'Abdu-r rahmán again. Be it not concealed from wise men that the advantages of deliberation are numerous, but that haste and inconsiderateness in affairs of state produce shame without end.

Mas'úd Repents of his Avarice.

It is related in the *Táríkh-i Násirí* that, after the death of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín, his heir, Sultán Muhammad ascended the throne. Enmity then arose between him and his brother, Sultan Mas'úd, governor of 'Irák, who resided at Hamadán. Mas'úd led his army against his brother, who on receiving the intelligence came out to oppose him at the head of the armies of Khurásán and Ghaznín. One day, without any apparent cause, the cap of the King fell from his head, and this was regarded as a bad omen. The same day, at evening, 'Alí Khesháwand and a body of the King's own slaves, espousing the cause of Sultán Mas'úd, surrounded and seized Mu-

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hammad and deprived him of sight. Mas'úd then proceeded to Ghaznín and sat upon the throne.

At the same time, Abú Suhal Zaurakí,[1] the *'Ariz*, represented that Sultán Muhammad had distributed from the public treasury a large sum among his nobles, army, attendants, and courtiers, but as he was not the real sovereign, the King ought to order these people to refund the money; then, if he liked, he might after a few days give the large fees himself, in order that to him only their obligations might be due.

Sultán Mas'úd having liberated Hasan Maimandí, his father's minister, who had been imprisoned in the fort, raised him to the post of wazír, and consulted him upon these suggestions. The Khwája said, the King might do what he liked, but he should consider this matter well, and see the good and evil of it before adopting any resolution. Sultán Mas'úd, however, would not listen to his advice, and maintained his own determination. The Khwája then summoned Abú Nasr Miskání,[2] and said: "These cowardly people have been making such and such representations to the King. I wish you to go to him and tell him on my part that such an act was never done by any of the former kings, and it will make people disgusted with him." Abú Nasr said, "Here is what Sultán Muhammad gave me," and he refunded it to the royal treasury. Abú Suhal observed to the King that if all persons would follow the example of Abú Nasr, the money would be soon realised. The Sultán went out hunting, and ordered Abú Suhal to collect it. Abú Suhal appointed officers for that purpose, and inflicted torture and punishment on those who had spent what they had received. People were greatly disgusted with the government, and much confusion ensued in the affairs of the kingdom. Sultán Mas'úd became ashamed of what he had done, and was so much displeased with Abú Suhal, that he removed him from the office he held. He was often heard to say, "May such base servants never find their way into the court of a king."[3]

[1] [The Bú Suhal Zauzaní of Baihakí, *supra* p. 88.] *Zanzan* is the name of a town and district between Naishapur and Hirát.

[2] [The "*Mishkán*" of Baihakí, and the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát*. See *supra* p. 106, 190.]

[3] [This story explains Bahaikí's unintelligible allusion about Abú Suhal, *supra* page 88.]

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Ibráhím's Lack of Qualified Officials.

It is narrated that one day Sultán Ibráhím of Ghaznín[1] held a public court, and all his nobles and officers were present; but he sat very pensive and spoke not to any one, till the time of mid-day prayers. His ministers were afraid, and had no courage to ask him the cause of his anxiety, till at last one of his courtiers who was most familiar with the King, advanced to the throne and begged to know the reason of his Majesty's being so thoughtful. The King told him that his chief chamberlain had become old, and the boat of his life had reached the brink of death. "To-day," said he, "having looked at all my courtiers, I do not find any one worthy to succeed him. I was therefore thinking that if he should die, his work will still have to be done, and I must of necessity appoint some unqualified person to fill his place." The courtier observed, in reply, "My lord, your eye is as bright as the sun, and has a powerful effect. It turns stones to rubies, and dust to gold. If you instruct some one, he will then be able to do everything." The Sultán said, "It is true; but still the sun, though he be the great luminary, cannot at once make a ruby out of a stone; and although an alchemist may be acquainted with the art of making gold, yet he cannot effect his purpose without obtaining all the requisite ingredients."

Ibráhím maintains a body of Trained Officials.

Sultán Ibráhím[2] of Ghaznín having mounted the throne, determined to establish his government on a strong and secure foundation. Through the invasions of the Saljúks and the weakness of his predecessors, 'Abdu-r Rashíd and Farrukh-zád, the affairs of the kingdom were in a state of embarrassment, and the management of the country had been left to worthless characters. With this view, he called Khwája Abú-l Kásim Hasírí, who was an old man, and had been one of the confidential officers of Yamínu-d daula Mahmúd, and who excelled all his contemporaries in wisdom and in the purity of his mind. He consulted with him, and Abú-l Kásim observed that, one day when he was deputed by the King's grandfather,

[1] [Apparently Ibráhím II.]

[2] [Ibráhím II.]

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Sultán Mahmúd, on a mission to Ílak Khán, the ruler of Máwaráu-n nahr and Turkistán, he heard from the Khán, who was the wisest man of the time, that a kingdom might be compared to a garden, and the king to a gardener, who, if he wishes to make a good garden, must have three kinds of trees in it—firstly, fruit-bearing trees from which fruit may be gathered at once; secondly, trees from which fruit may soon be expected, which, though they do not yield fruit, yet by their blossoms and verdure, add beauty to the garden; and thirdly, young trees which some time afterwards will produce fruit. When the trees are old and withered, the gardener uses them for fuel; and young trees being planted in succession, they in their turn bear flowers and fruit, so that the garden is never without fruit, or wanting in flowery beauty.

Sultán Ibráhím, on hearing these words, determined on observing them in his government. He always trained up a body of men qualified to conduct the important duties of the government; and in doing this, he took especial care that his officers should not think that the King could not do without them, and that there were no people able to fill their offices. He also wished them to feel that there were other persons equal to them, and qualified to perform their duties; and that as it was by his favour only that they had held office, they ought always to endeavour to please him.

The Punishment of Túmán.[1]

It is related in the *Táríkh-i Násirí*, that when 'Abdu-r Rashíd succeeded to the throne of Ghazní, he showed great favour to one of his slaves named Túmán, and so advanced him from day to day, that at last the direction of all affairs came under his control. This Túmán was a low-minded, ill-bred tyrannical fellow, who did his best to bring down the great and noble, and to get low and bad men appointed to their places. Among these he patronised and sup-

[1] [This is the same story as that given in page 196 from the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát*, and which I could not find in the MSS. of that work. Search was also made for the story in Sir H. Elliot's imperfect copy of the *Zinatu-l Majális*, but without success. The text has since been discovered among some miscellaneous extracts from this work, and as it shows that there are several differences in the story or errors in the translation, I have here introduced a new version after the text of the *Zínat*.—Ed.]

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ported Abú Suhal Rázikí,[1] whom he pitted against the good Khwája 'Abdu-r Razzák, son of Hasan Maimandí. Abú Suhal employed all kinds of deceit and calumny against the Khwája; Túmán also added his slander. 'Abdu-r Rashíd was young, simple, and inexperienced. He dismissed his minister 'Abdu-r Razzák, and ordered him to be fined.

Túmán had favoured with his notice a fellow named Khatíb Lút, a base and harsh man; and he now advanced him to the dignity of Díwán of the State (Chancellor of the Exchequer). Khwája Abú Táhir Hasan, who was one of the old officials of the state of Ghazni, under the orders of 'Abdu-r Rashíd, proceeded at this time to Hindustán, in order to bring the revenues of that country to the capital. When he arrived in Hindustán he found agents of Túmán in every city and town, who by their oppressive conduct were irritating the people. The Khwája made a report of the facts, which he addressed to Abú-l Fazl, the financial minister (*sáhib-i díwán-i rasálat*). Abú-l Fazl communicated the account to 'Abdu-r Rashíd, who called for Túmán and reproached him. This caused Túmán to conceive a hatred against Abú-l Fazl, and to calumniate him. 'Abdu-r Rashíd, in his simplicity, ordered Abú-l Fazl to be fined and imprisoned. After this dismissal Túmán exercised unlimited power, and he appointed Khatíb Lút to the management of the country of Parsháwar. This man there raised the standard of oppression, and reduced the people to great distress.

When Khwája Abú Táhir reached that country (on his return from Hindustán) the people complained of Khatíb Lút, so the Khwája called for him and admonished him. Khatíb gave insolent replies and was abusive, so the Khwája, to maintain his own dignity, directed him to be turned out of court, and afterwards he ordered him into confinement. Khatíb's people communicated the circumstances to Túmán, who showed the letters to the King, and said that Khatíb knew what sums of money had been exacted improperly from the people, and the Khwája had therefore confined him. 'Abdu-r Rashíd, without any investigation, and merely upon these absurd statements of Túmán, directed him to seize the Khwája and bring him a prisoner to court along with Khatíb.

[1] [*Zauzaní*, see pp. 88 and 509.]

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Túmán proceeded to Parsháwar with three hundred horse, and having captured Abú Táhir, put him in chains. He then released Khatíb Lút from confinement, and returned. When they were one day's journey from Ghazní, they received the unexpected intelligence that the infidel Tughril had slain 'Abdu-r Rashíd and usurped his place. The horsemen who had come with Túmán then went to Khwája Abú Hasan (Táhir), and with many apologies, said, "The power is now in your hands; whatever you order we will execute." The Khwája directed them to remove the fetters from his feet and place them on Túmán. The soldiers then pulled him roughly from his horse and placed the chains on his feet. Khatíb Lút and his dependents were also seized, placed upon camels, and carried to Ghaznín. All this calamity fell upon 'Abdu-r Rashíd because he was a simpleton,[1] and listened to the reports of sycophants.

NOTE G.

Mir-át-i Mas'údi.

[This is professedly a life of Mas'úd the Ghaznivide, and finds an appropriate place here after the story books. The author of this extraordinary work was by name 'Abdu-r Rahmán Chishtí. He explains the motives which impelled him to its composition, and the sources of his information after the following manner: "The history of the King of Martyrs, Sálár Mas'úd, the facts of his birth, of his coming to Hindustan, and of his martyrdom, are told by different men in various ways, which have not found a place in any historical work of repute. The writer had long endeavoured to ascertain the real facts; and, after much research, he obtained possession of an old book written by Mulla Muhammad Ghaznawí. This man was servant of Sultán Mahmúd Subuktigín. He was also in the service of Sálár Sáhú, and of the Prince of Martyrs, whom he survived. The writer perused this old book from beginning to end with the greatest pleasure, and the doubts which he had entertained were dispelled. The book was very long, it entered into details about the wars of Sultán Mahmúd, and Sálár Sáhú, mentioning incidentally here and there the King of Martyrs, and closing with an account of his

[1] [*Lauh-i sáda*; lit., *tabula rasa.*]

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martyrdom. Several of the beloved friends and attendants of the Martyr Sultán, in the abodes of the blessed, have urged the writer to the task which he has undertaken; but no one has made the same demand on behalf of Sultán Mahmúd. It therefore seemed expedient to him that he should select and commit to writing all that related to the Martyr King. He would not, however, have been able to succeed, even in this, without the directions he graciously received from the spirit of the departed. When he had set about his selection, and had engaged earnestly in the work, one night the spirit of the deceased martyr appeared to the writer in a vision, and most condescendingly expressed, with his blessed tongue, his approval of the work. Being thus graciously honoured, the author humbly replied that he had begun the work, and begged for assistance wherever his narration might be too high, or too low, too short, or too long. The spirit, with great affability, directed the author to write, and that he would attend to him and assist him. The present work is the result, to which the author has given the name *Mir-át-i Mas'údí*. May the reader of it also be (*mas'úd*) blessed. This is the author's prayer. The biography of the King of Martyrs having been derived from the aforesaid history, is here related in five chapters (*dástáns*). Sundry incidents, and miraculous statements, which have been found in trustworthy books, have been selected, and, after being verified by oral communications with the author's spiritual visitors, have been inserted in the present work."

The book may then be called a historical romance. In it fact and fiction are freely mingled, and the great actions and exploits of other men are appropriated, without scruple, to the hero of the tale. The author quotes the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, the *Tárikh-i Fíroz Sháhí*, of Shams-i Siráj, and the *Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh*; but he professes, as we have seen, to base his work mainly on the lost *Tawárikh-i Mahmúdí* of Mulla Muhammad Ghaznawí. It is much to be regretted that he has quoted so little of that work; for his quotations from the *Rauzatu-s Safá* are fair, though somewhat abridged, and stripped of redundant ornament. Putting his hero Mas'úd aside, the accounts which he gives of the Musulmán conflicts with the Hindus agree in many respects with what we gather from other

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sources; his incidents seem to be borrowed rather than invented, and, as he used a contemporary work which is not known to us, it may be that some of his novel statements may be true, or may serve to explain, or elucidate other writers, though no reliance can be placed on them when unsupported.

The work bears no date; but the author tells us that he wrote in the time of Jahángír, a time far too distant for him to have had any personal knowledge of the scenes he depicts. Sir H. Elliot accredits him with another work, the *Mir-át-i Asrár*. The MS. is a duodecimo of 214 pages, 165 of which were translated by Mr. R. B. Chapman, B.C.S., by request of Sir H. Elliot. The editor regrets that the nature of the book has compelled him to reject a full half of the translation. It may be that even now too much has been printed; but the book is unknown to the European reader, and the extracts given will probably satisfy, rather than excite further curiosity.]

Chapter 1.

Of the expedition of Sálár Sáhú, general (pahlawán) of the army, into Hindustán, by order of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní, to the assistance of Muzaffar Khán; and of the birth of Mas'úd at Ajmír.

Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní (God make the light of his tomb to shine!) having subdued the kingdom of Rúm and the whole of the countries of Túrán and Írán, spreading everywhere the religion of Muhammad, was seated on his throne awaiting an occasion of further executing the purposes of Allah, when suddenly one day, four men mounted on camels, appeared from the direction of Hindustán, making loud lamentations. The officers of state and the attendants brought word immediately to the Sultán, and they were summoned to the presence.

Bowing to the ground, they spake as follows:—"Sultán Abú-l Hasan attacked us with his army, and slew Hurmuz, the servant of Muzaffar Khán; he also very nearly succeeded in putting to death Muzaffar Khán himself, his wife and children, and all those about him, so that he was obliged to evacuate the place with all his dependants, and escape towards the desert. He has now been living for some years in Ajmír. At the present time Rái Bhírún and Rái Súm-giriyá, with four and forty other Hindu princes, have assembled

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from all sides to attack Muzaffar Khn and destroy the Musulmáns. The infidels surround us on all sides, and we have no hope but in thee, Oh Asylum of the World! For God's sake, give a thought to these poor followers of Islám." "Be of good courage," said the Sultán, "I will protect the Musulmáns." Khwája Hasan Maimandí, the wazír of the Sultán, asked them in whose name they worded their *khutba*. "Hitherto," they answered, "in addition to the one sole God Almighty and the glorious Asylum of Prophecy (Muhammad), we have repeated in our *khutba* the names of the Faithful Khalífas. Now that the Sultán has promised us his assistance, we shall word our *khutba* in the name of the Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní." The Sultán was delighted with this reply, and ordered Khwája Ḥasan Maimandí to select one of the generals and bring him quickly, that he might be sent with an army.

After a long consultation the command was given to Sálár Sáhú, general of the army, and several officers of importance, and 700,000 (*haft lak*) veteran cavalry were appointed to the duty, and started off. The Sultán bestowed his own scimitar, girdle, and dagger, together with an Arab charger, upon the general, and the other officers were all honoured with dresses and horses, and were addressed by their lord as follows:—"If you wish to please me, please my brother, Sálár Sáhú; serve him with all your power and do his pleasure. My brother Sálár Sáhú is a careful, just, discriminating man; he will do nothing that is not loyal, considerate, and right."

It was on the fifth of the month of Zíhijja, in the year 401 (1011 A.D.) that Sálár Sáhú left Kandahár for Ajmír with his army (the Sultán having at that time quitted Ghazní, and taken up his residence at Kandahár).

Making the four camel-riders who had been sent as messengers by Muzaffar Khán their guides, they took the way to Ajmír by way of Thatta. Having traversed the intervening desert, they arrived within three days' march of Ajmír. The General then sent forward the camel-riders to give notice to Muzaffar Khán, while he remained himself encamped by the side of the road. On that night spirits addressed him in mysterious voices, and revealed to him that two pieces of good fortune would befal him during the expedition: in the first place he should be victorious over the unbelievers; and

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secondly, a male child should be born to him. At this time many spirits appeared to Sálár Sáhú, pouring such like glad tidings into his ears, as is fully related in the *Tawáríkh-i Mahmúdí*. From that time he perceived a supernatural influence at work within him. * *

When the news of the arrival of the General reached Muzaffar Khán he was overjoyed, and caused music to be played. The unbelievers who had assembled to besiege Ajmír were struck with a panic, and agreed together that since Mahmúd's army had come up on one side, and Muzaffar Khán, taking courage, was preparing to sally out on the other, it would be imprudent to attempt an engagement with two separate armies. Therefore they had better retreat for the present, and determine on some approved plan of fighting after the two forces had coalesced. So they raised the siege of Ajmír, and retiring to a distance of seven kos, encamped near the Koh-pukhar.

Muzaffar Khán then went to meet the General, and, conducting him into Ajmír, besought him that he would permit him to remove his people from the fort and lodge the General there. But Sálár Sáhú would not consent, saying, he had come to his assistance, and it would be very unseemly to turn him and his children out of his fort, and to take up his quarters there himself. So he pitched his tents on the banks of the tank Pukhar,[1] sacred among the unbelievers; and, having taken a few days rest, again put himself in motion by Muzaffar Khán's advice. The enemy also drew up their forces in line, and the flower of both armies joined in battle. The field raged with the conflict for three days; but on the third the breeze of victory began to blow on the side of the General, and the unbelievers yielded and fled. The Faithful pursued them to a distance of several parasangs, slew a great number of their officers, took a few prisoners, and then returned. The General took possession of the enemy's camp that day, and, having interred such of the Faithful as had been blessed with the honour of martyrdom, and distributed the whole spoil of the unbelievers among the soldiers of his army, he returned the next day towards Ajmír.

He then built a mosque at the gate of the fort of Ajmír, and

[1] [Hind., *pokhar*; Sans., *pushkara*, a lake.]

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having performed a religious service in honour of Mahmúd of Ghazní, he sent an account of all that had happened, together with congratulations on the victory, to the Sultán.

After this he appointed officers to many places in the neighbourhood of Ajmír, which had never been under the sway of Muzaffar Khán, and brought them so under control that the collectors settled down, and revenue began to flow in on all sides.

The rebels, who fled, took refuge with Rái Ajípál[1] at Kanauj. When the letter of Sálár Sáhú reached the Sultán, he was overjoyed at the good tidings, and bestowed a special dress of honour, with several Arab horses upon him, and was graciously pleased to order the government of the country to be given to his faithful brother, Sálár Sáhú. He also wrote as follows: "If the Rái Ajípál (Jaipál), Prince of Kanauj will adopt the Musulmán faith, well; but if not, we ourselves will proceed towards that country with our all-conquering army." The Sitr Mu'alla' (dignified veiled one) also was ordered to join her husband (Sálár Sáhú).

When Sitr Mu'alla' reached Ajmír with the dress of honour and the farmán, Sálár Sáhú gave himself up entirely to pleasure and rejoicing; and, through the power of Almighty God, on that very night—*i.e.*, on the ninth of the month Shawwál, in the year 404—Sálár Mas'úd left the loins of his father and entered the womb of his mother. Nine months passed in ease and pleasure; and in the tenth month, on the twenty-first of the month of Sha'bán, in the year 405, on Sunday, at the pure time of dawn in the first hour, the world-enlightening son was born. The beauty of Yúsuf, the grace of Abraham, and the light of Muhammad shone upon his brow.

o o o

The Sultán was also extremely delighted at the birth of his sister's son, and had rich dresses of honour prepared for the father, mother, and the infant Mas'úd. He also, in the most gracious manner, issued a mandate under his own hand to this effect: "Let the Government of the Kingdom of Hindustán be bestowed upon our brother and his son; and if the Rái Ajípál give in his submission, well and good; if not, let him know that we ourselves will

[1] [The Jaipál of other writers.]

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make an expedition into Hindustán, and on the same occasion will see our nephew Sálár Mas'úd."

Khwája Hasan Maimandí, who had an hereditary feud with the General of the army, was jealous of the honours and favours bestowed on him by the Sultán; but to what purpose?

Meanwhile, although Sálár Sáhú sought to lead Rái Ajípál in the right way, he would not cast his lot into the scale of truth; and from excess of worldly-mindedness he did not even desire peace. On the contrary, he encouraged the rebels of the surrounding country, who had taken refuge with him after their flight from Ajmír, to attack the dominions of the Sultán. The General, troubled by anxiety arising from his infatuation, communicated the state of affairs to the Sultán, and, after a few days, Mahmúd took the road to Hindustán with his army. The General Sálár Sáhú, and Muzaffar Khán, went to meet the Sultán with their armies, and conducting him first to Ajmír, displayed Sálár Mas'úd to the fortunate gaze of their royal master, and then presented offerings of money and all kinds of property.

The Sultán bestowed the whole on Sálár Mas'úd, and, during the several days that he remained at Ajmír, he would not let him (Mas'úd) go out of his sight. He then turned towards Kanauj with his army, in rage and indignation, appointing Sálár Sáhú and Muzaffar Khán to the van of the army.

He first came to Mathura, and plundered that nest of idolatry which was a very holy spot among the people of India. After subduing and plundering all the chiefs of the neighbourhood who were reported to be rebellious and factious, he next proceeded against Rái Ajípál, the King of Kanauj, who did not venture to resist him, but fled, as is detailed in the history called the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, as follows:— o o o o

The author of the *Tawárikh-i Mahmúdí* relates that when the Sultán returned to Ghazní after the Indian expedition, Sálár Sáhú, the general, petitioned to be allowed to attend him, but the Sultán said, "The subjugation of this country of Kanauj is your work, my brother, and I have therefore appointed you its governor." When they had reached the neighbourhood of Lahore he presented the General with a dress of honour and sixteen Arab horses, and dis-

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missed him; nor did he neglect Sálár Mas'úd, but bestowed upon him costly gifts. He also honoured Muzaffar Khán with presents of dresses and chargers, and sent him away with the General, ordering him to serve him in every way in his power.

So the General returned to Ajmír, and immediately appointed officers throughout the districts of his province, whether new or old, for the protection of the people and the redress of the oppressed. He then fixed an annual tribute to be paid by the Rái Ajípál, and left him at Kanauj on condition of service, whilst he himself remained at Ajmír, enjoying all happiness and peace, governing India as deputy of the Sultán.

He was exceedingly fond of his son, and when Mas'úd was four years four months and four days old, he sent him to a tutor, Mír Saiyid Ibráhím, to be instructed in the creed of Islám. o o o o The Almighty had endued him with a great aptitude for learning, so that by the time he was nine years old he had acquired most sciences, practical and abstract, and at ten years of age he was so given up to devotion that he passed the whole night in deep study, and never left his chamber before a watch of the day had passed. o o o In short, he excelled in everything, small and great, and was skilled in whatever came before him. o o o

The Prince of Martyrs was most spotless in body and mind. His pure soul was occupied always in meditating on God, and he was free from sin, external and internal. o o o

Chapter 2.

Of the return of Sálár Sáhú and the Prince of Martyrs to Ghazní, and of the feud of Hasan Maimandí, the wazír of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní, with Sálár Mas'úd, on account of the destruction of the image of Somnát.

In the course of the next ten years the General subdued many of the countries of India, and lost all fear of the efforts of the unbelievers. The revenue, too, began to flow in regularly and without trouble.

The Sultán Mahmúd was in Khurásán, when some rebels, inhabiting the skirts of the mountain, banded together for the purpose of attacking Kábulíz, and Malik Chhachú, Governor of

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Kábulíz, reported the matter to the Sultán. As soon as the intelligence reached him, a farmán was issued in the name of the General, ordering him to leave half his forces for the protection of the country of Ajmír, and to proceed himself with the other half to Kábulíz, and so to punish the unbelievers, as to make them careful not to rebel again, adding, that he (the Sultán) would go himself, but that he was occupied with important matters.

Kábulíz is situated in the vicinity of Kashmír. It was an important place, and had a very lofty fort. The town was originally in the hands of Ráí Kalíchand Fir'aúní.[1] He had grown presumptuous on account of the abundance of his wealth and forces, and the extent of his kingdom; therefore, when Sultán Mahmúd went on the Kanauj expedition in the year 407, upon his arrival in Kashmír, he took the fort of Ráí Kalíchand with the greatest difficulty, and appointed civil officers of his own. The particulars of the siege of the fort, and of the death of Ráí Kalíchand with 50,000 of his companions, are related in the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, but cannot be told in a brief work like the present.

The General of the army having left Mír Saiyid Ibráhím, Muzaffar Khán, and other confidential nobles of his province, to attend upon Sálár Mas'úd, proceeded with his train by successive marches to Kábulíz.

The unbelievers assembled in such numbers that the very ground round Kábulíz was black with them. Malik Chhachú, not being strong enough for an open fight, had shut himself up in the fort of Kábulíz, and the unbelievers, having ravaged the province, were on their way home when the General met them, and, offering them battle, fought for three hours. The army of the Faithful was victorious. Innumerable unbelievers were slain, and their army put to flight. Forty officers were taken prisoners, and several thousand men bit the dust. It was a great victory. Sálár Sáhú wrote his dispatch of victory to the Sultán as soon as he had entered Kábulíz. The Sultán was greatly pleased, and that instant issued a farmán under his own hand to this effect, "We bestow the province of Kábulíz, as an iná'm upon our victorious brother, in addition to his jágír; let him make the land his own."

[1] ["Kulchand."—The addition of "Fir'aúní" is a blunder. See *supra*, p. 43, and 458.]

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As soon as it was determined that the General should live at Kábulíz, he sent messengers to Ajmír to fetch Sálár Mas'úd, and to tell that light of his eyes to come quickly to him, along with his mother, leaving the officers whom he had appointed at Ajmír each at his post. When the messengers reached Ajmír, Sálár Mas'úd was delighted, and the next day started off for Kábulíz with his mother, accompanied by several thousand horsemen, who were like stars shining round that peerless moon. Engaging in the chase as he went, stage by stage, he reached the town of Rawál. The zamíndár of that place, Satúgan, was father-in-law of Khwája Hasan Maimandí's son. He came out to meet Sálár Mas'úd, and insisted that he should do him the favour of staying that day at his house, that so he might get honour, as he said, among the other zamíndárs. But as the star of Hasan Maimandí's bad faith shone in the forehead of Satúgan, Sálár Mas'úd would by no means consent to alight at the abode of such a treacherous unbeliever. According to his usual habit he had the tents pitched outside the town.

Again Satúgan besought him to eat the food that he had prepared for his party, but the Prince of Martyrs answered him, "The Prophets" (the delight of Allah be upon them and on us all!) "never eat food prepared in the house of a Hindu, nor will I." Satúgan then entreated him to take sugar, rice, and all things necessary, and have his food prepared by his own cooks. But as evil was in the heart of Satúgan, neither was this agreed to. In the morning, as they were starting, Satúgan brought 200 mans of sweetmeats, prepared in various ways, some of the choicest kind for Sálár Mas'úd; but he had caused the whole to be poisoned. Sálár Mas'úd, with divine perception, suspecting the truth, put it all with the baggage, and gave special orders that none should touch it. He then gave Satúgan a dress of honour, and dismissed him.

When he had marched one stage, he ordered Malik Nekbakht to bring the sweetmeats presented by Satúgan. As soon as he had given of the choicest kind to some dogs, they all fell down dead from the poison the moment they tasted it. The Prince of Martyrs, turning towards those present, said with his pure tongue, "The wretched infidel thought me, too, one of the undiscerning." His attendants were astonished at this proof of his ability, and bowing

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to the ground, began to extol him. When they told his mother what had taken place, she wept bitterly to think what a terrible misfortune might have happened, and declared that the unbelievers had attempted to commit this treachery at the instigation of the deceitful Hasan Maimandí. Then calling Sálár Mas'úd into her presence, she clasped him to her bosom, and gave large alms to the poor and wretched as a thank-offering.

The night was passed at that place. In the morning, when it was marching time, Mas'úd besought his mother to stay there that day, as it was a good hunting-ground, and he wanted to enjoy some sport. So they did so.

Sálár Mas'úd, taking with him some thousands of the flower of his young men—angels in form, and reckless in courage—took the road to the town of Rawál,[1] hunting as he went, and sent forward spies to learn what Satúgan was doing. When he had nearly reached the town, the spies brought him word that Satúgan had just completed his ablutions, and was worshipping his idols. Upon hearing which they turned their horses straight towards the town. At the same time, the unbelievers got warning, and turned out to oppose them. But the brave youths, flourishing their swords, hovered on all sides, like moths round a flame; and the unbelievers, unable to withstand them, were routed, and the Faithful scattered their heads in every street.

Having put a great many of them to the sword, they took the reprobate Satúgan alive, and brought him before the prince, who addressed him thus: "Oh, Satúgan, did you not know us, that, in the blackness of your heart, you should try such a vile plot on us." He then ordered that he, with his wife and children, should be bound and carried to the army. He then gave the whole place over to plunder. So they brought Satúgan, with his wife and children, to the camp.

This was the first exploit, and maiden victory, of Sálár Mas'úd. His mother caused pæans of joy to be sung, distributed bountiful alms, and gave horses, dresses of honour, and money to all the soldiers of the prince. At that time Mas'úd was twelve years old.

[1] [Here written "Zawál."]

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The next day he wrote an account of the affair to the Sultán Mahmúd, and, starting off the couriers, proceeded himself, march by march, with great splendour to Kábulíz. Before the messengers of the Prince of Martyrs reached the Sultán, Náráyan, brother of Satúgan, had brought a complaint through Hasan Maimandí that Sálár Mas'úd had carried off his brother, with his wife and little ones as prisoners, and had plundered the town of Rawál. The Sultán was in perplexity at this intelligence, when Mas'úd's account of the perfidy of Satúgan reached him. The Sultán then issued a farmán, signed with his own hand, to Sálár Mas'úd, informing him that Náráyan had brought an accusation before the arrival of his account, and ordering him to keep the guilty man with good care, as he would himself make inquiries and punish him. The Prince of Martyrs was filled with joy on the receipt of this farmán; but mourning fell on the house of Hasan Maimandí, and his hidden treachery was made manifest.

When they had arrived within one kos of Kábulíz, the General received intelligence of their approach, and, smitten with a longing desire to behold his son, who was like a second Joseph, he started off himself, like Jacob, regardless of ceremony, to meet him.

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It happened that Mahmúd had long been planning an expedition into Bhardána, and Gujerat, to destroy the idol temple of Somnát, a place of great sanctity to all Hindus. So as soon as he had returned to Ghazní from his Khurásán business, he issued a farmán to the General of the army, ordering him to leave a confidential officer in charge of the fort of Kábulíz, and himself to join the court with his son Sálár Mas'úd. Accordingly, they presented themselves before the Sultán, who received them with special marks of favour, and showed such great kindness to Mas'úd that his wazír became jealous.

Afterwards he invited Sálár Sáhú to a private audience, and asked his advice about leading an army against Somnát. "Through the favour of Allah," said that officer, "the power and grandeur of your Majesty have struck such terror into the hearts of the unbelievers, that not one of them has the daring to oppose you. The best plan is at once to commence the enterprise." This advice

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was most pleasing to the Sultán, though Khwája Hasan Maimandí dissented from it. After some conversation, it was settled that the General of the army should return to Kábulíz, and guard that province against the rebellious unbelievers, leaving Sálár Mas'úd, with his victorious army, in attendance upon the Sultán. As soon as he had dismissed Sálár Sáhú, the Sultán set out for Somnát with his victorious host, Mas'úd serving under him in the enterprize with several thousand youths in the flower of their age. They performed many illustrious deeds, and the Sultán showed them increasing favour and kindness.

They first reached Multán, and, when everything was fully prepared, took the road for Somnát. The details of the expedition are thus given in the history called the *Rauzatu-s Sáfá.* o o o o o

God bestowed great grace on this king, and his perfections may be understood from the following relation of the author of the *Nafahát.*

When the Sultán Mahmúd Subuktigín had gone on the expedition to Somnát, they suggested to Khwája Abú Muhammad of Chisht, that he ought to go and help him. The Khwája, though he was seventy years old, set out with some darweshes, and when he arrived made war upon the pagans and idolaters with all his sacred soul. One day the idolaters made a successful assault, and the army of the Faithful, nearly overwhelmed, fled to the Shaikh for protection. Khwája Abú Muhammad had a disciple in the town of Chisht, Muhammad Kálú by name. He called out "Look, Kálú!" At that moment Kálú was seen fighting with such fury, that the army of the Faithful proved victorious. The unbelievers were routed. At that very time Muhammad Kálú was seen in Chisht, striking upon the wall with a pestle, and when he was asked the reason, he said, "When the Almighty commanded a man of Abú Muhammad of Chisht's exalted piety to go to the assistance of the Sultán, who could stand before him?"

It is related in the *Táríkh-i Mahmúdí* that the Sultán shortly after reached Ghazní, and laid down the image of Somnát at the threshold of the Mosque of Ghazní, so that the Musulmáns might tread upon the breast of the idol on their way to and from their devotions. As soon as the unbelievers heard of this, they sent an embassy to

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Khwája Hasan Maimandí, stating that the idol was of stone and useless to the Musulmáns, and offered to give twice its weight in gold as a ransom, if it might be returned to them. Khwája Hasan Maimandí represented to the Sultán that the unbelievers had offered twice the weight of the idol in gold, and had agreed to be subject to him. He added, that the best policy would be to take the gold and restore the image, thereby attaching the people to his Government. The Sultán yielded to the advice of the Khwája, and the unbelievers paid the gold into the treasury.

One day, when the Sultán was seated on his throne, the ambassadors of the unbelievers came, and humbly petitioned thus: "Oh, Lord of the world! we have paid the gold to your Government in ransom, but have not yet received our purchase, the idol Somnát." The Sultán was wroth at their words, and, falling into reflection, broke up the assembly and retired, with his dear Sálár Mas'úd, into his private apartments. He then asked his opinion as to whether the image ought to be restored, or not? Sálár Mas'úd, who was perfect in goodness, said quickly, "In the day of the resurrection, when the Almighty shall call for Ázar, the idol-destroyer, and Mahmúd, the idol-seller, Sire! what will you say?" This speech deeply affected the Sultán, he was full of grief, and answered, "I have given my word; it will be a breach of promise." Sálár Mas'úd begged him to make over the idol to him, and tell the unbelievers to get it from him. The Sultán agreed; and Sálár Mas'úd took it to his house, and, breaking off its nose and ears, ground them to powder.

When Khwája Hasan introduced the unbelievers, and asked the Sultán to give orders to restore the image to them, his majesty replied that Sálár Mas'úd had carried it off to his house, and that he might send them to get it from him. Khwája Hasan, bowing his head, repeated these words in Arabic, "No easy matter is it to recover anything which has fallen into the hands of a lion." He then told the unbelievers that the idol was with Sálár Mas'úd, and that they were at liberty to go and fetch it. So they went to Mas'úd's door and demanded their god.

That prince commanded Malik Nekbakht to treat them courteously, and make them be seated; then to mix the dust of the

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nose and ears of the idols with sandal and the lime eaten with betel nut, and present it to them. The unbelievers were delighted, and smeared themselves with sandal, and eat the betel leaf. After a while they asked for the idol, when Sálár Mas'úd said he had given it to them. They inquired, with astonishment, what he meant by saying that they had received the idol? And Malik Nekbakht explained that it was mixed with the sandal and betel-lime. Some began to vomit, while others went weeping and lamenting to Khwája Hasan Maimandí and told him what had occurred.

The Khwája writhed like a snake, and said, "Verily, the king is demented, since he follows the counsel of a boy of yesterday! I will leave the service of the Sultán for your sakes, and do you also go and attack his country. We will open his Majesty's eyes." Accordingly the unbelievers returned with the news to the Hindu princes. And Khwája Hasan, from that day, resigned the office of Wazír, became disaffected, and left off attending to the duties of his office.

Afterwards the image of Somnát was divided into four parts, as is described in the *Tawáríkh-i Mahmúdí*. Mahmúd's first exploit is said to have been conquering the Hindu rebels, destroying the forts and the idol temples of the Rái Ajipál (Jaipál), and subduing the country of India. His second, the expedition into Harradawá[1] and Guzerát, the carrying off the idol of Somnát, and dividing it into four pieces, one of which he is reported to have placed on the threshold of the Imperial Palace, while he sent two others to Mecca and Medina respectively. Both these exploits were performed at the suggestion, and by the advice, of the General and Sálár Mas'úd; but India was conquered by the efforts of Sálar Mas'úd alone, and the idol of Somnát was broken in pieces by his sole advice, as has been related, Sálár Sáhú was Sultán of the army and General of the forces in Irán. Many of the most illustrious nobles and bravest Turks were of his kindred; and wherever the Sultán led his army and conquered kingdoms, the victory was owing to the exertions and courage of him and his relatives.

The author of the *Tawáríkh-i Mahmúdí* has narrated at length the quarrel between Sálár Mas'úd and Hasan Maimandí, and the valour,

[1] ["Bhardána," *supra*, page 524.]

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success, and good conduct of the Commander-in-chief and Sálár Mas'úd. To relate it all here would make this work too long; therefore I have only briefly mentioned them. Also, these exploits of Sultán Mahmúd, and Sálár Mas'úd, I have related only so far as they concern that Prince of Martyrs, and insomuch as he was personally mixed up with them, otherwise I had not indulged in such prolixity. "God knows the truth."

Chapter 3.

Departure of the Prince of Martyrs from the court of Sultán Mahmúd. —His expedition into Hindustán.—He reaches Multán; occupies Dehli, and, passing the Ganges, takes up his residence in Satrakh, from whence he sends out armies on all sides.

Khwája Hasan Maimandí had been long versed in all the affairs of the administration, so that a great many of the factions, from different parts of the empire, were ready to obey his word. Thus, owing to his disaffection, there was ground for the apprehension of disturbances on all sides. The Sultán, being informed of this, took every means in his power to conciliate Khwája Hasan Maimandí, but without success. For whenever that individual saw Sálár Mas'úd at court, and beheld the favours the Sultán bestowed upon him, he writhed within himself like a snake, and fell into grief and rage, declaring that he could not endure to set eyes upon Mas'úd.

The Sultán, perplexed at this state of things, one day called Sálár Mas'úd apart, and, addressing him kindly, said that Hasan Maimandí was a man of evil disposition, and that, through excessive insolence, he had taken a violent antipathy to him (Mas'úd), which so engrossed him that he had left off attending to business. "I am determined," continued the Sultán, "by degrees to deprive him of the wazírship, and to promote Amír Jang Mikáil to the post. But till this is accomplished, do you go to Kábulíz and employ yourself in the chase, and in attendance upon your parents. In a short time I will dismiss him and recal you; rest assured, meanwhile, that my affection for you is greater than you can imagine."

Sálár Mas'úd, perceiving the drift of the Sultán's discourse, replied, "Oh, sire! what have I to do at my parents' house? With your permission, I will make an expedition into Hindustán, and, wresting

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the kingdoms, now in the hands of pagans, out of their hands, will spread the true faith, and cause the *khutba* to be read in your majesty's name." The Sultán replied, "It is no pleasure to me to deprive myself of you, my child, that I should thus separate myself from you—no; go for a short time to your father, I will send for you ere long." [*Mas'úd departs with his followers.*]

The author of the *Tawáríkh-i Mahmúdí* relates that there were, with his own followers and those who joined him, 1,100,000 (*yazdah lak*) men in Mas'úd's army, the home and family of each of whom was at Ghazní.

As soon as the General of the army heard of all that had happened, he went with Sitr Mu'alla' in terrible distress from Kábulíz to the camp of Sálár Mas'úd, and, after embracing him, entreated him with tears to remain with them; but he would by no means consent. Seeing that their child was not to be prevailed upon, they became desirous to go with him. But Mas'úd said, that if they came with him, Hasan Maimandí would certainly persuade the Sultán that they had rebelled, and therefore they had better remain behind. "I have already," said he, "petitioned the Sultán, and now I beseech it of you, to be allowed to travel for one year, after which I will return." At length his parents were obliged to submit. They however sent, with Sálár Mas'úd, a fine army and counsellors, many of whom were of his own age, and had been his companions, and they selected the bravest of their kindred among the Tatars of Sálár Sáhú to accompany him. They also bestowed upon him treasure, horses, and gifts of all kinds. So the General of the army returned towards Kábulíz with his consort, weeping and lamenting.

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To resume our history. The Prince of Martyrs, adorned with all dignity of body and mind, reached the banks of the river Indus, and immediately ordered boats to be collected. These were brought, after some search, and he commanded Mír Husain 'Arab, and Amír Bázíd Ja'far to cross over the river with 50,000 horse, and attack Sahúr.[1] They did so; and Rái Arjun, the zamíndár of that place,

[1] Shore?

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having already taken refuge in the hills, they demolished his house, where they found 500,000 gold pieces. Taking these, and a good deal of other plunder, the two Amírs rejoined Mas'úd. Having thus effected his first conquest in India, Mas'úd crossed the river himself with his army, and encamped on the opposite bank, and, as it was a good sporting country, he enjoyed the pleasures of the chase.

After a short time, Mas'úd marched onward and arrived at Multán. That city was deserted; for, since Sultán Mahmúd, the faithful, had plundered it for the second time, it had never been restored, and the Ráís Arjun and Anangpál, lords of the place, had gone to reside in the province of Uch. From thence they sent ambassadors to Mas'úd to inquire if he thought it right thus to overrun a foreign country, adding, "Perhaps you will have cause to repent it." Mas'úd replied, "The country is God's; his slave has no kingdom; but he to whom God gives it will be the possessor. This has been the principle of my ancestors from the time of Asadu-lla Ghálib until now; to convert unbelievers to the one God and the Musulmán faith. If they adopt our creed, well and good. If not, we put them to the sword." He then bestowed honorary dresses upon the ambassadors, and dismissed them with a caution to prepare for war, as he would shortly follow.

As soon as the ambassadors had departed, he sent six Amírs, viz., Mír Husain 'Arab, Amír Bázíd Ja'far, Amír Tarkán, Amir Nakí, Amír Fíroz, and 'Umr Mulk Ahmad, with several hundred thousand horse to attack the Rái Anangpál. That prince came out of his stronghold to meet them with his forces drawn out in battle array. The combat raged for three hours; many noble Turks were made martyrs, while countless unbelievers were slain, and the Rái Anangpál was at length obliged to yield. The army of Islám entered the city and plundered it, carrying off an immense amount of property. They then rejoined Mas'úd, who bestowed honorary dresses and horses on each of the six Amírs.

The rainy season had now set in, so they remained at Multán the next four months. After the rains, Mas'úd led his army against Ajúdhan.[1] Although, in those days, that place and its vicinity was

[1] [Ajúdha or Ayodyha is the old form of the name Oudh. The scene of Mas'úd's later exploits is laid in the neighbourhood of Oudh.]

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thickly peopled, it was subdued without a struggle. Mas'úd was delighted with the climate of Ajúdhan, and as, moreover, it was a good sporting country, he remained there till the end of the following rains, when he set off for Dehli. Rái Mahípál was then king of the city. He had an immense army, and many war elephants, and was, in consequence, overflowing with pride. Sultán Mahmúd and Sálár Sáhú, when they came into Hindustán, conquered Lahore, and made it a city of Islám; but they were unable to attack Dehli, and retired without even attempting it. But now Sálár Mas'úd, lion-like, marched on by successive stages till he reached that city.

The Rái Mahípál led out his army to oppose him. The two forces lay several miles apart; but the young warriors, on either side, used to meet daily and skirmish from morning till night. Thus a month and some days passed away, till Mas'úd, becoming apprehensive of the result, sought help from God. As soon as he had done so, he received the unexpected intelligence that Sálár Saifu-d dín, the Sultánu-s Salátin, Mír Bakhtíyár, Mír Saiyid 'Azízu-d dín, and Malik Wahíu-d dín, five Amirs, were coming from Ghazní to join him with a numerous force. On their arrival joy and delight filled Mas'úd's army. These men, likewise, had left Ghazní on account of the evil conduct of Hasan Maimandí. Saifu-d dín was a younger brother of Mas'úd's father, Mír Bakhtiyár and 'Azízu-d dín were also related to him. Malik Daulat was a servant of Sultán Mahmúd, and Miyán Rajab had been a confidential slave of Sálár Sáhú, who reposed such confidence in him, that he gave him to Mas'úd; and he, as a mark of his favour, had bestowed a jágír upon him. But no sooner had Sálár Mas'úd started on his expedition, than Hasan Maimandí deprived him of it, without informing the Sultán. Miyán Rajab, therefore, followed Mas'úd, who considered him so trustworthy as to appoint him adjutant (Kotwál) of the army.

Khwája Hasan, from his enmity against Mas'úd, had quarrelled with all connected with him, and forced them to leave the country. The fact was, Sultán Mahmúd had become old, and spent his whole time in the society of Malik Ayáz, neglecting the business of the state. So Hasan tyrannized on all sides. However, it is related in the history called *Rauzatu-s Safá*, that Mahmúd became at length

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dissatisfied with his conduct, and, removing him from the office of wazir, imprisoned him in one of the forts of Hindustán, where he was put to death, and that Mír Jang Míkáíl was appointed in his place. Certain it is, that he was doomed to destruction, who unjustly persecuted one favoured of 'Alí, and blessed with divine grace.

To resume: Raí Mahípál was alarmed at this accession to the forces of his enemy. Four days after the two armies joined in battle. Mas'úd was engaged in conversation with Sharfu-l Mulk, when Gopál, son of Mahípál, charged him, and, aiming with his mace at his head, wounded him on the nose, and struck out two of his teeth. Sharfu-l Mulk drew his sword, and with one blow sent Gopál to hell. Mas'úd bound up his wounded nose with a handkerchief, and continued on the field of battle. All praise to the courage and valour of Mas'úd, who took no notice of his wound, but continued fighting until evening prayers, and even at night remained on the field. Many brave Turks were martyred, and countless unbelievers slain.

In the morning they again beat the drums of war, and the young men of courage came forth to battle. Mír Saiyid 'Azízu-d dín was fighting in the foremost rank, where he was suddenly struck with a spear on the head, and became a martyr. Unable to contain himself, on hearing of the Mír's death, Mas'úd himself charged the enemy, followed by the Turkish Amírs, careless of their lives as moths round a flame. The unbelievers were unable to withstand the shock, and fled. The Ráís Mahípál and Sirípál alone, with a few others, remained upon the field. Although all their friends entreated them to fly and try the fortune of war another time, they constantly refused, asking where they could go if they left the field. At last they were both slain; a great victory was won, and the throne of Dehli fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Mas'úd, however, did not ascend the throne, still affirming that he was only fighting for the glory of God. He buried 'Azízu-d dín at Dehli, and, erecting a lofty tomb over his grave, appointed men to keep and provide lamps nightly for it. Amír Bázid Ja'far was placed in command of the garrison of Dehli, consisting of 3,000 picked horse. He was besides ordered to raise 5,000 or 6,000 fresh

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troops from among the people of the country; Mas'úd at the same time telling him, in the most gracious manner, that he was responsible for the happiness of the inhabitants, and must take every precaution to preserve them from oppression.

He left Dehli on the 16th of the month Ázar, having remained there six months, and led his army against Mírat. The Princes of Mírat had already heard that no one could hope to stand before Mas'úd; that in whatsoever direction he or his troops turned, they gained the victory. So they were afraid, and sent ambassadors with valuable presents to Mas'úd, acknowledging his supremacy, and offering to be the servants of his slaves; in fact, submitting entirely to him. Mas'úd was much pleased, and bestowing the kingdom of Mírat upon them, proceeded with all his train towards Kanauj.

When Sultán Mahmúd had ejected Rái Ajípal from Kanauj, Mas'úd had procured his pardon and re-establishment; remembering this service, he had already sent an embassy to Mas'úd with most valuable presents. And when the latter had reached Kanauj, and pitched his tents upon the banks of the Ganges, he sent his eldest son to welcome him with the usual gifts. Mas'úd received the son of Ajípál with great respect, and in order to allay all apprehension on the part of his host, determined to accept the gifts. He then presented the prince with a charger and a dress of honour, dismissed him, and ordered his servants to get all things ready as quickly as possible, as he intended to cross the river and enjoy some sport. When they had prepared the boats they came and informed him, and he immediately commanded the army to pass over and encamp on the opposite bank, which they did, Mas'úd accompanying them. Presently came Rái Ajípal with ten horses to pay his respects. Mas'úd received him with marks of great affection, and, seating him near himself, reassured him in every way. He then presented him with a special dress of honour and those ten horses, and allowed him to depart, requesting him to send supplies for his army, and advising him to take every care of his country, so as to improve his subjects daily.

After that, he marched on in the direction of Satrakh; and, on the tenth day, reached that city. At that time Satrakh was the

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most flourishing of all the towns and cities of India; it lies in the centre of that country, and abounds in good hunting ground. Moreover, it was a sacred shrine of the Hindus; so Mas'úd fixed his head quarters there, and sent out armies on every side to conquer the surrounding country. Sálár Saifu-d dín and Miyán Rajab he despatched against Bahráích, appointing the son of Miyán Rajab kotwal of the army in his father's stead; for, although but young, he was possessed of great ability and courage.

As soon as Saifu-d dín and Miyán Rajab reached Bahráích, they sent back word that there were no supplies to be obtained there, and that their army stood in danger of perishing, unless help was afforded them. Mas'úd ordered the chaudharís and mukaddims of the pargannahs to be brought before him, and those of seven or eight of the pargannahs were brought. He then called to his presence Bípás, Chaudharí of Saddahur, and Narharí, Chaudharí of Amíthí, and encouraged them in every way, exhorting them to encourage the cultivation of the lands, which would be advantageous both to them and to their ryots. He also proposed to them to take money in advance, and bring him in supplies. They petitioned to be allowed to deliver the supplies before they received the money; but he insisted on paying in advance. So depositing ready money with the chaudharís and mukaddims, he presented each one of them with a dress and betel-nut, and sent men with them to bring in the supplies as quickly as possible, while Malik Fíroz 'Umar was appointed to have the necessary quantities conveyed to Saifu-d din at Bahráích, as soon as they arrived.

Mas'úd next commanded Sultánu-s Salátín and Mír Bakhtiyár to proceed against the Lower Country (*mulk-i faro-dast*), saying, "We commit you to the care of God. Wherever you go, first try gentle measures. If the unbelievers accept the Muhammadan faith, show them kindness; if not, put them to the sword." He then embraced Mír Bakhtiyár, saying, "We part to-day; whether we shall ever meet again is uncertain." Both the brothers wept at this sorrowful thought, and remained long clasped in each others' arms. Then Mír Bakhtiyár departed. Wonderful time! Wonderful friendship! and wonderful firmness of faith, to cast themselves thus into the sea of unbelievers, purely for the sake of witnessing to the

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truth of the one God. It is said that Mír Bakhtiyár subdued the Lower country, and advanced as far as Kánúr, where he drank the wine of martyrdom. His holy sepulchre is well known in that place.

Mas'úd then dispatched Amír Hasan 'Arab against Mahúna; Mír Saiyid 'Azizu-d dín, celebrated now as the Lál Pír, against Gopamú and its vicinity; and Malik Fazl against Benares and its neighbourhood. Each of these went away in the direction of their several commands, while Mas'úd himself continued to reside with great magnificence at Satrakh, enjoying the pleasures of the chase.

One day ambassadors arrived from the Princes of Karra and Mánikpúr, bringing two saddles, bridles, and other rare presents, with this message, "This kingdom has belonged to us and our fathers from time immemorial. No Musulmán has ever dwelt here. Our annals relate that the Emperor Alexander, Zú-l karnain, made an expedition against this country, and reached Kanauj; but there he made peace with Rái Kaid, and returned without having crossed the Ganges. Sultán Mahmúd, also, with your father, came as far as Ajmír, Guzerát, and Kanauj, but spared our country. But you, without any respect for the rights of property, establish yourself in a country that does not belong to you. The action is unworthy of a great mind like yours. It is an infinite sorrow to us that you should be the only child in the house of your father, and that he should have no other descendants. Consider, we pray you, the right. Satrakh is a pleasant place; but it is not fitting that you should remain there. We have 90,000 picked soldiers; the princes of the country of Bahráích and other places will come to our help on every side, and you will find yourself in great difficulties. You had better take the prudent course of retiring of your own free will."

Mas'úd raged at this like a fierce lion, and, compressing his lips, addressed the ambassador thus, "Well is it for thee that thou comest as an ambassador; had any one else addressed such an insolent speech to us, we would have had him torn in pieces. Go, tell thy princes their country belongs to the all-powerful God, who gives it to whom he wills. Think not that we are come only to take a journey. We intend to make our abode here, and, by the

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command of God, will uproot unbelief and unbelievers from the land." o o o

So saying, he dismissed the ambassador, who went and told his master all that had passed, adding "This cub, in truth, fears no one. Do you use your best endeavours, for he cares nought for your 90,000 picked men." The unbelievers were greatly alarmed. At length a barber, who was present, said, he would settle the business if authorized to do so. The Rái ordered him to make the attempt [*to poison Mas'úd, in which he succeeded, but the intended victim recovered.*]

At that time Mas'úd was eighteen years of age. God had lavished upon him o o o every excellence of body and mind. o o o This slave once, in the beginning of life, looked upon the Sultán in a vision. From that hour his heart grew cold to the business of the world, and for three or four years he lost all thoughts of self in the pain of separation from him.

To continue our history. Mas'úd immediately ordered those about him to write letters to the governors of the provinces under his sway, informing them of the attempt of the unbelievers, and how God had turned it to good; for he feared lest short-sighted, ill-disposed persons should adopt a wrong idea; and thus, by their distortion of facts, evil might arise. He also sent a letter to his honoured father at Kábulíz. They soon wrote out all the dispatches and brought them to him, and he signed them himself, and started them off by the hands of special messengers.

[*Mas'úd's mother dies from grief, and Sálár Sáhú then proceeds to join his son.*]

Chapter 4.

Sálár Sáhú arrives at Satrakh.—Mas'úd marches against Bahráich.—Death of Sálár Sáhú at Satrakh.—Mas'úd wages war with the unbelievers, and tastes the wine of martyrdom at Bahráich.

When Sálár Sáhú reached the neighbourhood of Satrakh, Mas'úd went out to meet him, and, conducting him home, held great rejoicings for three days and nights with social feasts. All men took fresh courage upon the arrival of the General of the army, while the unbelievers on every side were struck with dismay and apprehension.

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A few days after, Malik Fíroz took three spies of the unbelievers at the passage of the river Saru (Sarjú), and sent them to Satrakh. The servants of Mas'úd recognized two of them as the Brahmans who had brought the saddle filled with sorceries and enchantments, as a present from the Ráís of Karra and Mánikpur to Mas'úd; and the third as the barber, who had presented the poisoned nail-cutter. Sálár Sáhú ordered them all to be put to death. But Mas'úd wished them to be released, saying, there was nothing to be gained by killing them. Sáhú consented, for his son's sake, to release the two Brahmans, but declared he would never let the barber go. So they immediately put him to death. They then found upon the Brahmans letters from the Ráís of Karra and Mánikpur to the Ráís of the neighbourhood of Bahráích, and read them. The contents were as follows:—"A foreign army is encamped between you and us. Do you draw out your army on your side, while we attack them on ours, and thus we shall destroy the Musulmáns."

Sálár Sáhú was enraged, and instantly sent off two spies to gather intelligence of the Ráís of Karra and Mánikpur. They brought word that the unbelievers were amusing themselves with their sons and daughters in fancied security. The General immediately beat to arms, and started off, leaving Mas'úd in Satrakh. He proceeded that night to the head-quarters of the ill-fated unbelievers, and, dividing his army into two bodies, sent one division against Karra, and the other against Mánikpur. The brave Musulmáns quickly surrounded each place, and the heathen came out to battle; but the forces of Islám prevailed, and, putting thousands of unbelievers to the sword, they took the two Ráís alive, and brought them before Sálár Sáhú, who put chains about their necks, and dispatched them to Satrakh, writing to Mas'úd that he had sent him some eaters of forbidden food, whom he was to keep with all care. Mas'úd sent them on to Sálár Saifu-d dín at Bahráích. Meanwhile, Sálár Sáhú reduced Karra and Mánikpur, and plunder and slaves to a great amount fell into the hands of the army. He then returned in triumph to Satrakh, leaving Malik 'Abdu-llah in the neighbourhood of Karra, and Mír Kutb Haidar at Mánikpur.

All the princes of Hindustan were alarmed at these doings; deeming it impossible to cope with the army of Islám, they began

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to retreat. Ere long, however, all united together, and prepared for war. Sálár Sáhú and Mas'úd one day went out hunting. [*And Mas'úd despatched a tiger with his sword.*]

A despatch reached Sálár Sáhú from Sálár Saifu-d dín, at Bahráích, praying for immediate assistance, as the unbelievers were assembling on all sides. Mas'úd begged to be allowed to go to Bahráích, and chastise their insolence; but Sáhú would not consent, saying, he could not bear to be separated from him, and entreating him not to leave him alone in his old age. Mas'úd then asked permission to proceed to Bahráích for a few days to enjoy the hunting, for which he said that place was famous. Sálár Sahú was obliged to yield; but he wept bitterly at the thought. Mas'úd, when he came to take leave, was himself melted into tears. He left in great sorrow, and turned his face towards Bahráích.

His mere coming was sufficient to quiet the unbelievers, whose dimness of perception alone had caused the rising. Mas'úd hunted through the country around Bahráích, and whenever he passed by the idol temple of Súraj-kund, he was wont to say that he wanted that piece of ground for a dwelling-place. This Súraj-kund was a sacred shrine of all the unbelievers of India. They had carved an image of the sun in stone on the banks of the tank there. This image they called Bálárukh, and through its fame Bahráích had attained its flourishing condition. When there was an eclipse of the sun, the unbelievers would come from east and west to worship it, and every Sunday the heathen of Bahráích and its environs, male and female, used to assemble in thousands to rub their heads under that stone, and do it reverence as an object of peculiar sanctity. Mas'úd was distressed at this idolatry, and often said that, with God's will and assistance, he would destroy that mine of unbelief, and set up a chamber for the worship of the Nourisher of the Universe in its place, rooting out unbelief from those parts. The Almighty was pleased to prosper the undertaking, and the light of the true faith there is now brighter than the sun, and clearer than the moon.

Mas'úd came to Bahráích from Satrakh on the 17th of the month of Sha'bán, in the year 423. In the second month a letter came from 'Abdu-l Malik Fíroz from Satrakh. o o o o o

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The contents were as follows: "On the 15th of the month of Shawwál, of the year 423, Sálár Sáhú was taken with a pain in the head. He said, 'My time is come at last;' and ordered us to bury him in Satrakh. And on the 25th of the same month he went his last journey, obeying the will of the Almighty." Mas'úd wept bitterly at this heartrending intelligence. He was quite beside himself, and, uttering loud lamentations, covered his garments with earth. After a time, recovering some degree of composure, he called to mind Hasan Maimandí, accusing him as the cause of all his misfortunes. "My honoured mother," said he, "died at Kábulíz; and my honoured father has met his death at Satrakh. Now I know what it is to be an orphan." o o o

An ambassador arrived at the court of Mas'úd from the Ráís of the country round Bahráich, Malik Haidar introduced him to the presence, and he presented the despatch that he had brought. The unbelievers, in their pride, had written as follows: "You come from the Upper Country (*mulk-i bálá dast*), and know nothing of these parts. This is the land of nobles; never shall inhabitants of the Upper Country remain here. Think more wisely on this matter." Mas'úd demanded of the ambassador how many Ráís were banded together, and what were their names? He detailed the names of each one as follows: "Rái Ráib, Rái Sáib, Rái Arjun, Rái Bhikan, Rái Kanak, Rái Kalyán, Rái Makrú, Rai Sakrú, Rái Karan, Rái Bírbal, Rái Jaipál, Rái Srípál, Rái Harpál, Rái Harkú, Rái Prabhú, Deb Nárayan, and Narsing, are there with 2,000,000 cavalry, and 3,000,000 infantry."[1] Mas'úd would not send a written answer; but dismissing the messenger, dispatched with him Malik Nekdil, with seven attendants, to answer the Ráís in person, his real object being to discover the actual amount of their force.

When Malik Nekdil arrived, one went in and told the chiefs, who assembled together, and, calling Malik before them, inquired what message he had brought from Sálár Mas'úd. Malik Nekdil replied, "My master bids me say, hearing of the nature of this country, I came to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. It is a waste, a barren wilderness. Do you agree upon conditions with me? Let us settle the matter like brothers, and I will settle the country."

[1] [*Sic.*]

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The unbelievers answered, "Until we have fought with you once, it does not befit us to talk of peace. You have come here violently, and we have left you alone; but now, till one party or the other be subdued, what peace can be looked for, or what concord be expected?" Rái Karan said, "You do not yet know the nature of the climate of these parts. The water will settle our business for us. You had better leave this river Saru and go northwards again, otherwise we must fight." Rái Kalyán, one of the most able of these chiefs, said, "Oh, princes, you are unwise to think that Sálár Mas'úd has proposed peace through fear. He intends to strike an unexpected blow. Only consider that the Sálár is a man of such honour that he used to stand in the presence of Sultán Mahmúd, and had a feud with the wazír of the Sultán. Leaving his father and mother, he conquered the whole country of India, and his father died in Satrakh. He has not yet visited his tomb.. He has only acted thus to deceive us, and means to say, Let him who feels inclined drive me out, and I will fight him. But you do not understand. What objection is there to peace, if he will indeed agree to it?" The unbelievers all began to talk like fools; so Malik Nekdil, seeing that the assembly had no leader, rose up, and, departing, returned to the prince, and told him all that had happened. The unbelievers on their side advanced and encamped in the jungle on the banks of the river Kasahla.

As soon as Mas'úd heard of this, he called a council of the great nobles and asked their advice as to whether he should await their attack, or himself take the initiative. All the most experienced chiefs counselled him to attack them, and this agreeing with his own opinion, he set out after evening prayers, and, marching all night, reached the camp of the unbelievers by dawn. Drawing out his army, Mas'úd confided the van to Sálár Saifu-d dín, and, distributing the other chiefs in the two wings, the rear, and the van, he himself took the command of the centre, and in this order advanced to the charge. The enemy were prepared and gave them battle. Till midday Sálár Saifu-d din had to endure the brunt of the conflict. At last Miyán Rajab and Amir Nasru-lla attacked his opponents with a body of cavalry from the right wing, whilst Amír Tarkán and Amír Bázíd did the same from the left; and the prince

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himself charged from the centre. Several thousand unbelievers were killed, and the soldiers of Islám, too, tasted the wine of martyrdom. But at length the unbelievers were driven to the last extremity and fled. Two chiefs were taken prisoners, and the victory was complete. The Musulmáns pursued their foes for several kos, and took much plunder in horses and baggage.

Mas'úd remained encamped on the spot for a week, burying the soldiers who had attained martyrdom, and reading the *fátiha* for their pure souls. On the eighth day he returned towards Bahráich. As the weather was warm, and he had come a long journey, he rested for some time under a mahúá tree on the bank of Súraj-kund, at which time he said, "The shade of this tree is very refreshing; and this spot is pleasing to me. It would be well to plant a garden here like those found in our own country. Here will I often come, till the crowds of unbelievers, and the darkness of unbelief, be removed from hence. Until this place be cleansed from idolatry, it is impossible for the faith of Islám to spread in the land of India. If it please God, I will, through the power of the spiritual Sun, destroy the worship of the material." He passed orders then and there that the ground should be levelled, and all the old trees cut down and removed quickly, with the exception of the mahúá tree under which he was standing. He left Miyán Rajab Kotwal to perform this service, and departed with his train for Bahráich by regular stages. From that time he was frequent in religious duties; occasionally, only to satisfy his chiefs and ministers, he would go into the council-chamber, and sometimes into his ladies' apartments.

In three or four days Miyán Rajab rooted up all the old trees, and cleared about an hundred bigahs or more of ground around Súraj-kund. He then reported his proceedings to Sálár Mas'úd, and besought further orders. The Prince made an excursion that way, and, summoning the pioneers who had accompanied his troops from his own country, ordered them to lay out the grounds in parterres and walks after the manner of their native land. He also commanded Miyán Rajab to send people in all directions to collect all manner of trees, one of each kind, for the garden. Such diligence was used, that in a very short time it was completed. He

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then ordered them to build a platform of masonry under the shade of the mahúá tree, to serve him for a seat, as he said he had taken a great fancy to that place. After that, he himself arranged the plan upon which he wished the garden to be made, and, leaving Miyán Rajab there, returned with his train to Bahráích. Miyan Rajab knew the disposition of his lord, and employed himself day and night upon that work.

The next day an ambassador arrived with many costly presents from Rái Jogí Dás from the Hindu Koh. Malik Haidar introduced him to the presence. The ambassador made many protestations of friendship on the part of the Rái his master. After a short time, the ambassador, Govind Dás, presented his gifts, and expressed the desire his sovereign felt to kiss the feet of the prince. Sálár Mas'úd received them with great courtesy, and bestowing gold embroidered dresses of honour on both ambassadors, replied, that if they would adopt the faith of Islám, they might enjoy their own country without fear.

Several other chiefs also came to visit him, though they did not relinquish their opposition. After their defeat they wrote to all the Ráís round, saying, "This is the land of our fathers and ancestors, which this boy wants to take from us by force. You had better come speedily to our assistance, or we shall lose our country." The Ráís answered that they would come immediately, and told them to prepare the munitions of war. Sahar Dev from Shabhún, and Har Dev from Balúna, joined the army of the unbelievers with large forces, and addressed them as follows, "You do not know the tactics of war. Order the blacksmiths to prepare 5,000 balls each, with five poisoned prongs. Before the battle we will fix them firmly in the ground. When the Musulmáns charge with their cavalry, the prongs will enter into the horses' feet; they will fall, and we will finish their business. Prepare besides plenty of fire-works." They did so. In two months all the Ráís of the Hindu Koh and the countries round assembled with innumerable forces, and, encamping on the bank of the river Kahsala, sent one to tell Mas'úd, "that if he wished to save his life, he had better leave that country and go elsewhere, as the land belonged to their fathers and ancestors, and they were determined to drive him from it." The

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Prince boldly replied, "Through the grace of God, my steps have not yet turned back, and by His assistance, they shall not do so now. The country is God's, and the property of him on whom He bestows it. Who gave it to your fathers and ancestors?" The messengers, returning, informed the Ráís of all that had passed, which caused them to exclaim, "Truly this boy answers boldly; he knows not fear."

The Prince of Martyrs told Malik Haidar to summon Sálár Saifu-d dín, Amír Nasru-lla, Amír Khizr, Amír Saiyid Ibráhím, Najmu-l mulk, Zahíru-l mulk, 'Umdatu-l mulk, and Miyán Rajab. He did so; and after Mas'úd had consulted with them it was agreed that, rather than allow the unbelievers to attack them, they had better take the offensive, and thus, with God's help, they might hope to conquer.

The next day they were preparing, when news arrived that the enemy were driving off the cattle. The Prince sprang up like an angry lion, and beat to arms; buckling on his armour and mounting his horse, he himself put his troops into battle array, and advanced to the attack. The enemy also made ready, and, fixing the prongs in the earth, stood with their fireworks ready for use. The noble Turks rode fearlessly to the attack, and numbers of them were put to death by means of the prongs and fireworks. Still the fight waxed hotter, and many of the unbelievers were put to the sword. When Mas'úd heard what had happened, he left the vanguard to attack the enemy on another side, while he himself took them in flank. They fought courageously, and great numbers were killed on both sides. At length the unbelievers were forced to fly. Mas'úd remained on the field of battle, while some of the nobles led the pursuit, and, after plundering the army of the unbelievers, returned to the presence. The Prince then left the field, and, encamping on the banks of the Kahsala, ordered them to number the army, and report to him how many were missing. They found that but two-thirds remained, one-third having tasted the wine of martyrdom. o o

When he went to visit his garden, he would sit under the mahúá tree where they had built a fine large platform. The tree was close to the Súraj-kund, with the idol Bálárukh on its banks,

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and in its waters the unbelievers were wont to bathe before offering it their worship. Mas'úd grew angry whenever his eyes fell upon that tank and idol. Miyán Rajab, who knew well his lord's thoughts, one day presented the following petition: "My lord, now that your lordship has completed this garden, and made it your constant place of worship and resort, the spot has become sacred to the faith of Islám. If you give the command, I will remove this idol and its temple." The Prince replied, "You do not consider that God is without equal, as shall appear. In a short time the angels shall, by order of the Preserver of the Universe, remove the darkness of the unbelievers, and sprinkle upon them the true light of Islám, which is like the waters of life." o o o

After the death of Miyán Rajab, many erroneous reports were circulated concerning him. Some ignorant persons say, that he was sister's son to Mas'úd. This is quite a mistake. What connection has a slave with his lord? Others, again, have changed his name, saying, that Rajab was the name of the father of Sultán Fíroz.[1] This is also false. He was one of Mas'úd's oldest servants. It is also reported that he was of a cruel and hard disposition; but those who search the truth will find nothing of the kind on record.

To resume the history. After some days, Mas'úd's sorrow abated, and he departed by regular stages. o o o That loved one of the Lord of the Universe was then nineteen years of age. o o o

Meanwhile, the Hindu unbelievers assembled from all quarters with one accord, and gathered together an army in numbers like a swarm of ants or locusts, to attack Bahráích. Mas'úd, hearing of their proceedings, came into the council chamber and commanded his ministers to have his whole army, small and great, collected before him. They did so. And when all his followers were drawn out in line, Mas'úd advanced and addressed them as follows:— o o o The Prince continued, "Oh friends, hitherto, when we have fought the unbelievers, the Almighty has granted us victory; now all the armies of India are assembled. It is the custom of my ancestors never to leave fighting, I must follow their example, and, for the love of the truth, yield up my life, which is but the covering

[1] [The father of Sultán Fíroz was called Sipáh-sálár Rajab, according to Shams-i Siráj. His tomb stands in Bahráích.]

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of that which is hidden. You I commit to God. Do you take the road to the Upper Country and depart. If any one desires martyrdom, purely for the love of the Almighty, let him remain with me; but, God knows that, with perfect free will, I give you leave to depart." Having spoken thus, he wept. Who could be so stony-hearted and ill-starred, as to leave him at such a time? The people wept with one voice, and began to say, "If we had a thousand lives we would spend them for thee. What is one life worth, that for its sake we should deprive ourselves of thy presence?" Praise be to God! It was like the day of judgment, or even more solemn.

o o o o

It was on the 18th day of the month Rajabu-l murajjab, in the year 424, at early dawn, that the army of the unbelievers approached the advanced guard. o o o Mas'úd marched towards the army of the unbelievers; as soon as he reached the outskirts of the city, he drew up his forces in order of battle, and disposing them on the two wings and before and behind him, he continued his march. o o o The Prince of Martyrs, according to his usual custom, went and stood under his favourite tree, while his forces prepared for the fight, which raged furiously from morning till the time of evening prayer. Thousands upon thousands fell on both sides, but victory declared for neither.

All night the two armies remained on the field; and at dawn of day the drums again beat to arms. The Musulmán youth advanced fearlessly to the charge, desiring nothing so much as martyrdom; such was their longing for union with God. Perfect is the love of the moth; it cares for nothing but to burn.

The army of the enemy was innumerable, like mountains on every side; so that although numerous forces fought in the army of Islám, they were mown down like so much grass. Many of the greatest nobles met their deaths. In the course of that day, from morning till evening prayer, two-thirds of the army were slain, leaving but one-third to mourn their loss. Still, through the power of the love of God, none thought of flight. When the Prince heard that Sálár Saifu-d dín had sealed his faith with his blood, and that such a noble or general had been slain, he rejoiced and praised God that they had attained their chief desire, declaring that he would not

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desert them, but would speedily follow. He then gave orders for burying Sálár Saifu-d dín, which they by some means or other contrived to do; and they reported that the unbelievers had been victorious, and that the whole army of Islám was slain, requesting to know whether they were to continue the fight, or to occupy themselves with burying those that had suffered martyrdom.

Mas'úd ordered them to bring the bodies of the Faithful slain and cast them into the Súraj-kund, in the hope that through the odour of their martyrdom the darkness of unbelief might be dispelled from that spot. They did so, and as soon as the tank was filled, he made them throw the rest into holes and pits. The Prince then dismounted, and performing fresh ablutions, paid his evening devotions with all attention, and went through the burial prayers over the innumerable corpses of the Faithful, with which the tank, the pits and holes were filled, reading the *fátiha* for their pure souls. He then remounted his mare of sacred blood, and, collecting the remnant of his forces, rushed upon the enemy. Although their army appeared like a mountain, yet it was entirely destroyed, as masses of ice are melted by the heat of the sun. Sálár Saifu-d dín had put many of the chief princes to the sword; the remainder the Prince of Martyrs destroyed. The unbelievers who, in the pride of victory, had advanced, fled back. The Prince remained standing on his side of the field; whichever way he looked, nothing met his eye but the bodies of the slain—some wounded, some in the agonies of death, others already defunct, while the survivors were occupied with the dying and the dead. He beheld this heart-rending spectacle without emotion; indeed so strong within him was the desire for martyrdom, that he actually rejoiced. o o o

Meanwhile, the Rái Sahar Deo and Har Deo, with several other chiefs, who had kept their troops in reserve, seeing that the army of Islám was reduced to nothing, unitedly attacked the body-guard of the Prince. The few forces that remained to that loved one of the Lord of the Universe were ranged round him in the garden. The unbelievers, surrounding them in dense numbers, showered arrows upon them. It was then, on Sunday, the 14th of the month Rajab, in the aforesaid year 424 (14th June, 1033), as the time of evening prayer came on, that a chance arrow pierced the main artery in the

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arm of the Prince of the Faithful. His sun-like countenance became pale as the new moon. Repeating the text in praise of martyrdom, he dismounted. Sikandar Díwání, and the other servants of that loved-one of God, carried him to the shade of the mahúá tree, and laid him down upon a couch. Sikandar Díwáni, taking his honoured head upon his lap, sat looking towards Mecca, weeping bitterly. The Prince of Martyrs opened his eyes but once, then drew a sigh, and committed his soul to God. o o o o

A sound of woe and lamentation broke from the people; they wept aloud, and, brandishing their swords, rushed upon the army of the unbelievers, and gave up their lives, while the enemy kept their ranks and showered their arrows. By the time of evening prayer not one was left. All the servants of Mas'úd lay scattered like stars around that moon. Sikandar Díwání, who sat holding the honoured head of the Prince of Martyrs upon his lap, received several wounds in the breast; but such was the love he bore to that loved-one of the Lord of the Universe, that he never moved his knees from under his head, and yielded his life in his service.

o o o o

Before the author of this work had read the history of which he has spoken, he used often, by order of the Emperor Núru-d dín Muhammad Jahángír, to go into the north country at the foot of the mountains. Achárj Malí Bhadur, who was the representative of the Rája of the Hills, once came that way to meet me, and we chanced to speak of the Prince of Martyrs. That Brahman, who was perfectly versed in the works of Hindu historians, related to me, at length, from his own histories, the account of Mas'úd's expedition, from the time he came into India till his death; and all the wars he waged with the unbelievers. Moreover, he told me, that after Rái Sahar Deo had slain the Prince of Martyrs, he returned to his tent, where the Prince appeared to him in a vision, saying, "Thou hast slain me—dost think to escape? This is not manly." Stung by this reproach, Sahar Deo came to the field of battle the following morning and was killed, as has been related. Some years after, the *Tawárikh* of Mulla Muhammad of Ghazní fell into my hands. I found all that the Brahman had related to me from the Indian histories corroborated there. The Brahman affirms

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that the family of the present Rája of the Hills is descended from Ráí Sahar Deo, and that he had seen the Indian histories in their library. Thus much detail have I entered into for the sake of my ordinary readers. What I have related in the preface will suffice for those who read with a spiritual object.

After the death of Mas'úd, Muzaffar Khán died also. The unbelievers drove his descendants from Ajmír, and re-established their idols; and idolatry again reigned over the land of India. Things remained in this state for 200 years; but after that time that chief of holy men, the venerable Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín, of Chisht, was walking round the Ka'ba, when a voice reached him from the other world, directing him to go to Medina. Upon his arrival there, the Prophet (the peace of God, and rest be upon him!) appeared to him, and said, "The Almighty has entrusted the country of India to thee. Go thither and settle in Ajmír. By God's help, the faith of Islám shall, by thy piety and that of thy followers, be spread in that land." That holy man reached Ajmír in the reign of Ráí Pithaura. Through the power of his religious faith, he persuaded Ajípal Jogí, who was Pithaura's spiritual guide, to become his disciple. But the darkness of unbelief did not rise from the heart of Pithaura, who was a second Abú Jahl; on the contrary, he even encouraged the followers of the holy Khwája to evil practices, till the holy man uttered a curse against that unbeliever.

After some years, Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín, otherwise called Shahábu-d dín Ghorí, made a second expedition from Ghazní, slew Pithaura before Dehli, and placing Kutbu-d dín Aibak on the throne of Dehli, returned himself to Ghazní. Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín, of Chisht, through the powerful assistance of his prayers, brought the whole country of India into the hands of Kutbu-d dín Aibak. o o o The Mír died in Ajmír, and was buried in the old fort there. His sepulchre is a celebrated place of pilgrimage.

Since that time, no unbeliever has ruled in the land of India.

o o o o

Some people say that the Prince of Martyrs came into India in the time of that Khwája. This is quite erroneous. I have examined trustworthy works, and find that the Prince lived in the time of Khwája Abú Muhammad of Chisht, ages before the time that that

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chief of holy men, Mu'ínu-d dín of Chisht, came into India, and became a martyr. Rather more than two centuries intervened between the two. The date of Mas'úd's death has been mentioned already; Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín died on the 6th of the month of Rajab, in the year 632. He lived 170 years. God knows the truth.

[Note.—The following identifications of places mentioned in the foregoing Extract have been kindly supplied by General Cunningham, who visited the locality on his Archæological survey in 1862–3. Satrakh, which is placed at ten days' march on the opposite side of the Ganges from Kanauj, is probably the same as Vesákh or Besákh, a name of Sáhet or Ayodhya (Oudh), Saddhúr and Amethí must be Bhadúr and Amethí, two towns between Karra-Mánikpur. The Súraj-kund, with the idol temple and mahúá tree, is probably at Asokpur, between Ayodhya and Gonda (or Gauda). According to local report, Mas'úd's sister's son Hátila was killed at Asokpur, and a small tomb there is said to mark the spot, though he was buried a few miles E. S. E. of Bahráich. At Asokpur there is a mound which has a mahúá tree upon it, and a tank at its foot, which is probably the Súraj-kund. The name of Sáhar Deo, who is represented as the chief of Mas'úd's antagonists, still survives in the varying forms of Suhal Dhav, Sohil Dal, and Sohil Deo. According to Buchanan Hamilton (ii. 380), this neighbourhood was selected by the Nawab Wazír of Oudh as a favourable spot for a garden.—See *Archæological Report* for 1862–3.]

NOTE H.

Sultán Jalálu-d dín Mankburní.

As the expedition of Jalálu-d dín Mankburní[1], the Sultán of Khwárizm, into Hindustán is among the most interesting of the many romantic adventures of his remarkable reign, I will add below various extracts from Oriental authors, who have treated of it in a manner somewhat different from the *Jahán-kushá.*

The European reader may obtain full information on the subject of this expedition from consulting Abú-l Fedá, *Annales Muslemici*, Vol. iv. p. 382; Abú-l Faraj, 293; M. Petit de la Croix, *Histoire de Genghizcan*, ch. xxxiv.; D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. "Gelaleddin;" De Guignes, *Histoire Générale des Huns*, Tom. ii. p. 280–1; Hammer, *Gemäldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Vol. vi. pp. 188–193; Col. Miles, *Shajrat-ul Atrák*, pp. 166–180; Price, *Retrospect of Mahom-*

[1] So Hammer distinctly enjoins that we should write the word, and not either Mankberni or Minkberni; and yet the inscription on this potentate's coins transposes the two last letters, making the word Mankburín. See *Gemäldesaal*, Pref. p. xiv., and Vol. vi. p. 187, and E. Thomas, *Journal R. A. S.*, No. xviii. p. 383.

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medan History, Vol. ii. pp. 410–413 and 520; D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, Vol. i. pp. 300–18, Vol. iii. pp. 3–5; *The Modern Universal History*, Vol. iii. pp. 272–282, Vol. iv. 154–164; Rampoldí, *Annali Musulmani*, Vol. viii. 256–77. From the last two a few extracts have been copied into this Note. The four French authorities, which are all good, are chiefly founded upon the *Sírat-i Jalálu-d dín Mankburní* by Muhammad bin Ahmad of Nessa, the friend of the Sultán and the companion of his journeys and expeditions. This work is in the National Library of Paris, No. 845. It is in eight chapters, and the history is brought down to Jalálu-d-dín's death, A.D. 1231. It was composed only ten years subsequent to this event.[1]

It is needless to quote Wassáf, for his account is a poor abridgement of the *Jahán-kushá*.

The following extracts are taken from the history of the Saljúkians in the *Jámi'u-t Tawáríkh* of Rashídu-d dín. The Sultan's proceedings in Hindustán are recorded in almost precisely the same words as the *Jahán-kushá* uses. The following passages were written by Rashídu--d dín's continuator, but he himself has treated of the same subject in his history of Changíz Khán:—

"At[2] nightfall every one retired to his tent, and in the morning both armies were again drawn up in battle array. This day also Sultan Jalálu-d dín marched on foot at the head of his army, and all at once made a charge upon the Moghals, and put them to flight. The kettle-drums were beaten in triumph by order of the Sultán, and his whole army pursued the Moghals on horseback. The Sultán rushed upon them like a fierce lion or crocodile upon its prey, and put many to death. Changíz Khán shortly afterwards, being reinforced with a small body of men, moved like destructive lightning or a rapid torrent against the Sultán. In the meantime, a dispute arising between Saifu-d dín Aghrák and Amín Malik, Governor of Hirát, on account of the division of the booty, and especially respect-

[1] See Rémusat, *Nouv. Mél. Asiat.*, Tom. i. p. 435

[2] [This extract appeared in Sir H. Elliot's original volume, published in 1849. The translation has since been compared with the text of the MS. in the E. I. Library, and many emendations introduced. Quatremère's criticisms in the *Journal des Savants* for 1851 have also been considered, and several admitted.]

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ing the right to a particular horse,[1] the latter struck Aghrák on the head with a whip.[2] The king called upon Amín Malik to give an explanation of his conduct, but he replied that Kankalí[3] troops would not submit to be questioned. Upon learning this, Saifu-d dín deserted the Sultán under cover of night, and went off with his troops to the hills of Kirmán and Sankúrán.[4] The desertion of Saifu-d dín Aghrák materially affected the power of the Sultán, and diminished his chance of success. He resolved to cross the Indus, and make towards Ghaznί; and for that purpose he ordered boats to be got ready.

"This circumstance coming to the knowledge of Changíz Khán, he hastened in pursuit of the Sultán, and surrounded him. At day-break, the Sultán found himself in a position between water and fire, the Indus on one side, and the fiery enemy on the other. He prepared to give battle, but was maimed like a fierce lion in the claws of a leopard. The victorious army of the Sovereign of the World (Changíz Khán) fell upon the right wing commanded by Amín Malik, and drove it back with great slaughter. Amín Malik being thus defeated, fled towards Pershάwar; but the Moghal army had got possession of the road, and he was slain, in the midst of them. Changíz Khan compelled the left wing also to give way, but the Sultán firmly maintained his ground in the centre with seven hundred men, and opposed the enemy from the morning to mid-day, moving now to right now to left, sustaining every attack, and on each occasion slaying a number of the enemy. Meantime the army of Changíz Khán came pressing forward, and crowding upon the position occupied by the Sultan. At last Ajásh Malik, son of the king's maternal uncle, seeing all was lost, seized the bridle of the Sultán's charger, and led him from the field. The Sultán bade adieu to his sons and the ladies of his household with a burning heart and

[1] Most of the authorities specify an Arab horse.

[2] The *Tárikh-i Alfi* concurs in this statement, and it is adopted by D'Ohsson, D'Herbelot, and Rampoldi.

[3] The Kankalí was a Turkish tribe. The name signifies "invention," and the tribe is said to have been so designated from their ingenuity in constructing carriages upon a certain occasion.—*Shajratu-l Atrák*, p. 35. [The MS. of the E. I. Library reads "Kalmak."]

[4] The *Tárikh-i Alfi* mentions only Kirmán.

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weeping eyes. He ordered his favourite horse to be brought,[1] and springing upon it, he rushed again into the torrent of conflict, like a crocodile into a river, charging the enemy with irresistible force. Having succeeded in driving them back, he turned his horse's head, threw off his coat of mail and shield, and urging his horse, plunged into the river, though the bank was upwards of thirty feet above the stream. He then swam across like a noble lion,[2] and reached the opposite bank in safety. Changíz Khán witnessed the gallant exploit, and hastening to the bank prohibited the Moghals from attempting to follow. The very heavens exclaimed in surprise 'They never saw in the world any man equal to him, nor did they ever hear of one like him among the celebrated heroes of antiquity.' Changíz Khán and all the Moghal nobles were astonished to find that the Sultán crossed the river in safety, and sat watching him as he drew his sword and wiped the water from his scabbard. The Khán, turning round to the Sultán's sons, addressed them in words expressive of his admiration. o o o o

"After his escape, the Sultán was joined by about ten persons who had also succeeded in crossing the river. They all concealed themselves in the woods, where fifty other persons joined their number. When the Sultán received intelligence that a number of Hindús, consisting of cavalry and infantry, were lying within two parasangs of him, and had given themselves up to pleasure, he ordered his followers to provide themselves with clubs. Thus armed, they made a sudden night attack upon the Hindú force, put many to death, and plundered their cattle and weapons. Upon this, several other people, some on camels and some on horned cattle, came over, and declared for the Sultán. They brought information that there were in the neighbourhood two or three thousand men of the Hindú force.

[1] Muhammad of Nessa tells us that in recognition of the noble service performed by this horse, the Sultán kept it till the capture of Tiflis in 1226, without ever riding it in action.

[2] [The words of the MS. of the E. I. Library would seem to differ slightly from those in the MS. used by Sir H. Elliot—

بر مثال شتر غیور از میدان جیحون عبور کرد

"He crossed over like a proud camel from the plains of the Jíhún." This seems the preferable translation, though "the Jíhún" may possibly signify "the river (Indus)".]

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The Sultán attacked them with one hundred and twenty men, put a number of them to the sword, and equipped his followers with the arms taken from the vanquished. When the report of the strength and improved circumstances of the Sultán was spread throughout India, a number of men from the hills of Balála[1] and Nakála assembled, and in a body of about five or six thousand horse, attacked the Sultán, who, drawing up in array five hundred horse, dispersed them. The Sultán afterwards received aid from several individuals and bodies of men, so that there now flocked round his standard not less than three or four thousand men. Intelligence of this gathering came to the knowledge of the world-conquering king (*i. e.*, Changíz Khán) while he was within the limits of the Ghaznín territory, and he sent troops to oppose him. When this force crossed the river, the Sultán was not able to cope with it, and he therefore passed on as a fugitive towards Dehli.

"The Moghals, on hearing that the Sultán had proceeded towards Dehli, returned, and pillaged the confines of Ghor. The Sultán, on reaching the vicinity of Dehli, deputed messengers to King Shamsu-d dín to communicate his arrival, and to prefer a request to reside temporarily in some village near Dehli. The King killed the ambassador, deputed a messenger on his part with presents to the Sultán, but objected to comply with his demand for a place of residence, on the pretext that the climate of the neighbourhood would not suit the constitution of the Sultán. On receiving this reply, the Sultán returned to Balála and Nakála. Those who had effected their escape joined him, and he had now about ten thousand men under him. He deputed Táju-d dín Malik Khilj, accompanied by a force, to Rái Kokár[2] Saknín, in the hills of Júdí, with a request for the hand of his daughter, which request Rái Kokár complied with, and sent his son with a number of troops to wait upon him. The Sultán gave the

[1] All who record these events concur in reading the first word as Balála. The second may be either Bankála or Mankála. The *Tárikh-i Alfí* adds "in the vicinity (*nawdhí*) of Lahore."

[2] Probably the same as the Rái Sarkí spoken of in the *Táju-l Ma-dsir* (*supra*, p. 233) twenty years before. Rái Kokar may mean something more than chief of the Gakkhurs. S. Binning says "Khokar was formerly in possession of a Musulmán, whose descendants still retain the title of Rájá, and enjoy a small jágír. The district comprehends the large town of Pind Dádan Khán."

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name of Katlagh Khán to the son, and sent an army under the command of Uzbek Pái against Násiru-d din Kubácha, who was at enmity with Rái Kokár. Kubácha, though he was an Amír under the Ghorian Kings, and governor of the country of Sind, yet was presumptuous enough to aspire to independence. When Kubácha with twenty thousand of his followers were encamped on the banks of the Indus within one parasang of Uch, Uzbek Pái,[1] with seven thousand men, suddenly fell upon them at night, defeated, and dispersed them. Kubácha embarked in a boat for Akar and Bakar (two island forts in his possession),[2] while the Uzbek descended upon his camp, taking possession of whatever fell in his way. He sent the news of this victory to the Sultán, who marched out, and together with the army, which was under the command of the Uzbek, reached the palace of Kubácha. The latter fled from Akar and Bakar to Múltán, where

[1] The *Rausatu-s Safá* also names him as the Sultán's general, owing apparently to some confusion of the names of contemporaries—for Uzbek, the son of Jahán Pahlawán the Atábak, was at that time ruler of Ázurbáíján, where we find him, a short time subsequent, engaged in active opposition to Jalálu-d dín. It will be observed that Firishta speaks of him under a still more curious form.

[2] [The text of this passage as printed in Sir H. Elliot's original volume ran thus :—
در کشتي باکرو بکر دو قلعه داشت در جزیرهٔ رفت The MS. of the East India Library has [در کشتي باکرو بکرد قلعه است در جزیرهٔ رفت
Quatremère, Jour. des Savants, Sep. 1850, p. 520, offers a correction, and says the text should be read as it is given by Rashídu-d dín in the *History of the Mongols*
باکرو بکر در قلعهٔ که در جزیرهٔ است رفت and translated "il se rendit dans ce canton d'Agroubgher á une fortresse située dans une île." If the learned reviewer had pointed out where Agroubgher is, or was, I would readily have altered my reading, but having found the passage in the *Jahán-kushái* expressed in the same words as in the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, I prefer retaining it. That the ascertainment of the right reading is difficult may be inferred from the name being left out altogether by most of the authorities subsequent to the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*. The *Rausatu-s Safá* says only "a fort." Translator says "fled to some place." Briggs (iv. 418) says "Nugaur," which is not supported by the original; but doubtless the proper reading of his copy was "Bakar." The *Túrikh-i Alfi* says plainly "he went towards the island of Bakar." Altogether, I make little doubt that the famous island-fort of Bhakkar is the one indicated. Bhakkar, indeed, does comprise two islands. But, when instituting inquiries on the spot, I could not find that the small island lying to the north was ever called "Akar." It now goes by the name of the shrine on it. But that it might once have been called so, is not improbable, as the tendency to the reduplication of the name of Bhakkar is even now shown by its being rarely mentioned, except when coupled with the name of one of the towns lying on either side of it,—as "Bará-Bhakkar," "Sakkar Bhakkar."

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the Sultán sent an ambassador to him with a demand for money, and for the surrender of the son and daughter of Amír Khán, who had taken shelter at Múltán, having fled from the battle which took place on the banks of the Indus. Kubácha sent the son and daughter of Amír Khán with a large contribution in money, soliciting at the same time that his territories might not be despoiled. The weather, however, growing hot, the Sultán determined to proceed from Uch to the Júdí hills, to Balála and Nakála, and on his way besieged the fort of Bisrám, where in an engagement he was wounded in the hand by an arrow. In the end, the Sultán captured the fort, and put all who were in it to the sword. At this place he received intelligence of the movement of the Moghal troops, who were endeavouring to effect his capture, so he turned back. When he was in sight of Múltán, he sent an ambassador to Kubácha to intimate his return, and to demand the tribute due by him. The advanced guard of the Sultán waited but for a short time, and as the inhabitants of Uch were hostile, he set fire to the city and marched upon Sadúsán, where Fakhru-d dín was governor on behalf of Kubácha. Láchín of Khitá was commander of the troops, and he led them forth to oppose Okhán, who was general of the Sultan's army, but he was slain in the conflict. Okhán then besieged Sadúsán, aud when the Sultán arrived, Fakhru-d dín Sálárí with tears supplicated for pardon, and presented his sword and coffin[1] in token of submission. The Sultán remained there for one month, and showing favour to Fakhru-d dín, he made over to him the government of Sadúsán and marched towards Dewal (Debal) and Damríla. Hasar, who was the ruler of this territory, took to flight, and embarked in a boat. The Sultán, on reaching the borders of Dewal and Damríla, deputed Khás Khán with a force to Nahrwála, from which place he brought away much spoil and many prisoners. Shortly after, the Sultán entered Dewal and Damríla, and erected a Jámi' mosque in the former place, opposite the temple of an idol.[2] In the meantime,

[1] The *Jahán-kushá* has "winding sheet" instead of "coffin." They both imply the same sentiment, that Fakhru-d dín was fit only to die, and placed his life in the Sultán's hand. The *Tárikh-i Alfí* says "his coffin and his sword suspended from his neck." On the Sultán's return to Persia, we find the repentant generals going through the same emblematic form of contrition.

[2] Firishta says that the name of the chief of Daibal, or Thatta, was Jaishí, and

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intelligence was received from 'Irák that Ghiyásu-d dín Sultán had settled himself in 'Irák; that most of the troops of that country professed their attachment to Sultán Jalálu-d dín, and felt anxious for his presence. Upon this the Sultán prepared to join them, but on learning that Burák Hájib was with hostile intentions fortifying the strong post of Burdsir in Kirmán, he determined on proceeding to 'Irák by way of Makrán."

Mírkhond's account of this expedition is very clear and explicit, and is chiefly derived from the *Jahán-kushái* and *Jámi'u-t Tawáríkh*. He is, in some respects, fuller than either of those authorities. The following extracts are taken from the history of the Kings of Khwárizm in the Fourth Book, and the history of Changíz Khán in the Fifth Book of the *Rauzatu-s Safá*:—

"When[1] the Sultán arrived at Ghaznín, which his father, Sultán Muhammad, had bestowed upon him as an appanage, he was joined by the armies of his father, which had been dispersed in different directions. Saifu-d dín Aghrák, with forty thousand Kankalís,[2] Turks, and Khiljs, and Yamín Malík, the governor of Hirát, with his valiant Kurds, were amongst those who joined his standard.

"When spring returned, the Sultán left Ghaznín with his army, and went to Bárání (Parwán) where he fixed his camp. There he learned that Pakchak and Yemghúr[3] were engaged in the siege of Wálián,[4] and they were nearly capturing it, when the Sultán, leaving his heavy baggage in the camp, attacked the Moghals, and put to the sword nearly one thousand men of the advance guard. As the Moghal force was smaller than that of their opponents, it retreated across the river, and after destroying the bridge, fled during the night. The Sultán returned to his camp with much booty, and remained encamped at Bárání.

that the Sultán demolished the temples of the idols at that place. This may probably have been a regal title, for some such name was borne by the son or brother of Dáhir, who was governor of Debal. [See Vol. i. pp. 197, 201.]

[1] [Translated by Sir H. Elliot.]

[2] The *Gemäldesaal* says Kanikli, and calls the governor of Herat "Tizin," but in the next page calls him "Emin."

[3] "Balghúr" in the *Tárikh-i Alfi*. Price reads "Begjek and Yemghúr." Miles has "Begchuk and Tumkoor."

[4] [See Thomas, *Jour R. A. S.*, ix. 318.]

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"When Changíz Khán heard of this defeat, he despatched Kútúkú[1] and another of the Núyáns, with thirty thousand men, against the Sultán, and himself followed in their rear. As soon as Kútúkú reached Bárání, the Sultán prepared for action, and gave orders that his men should dismount and bind the reins of their horses round their waists, fighting only with swords and arrows from morn till evening. At the approach of night, both infidels and Musulmáns retired to their respective camps, and on the return of morn, the Sultán's army saw a double line of troops opposed to them, more than they had contended with the day before. The reason was, that Kútúkú during the night had devised a stratagem, by ordering each of his troopers to make human figures with basket-work and felt, and place them in the rear. The Sultán's army, conceiving that reinforcements had reached the Moghals, became alarmed, and proposed to leave the field; but the Sultán making them take heart, prevented them carrying this foolish design into effect, and ordered them again to fight during that day also on foot. After a time, when they saw their own strength and the weakness of the Moghals, they suddenly mounted their horses, and charging the enemy, slew the greater part of these infidels, and the two Núyáns fled, with only a few followers, to Changíz Khán. o o o

"On the day of this victory,[2] a quarrel arose between Saifu-d dín Aghrák and the governor of Hirát respecting a horse, upon which occasion the latter struck Aghrák's horse on the head; and as the Sultán was not confident that any remonstrance of his would be listened to, he did not call the governor to account. The consequence was that during the night Saifu-d dín Aghrák left the camp in anger, and went off with his Kankalí, Turkoman, and Khilj troops towards the hills of Sankrák.[3] o o o

[1] "Sankghúr Núyán" in the *Tárikh-i Alfí*, and "Kaikúr" in the original *Jahán-kushái*. D'Ohsson says, "Shieki Coutoucou." The *Universal History* also has "Kútúkú," and places him at the head of eighty thousand men." The *Gemäldesaal* says, "Schiki Kutuhu." Miles has "Kykoor."

[2] The *Modern Universal History*, on the authority of Muhammad of Nessa, says that Jalálu-d dín, after reproaching his prisoners with their cruelties, caused nails to be thrust into their ears, to revenge the miseries which his subjects had so long suffered from the Mongols and Tátárs.

[3] Price reads "Sekrauk." Hammer, "Sinkrak." The *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, "Sankúrán." Rampoldi says, "Sangrak, non molte distante da Gazna." Miles reads "Sunkran."

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"The right wing of the Sultán, which was commanded by Khán Malik, was first attacked by the enemy, and many of his personal attendants and the greater part of his troops were killed. The left wing was also destroyed, but the Sultán kept on fighting from morn till noon, supported by seven hundred men who were with him in the centre, and laid many low in the dust at every attack, performing incredible deeds of valour, of which Rustam and Isfandyár would have been envious. The army of Changíz Khán kept pressing on in increasing numbers, and constantly contracting the space of the Sultán's action, insomuch that they were nearly taking him prisoner. o o o

"After his last charge, the Sultán turned his horse's head, and seizing his royal umbrella and throwing off his coat of mail, and lashing his horse, urged him into the river Sind, which was flowing more than thirty feet below the bank. Some of the cavalry followed his example. o o The Tátár soldiers drew their bows, and the waters of the Sind were red with the blood of the slain. When the Sultán escaped from that danger, he went along the bank of the river, and witnessed the enemy plundering his camp on the opposite side.

"Changíz Khán likewise stood on the bank of the river and watched the Sultán dismount from his horse, take off his saddle, spread his saddle-cloth, his arrows, and his tunic in the sun to dry them, empty the water out of his scabbard, fix his umbrella on the point of his spear, and then sit down under the shade. About the time of afternoon prayers he was joined by seven of his followers who had escaped the whirlpools of the river, and, accompanied by them, at sunset the Sultán went his way. When Changíz Khán saw all this, he seized the collar of his tunic between his teeth;

> "'He lauded him and said, from no father
> Will such a son be produced throughout the world.
> He is like a victorious lion in a forest,
> And as courageous as a crocodile in a river.'

Turning round to his sons, he exclaimed—'Such a son, and no other, should be born to a father:'

> "'No one in the world has seen a man like this,
> Nor heard of one amongst the heroes of antiquity.'

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"This event took place in Rajab, 620 H. (July, 1223 A.D.)

o o o o

"The Sultán remained two years in Hindustán, o o The officer whom he deputed to Shamsu-d dín was poisoned by that king. When the Sultám left Bisrám, and was passing by Múltán, Kubácha offered opposition, and the Sultán, after defeating him, went to Uch. o o o

"After the Sultán had crossed the Sind, Changíz Khán detached Balá Núyán, with two tumáns, or twenty thousand men, in pursuit, After crossing the river, he arrived at a fort which was held by one of the Sultán's officers, and after the fort was captured, he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants. Thence he went towards Multán, and the inhabitants closed the gates against him. The Núyán discharged stones from his manjáníks, and demolished some of the gates, and was near taking the fort; but as the Moghals were unable to withstand the excessive heat, the Multánís escaped that Balá (calamity); for Balá Núyán marched away from Multán, and after pillaging and devastating the whole of that province and Laháwar, he went to join Changíz Khán.

o o o o

"After consulting with his sons and officers, it was finally resolved by Changíz Khán that a detachment of the army should be sent to Kíj and Makrán and the borders of Hind to watch the proceedings of Sultán Jalálu-d dín, and that another should be sent towards Ghaznín to destroy that capital, and the descendants of Subuktigín, so that all desire for the restoration of the Sultán might be extírpated, and should then return towards Túrán in the spring.

"In furtherance of these designs, Changíz Khán sent Chaghtáí with a large army towards the Makráns (Makránát), and Ogtáí was ordered to return to Ghaznín from the lowlands on the banks of the Sind. The chiefs and elders of that city felt themselves compelled to submit; but under the apprehension of further opposition on the part of Sultán Jalálu-d dín, the Moghals sent to Paradise all the inhabitants of that tract,—the old as well as the young, the weak as well as the strong,—and destroyed the colleges and schools, making them the abode of owls.

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"After this massacre and pillage Ogtái Kaán, by order of Changíz Khán, went through Garmsír and Hirát towards Máwáráu-n nahr and Turkistán. Chaghtái, who had gone to Makrán, after bringing the whole of that country and its borders under subjection, took up his winter-quarters at Kálinjar,[1] a country on the banks of the river Sind. The governor of that province entertained them hospitably, rendered all kinds of acceptable services, and provisioned the Moghals to the fullest extent of his power.

"The greater part of the army fell sick, owing to the badness of the climate. And since many prisoners had fallen into the hands of the Turks, insomuch that each soldier had as many as ten or twenty, o o o orders[2] were issued, as a precautionary measure, to put them all to death. Ambassadors were despatched by Chaghtái to the chiefs[3] who were in the vicinity of his camp, and most of them proffered their allegiance; but against those who were at first submissive and afterwards offered opposition, armies were sent, and they were all put to the sword.[4]

"After the troops had recovered from their sickness, as no tidings of Jalálu-d dín reached them during the time they were in their winter-quarters, they returned with the grand army towards their native country, o o and Chaghtái and Ogtái went on a hunting expedition to Bokhárá."

[1] This is not the famous fort in Bundelkhand, nor the hill fort on the frontier of Kashmír mentioned by Firishta (I. 89, 99). The *Tárikh-i Alfi* says it was "within the confines of Multán." Col. Miles reads "Lanjoor;" but all the readings throughout the *Shajratu-l Atrák* are adopted without any consideration or authority, and carry no weight with them.

[2] In the corresponding passage in the *Jahán-kushái*, these orders are attributed to Changíz Khán, which would make it appear that he himself wintered in Hindustán—an improbable supposition.

[3] The *Shajratu-l Atrák* says, "to the countries of Kech, Kutch, Mukran, and the port of Surat."

[4] There is great confusion of names and places in respect to these winter-quarters. D'Ohsson's statement adds to the difficulty. He says: "After the sack of Ghaznín, Ogtái asked leave to besiege Sístán, but Changíz Khán ordered his return on account of the great heat. He cantoned himself on the plain which the Mongols call Bérouan, and pillaged the whole surrounding country. Changíz Khán waited for the Núyán Bela and Túrtái, and on their arrival he marched, and was joined by Ogtái near the fort of Gounaoun Courgan. He wintered in the mountainous country of Bouyaketver, near the sources (?) of the Sind, where an epidemic sickness broke out. In the spring of the year 1223, Changíz Khán resolved to return to Mongolia by India and Tabbet, after ordering the massacre of the prisoners."

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A very curious statement respecting this expedition is found in the *Tazkíra* of Daulat Sháh, Art., "Jamálu-d dín Muhammad 'Abdu-r Razzák Isfahání," who was a contemporary of the Sultán's. It differs from all other accounts; and much of it is nonsense, but part may be true :—

"Sultán Jalálu-d dín defeated the Moghals in the vicinity of Panjshír, one of the districts of Kábul. * * * When he dismounted from his horse after crossing the Sind, he fixed his spear in the ground, and sat down, drying his turban, clothes, and arms.

"The Khán came to the bank of the river, and praising the gallantry of his antagonist, called out to him on the opposite bank: 'Oh prince, I hear that you are of lofty stature: rise, and let me see you.' Jalálu-d dín rose, and again the Khán addressed him: 'Oh prince, sit down again, for all that I have heard respecting your stature and appearance is exceeded an hundredfold.'[1] Jalálu-d dín sat down, when the Khán again said. 'It was my anxious desire that you should become my vassal; but now go your way in safety.' The Khán then retired from the bank of the river.

"Of the remnant of Jalálu-d dín's army, about seventy men managed to join him by some means or other; and they plundered in the neighbourhood of Lahore an Aughán (Afghán) caravan which was on its way to Multán. They thus set themselves up in arms and equipments, and four hundred of the Afgháns joined the Sultán. It was about that time that the Hazára Láchía, from which tribe Amír Khusrú of Dehlí is descended, flying from the neighbourhood of Balkh before the Moghal army, joined the Sultán, to the number of seven hundred men. They took the fort of Kargishghál (?), and the King of Multán made peace with the Sultán. 'Aláu-d dín Kaikubád (Mas'úd (?), a legitimate son of the King of Hind, gave him his daughter in marriage,[2] and the Sultán maintained independent power in Hind during three years and seven months. When

[1] We have a sufficient proof that he was handsome, from the fact of the wife of Uzbek Jahán Pahlawán falling in love with him, and betraying her gallant husband's fort to him for the gratification of her passion.

[2] D'Ohsson (iii. 4) also says that, when the Sultán learnt that Shamsu-d dín Altamsh was advancing to render assistance to Kubácha, he went out to oppose him, but, instead of fighting, Altamsh proposed peace and the hand of his daughter, which were both accepted by the Sultán.

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intelligence was received of the return of Changíz Khán towards the desert, Sultán Jalálu-d dín left Hind, and went to Kirmán, by way of Kij and Makrán."

The *Táríkh-i Alfí* contains (ann. mort., 609), the following particulars not noticed by the other authors; but in the general narrative it follows the *Jahán-kushá*, the *Jámi'u-t Tawáríkh*, and the *Rauzatu-s Safá* indifferently.

"When Sultán Jalálu-d dín reached Ghaznín, Malik Amín went out to do him honour with fifty Hazáras, and the whole army and peasantry were rejoiced at his arrival. The Sultán married the daughter of Malik Amín, and encamped during the whole winter on the plain of Ghaznín. o o By reinforcements his army amounted to more than one hundred thousand men.

"Sanakghúr Núyán reached Birwán on the morning of the eighth day after the Sultán had arrived there. The Sultán advanced one parasang and prepared for action, and ordered all his men to dismount their horses, and devote themselves to death in the approaching fight with the infidels. o o The Moghals during the night made figures of men, and placed them in the rear on their spare horses. o o The archers of Malik Saifu-d dín Aghrák put the Moghals to flight and committed great havoc, and the Sultán making a charge with his whole army, completed the rout and slaughter. Sanakghúr Núyán, with another Amír, who commanded the advance, fled to Changíz Khán with only a few followers. o o

"On the retreat towards the Sind or Níláb, Amír Khán, who commanded the rear-guard, was defeated, and fled to the Sultán. o o Changíz Khán gave the strictest orders that every kind of precaution should be taken to prevent the Sultán's crossing the river. o o Amínu-d dín Malik, who commanded the right wing, fled to Pesháwar, and falling into the hands of the Moghals, was slain there. o o When Changíz Khán witnessed the Sultán's exploit of swimming the river, he exclaimed, 'A wise man should be cautious in dealing with one who can save himself from such whirlpools and can perform such gallant actions.' o o o

"When the intelligence of the Sultán's successes came to the ears of the world-conquering Changíz Khán, he dispatched two sons of

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Amírs, one named Túrtáí and the other Bákín, with an immense army to seize the Sultán, but as his troops were in great alarm at the Moghals, he went towards Dehlí before the enemy could reach him. o o Shamsu-d dín to all appearance received 'Aínu-l mulk with great distinction and kindness, but in his heart he entertained the greatest alarm: for like as the Khwárizmsháhís were afraid of the Moghals, so, but to a greater extent, were the soldiers of Hind afraid of those of the Sultán. o o The Sultán returned towards Laháwar after his unsuccessful advances to Shamsu-d dín. o o o

"Kubácha had collected a large army within the borders of Uch and Multán. Upon this occasion. when he heard of the approach of the Moghals, he foreswore his allegiance to the Sultán, and prepared to demand reparation for former injuries. o o o

"At that time the ruler of Tatta was a person called Jaisar, who, when he heard of the approach of the Sultán, placed his treasure and property in a boat, went toward the sea, and took refuge in some of his islands.

"The Sultán remained some time at Tatta, demolished the temples which were there, and built a large Masjid-i jámi'."

Firishta, in the account of this transaction, contained in the *History of Sind* (Vol. ii. pp. 610–5), has followed the *Rauzatu-s Safá* almost verbatim, adding only a few particulars which his greater local knowledge enabled him to supply:—

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"Sultán Jalálu-d dín, after applying to Shamsu-d dín for such aid as would enable him to return to his native country, where he learnt the sentiments of the Sháh towards him, returned by way of Lahore towards the abodes of the Khakkars, and after arriving in that country, he went to the hills of Balála and Bankála, and thence despatched Táju-d dín Khilj to the hills of Júdí, to plunder that province. o o The Ráí of the Khakkars, Kokár Sanká, who had attained the honour of Islám in the time of Sultán Shahábu-d dín, solicited the Sultán that he would prevent Násiru-d dín Kubácha from harrying his country, as he was for ever doing. The Sultán gave the Ráí's son the title of Kalíj Khán, and sent one of his nobles, who was known as Uzbek Báshí (he was Jahán Pahlawán Uzbek), with seven thousand men against Kubácha, the ruler of Uch

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and Multán, who was encamped with twenty thousand men on the bank of the river Sind, which is near Uch.

"As Uzbek Báshí found Kubácha unprepared, he made a night attack upon him, and so routed the whole camp, that Kubácha with the greatest difficulty was able to flee away on a boat to some other place. Uzbek Báshí remained in Kubácha's camp, and sent to communicate the tidings of his victory to the Sultán, who, when he heard of the advance of the army of Dehli, thinking it not expedient to remain where he was, left that hill-country and went to Uch. o o o

"When the weather became hot, the Sultán prepared to take up his summer quarters in the hills of Júd, and Balála and Bankála. o o As soon as the Sultán heard that Chaghtáí Khán was in pursuit of him, reflecting upon the fact that, at the commencement of their intercourse, Sháh Násiru-d dín Kubácha had been well affected to him, he went towards Multán, and asked for a contribution in money. Kubácha, hearing of the advance of the Moghal army, rejected the demand, and prepared to wreak vengeance on the Sultán, o o who marched on towards Daibal, which is now called Thatta, committing on his road massacre and pillage in every city and town which belonged to Sháh Kubácha. When he arrived at Thatta, the ruler of that place, whose name was Jashí, of the tribe of Súmra, placed his property and wealth on board a boat, and fled in haste with his children and relations to some islands. o o o

"Relinquishing the conquest of Sind and Gujerát, the Sultán in the year 620 H., went to 'Irák, by way of Kích and Makrán. o o Chaghtá Khán, who was in pursuit of him with the Moghal army, came to Multán and laid siege to that place, but Sháh Násiru-d dín Kubácha exhibited such determined courage, that the siege was raised after forty days, and Chaghtáí, marching to Kích and Makrán, and having laid those countries waste, wintered at Kálinjar, a country situated on the banks of the Sind. While quartered there, he put to death nearly thirty or forty thousand Hindustánís who had been taken captive, on the ground that they made the air of the camp pestilential; but as, notwithstanding this butchery, the deaths in the camp still continued, and as the Moghals could obtain no intelligence of Sultán Jalálu-d dín, respecting where he was and

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what he was doing, Chaghtáí Khán broke up his camp and marched towards Túrán. When Sálár Ahmad, the governor of Kálinjar, wrote to Kubácha, complaining of the ruin which had been brought upon his province, that prince was much grieved, and used his best endeavours to restore the country to its former prosperity."

The following extracts from the *Modern Universal History* present some new features. The account is chiefly taken from La Croix's life of Gengiz Can, which is founded upon the biography by Muhammad of Nessa, and the *Jámi'u-t Tawáríkh*. Like as in most other portions of Oriental History, so in this, the *Universal History* is the best authority for the English reader to consult.

"The chief reason for the Sultan's quitting Gazna was to give his disunited troops time to rejoin him. He did all that was possible to bring the three Turkish commanders to listen to reason. He wrote and sent to them several times representing the ruin which must attend their separation, and the advantages which might arise from their union.

"They at length suffered themselves to be persuaded by the sense of danger, but it was too late; for Jenghiz Khán, informed of what was in agitation, sent sixty thousand horse to seize the passes, and prevent their joining the Sultan, who, finding himself deprived of this powerful aid, retired towards the river Sind, or Indus. There he halted, in a part where the stream was most rapid, and the place confined, with a view both to take from his soldiers a desire of flying, and prevent the Mungls from bringing up all their army to engage at once. Ever since his departure from Gazna, he had been tormented with a severe colic; yet, at a time when he suffered most, hearing that the enemy's vanguard was arrived at a place called Herder, he quitted his litter and mounted on horseback; then, marching in the night with his chosen troops, surprised the Mungls, and, having cut them almost all to pieces, returned to his camp with a considerable booty.

"Jenghiz Khán, finding by this event that he had to do with a vigilant enemy, proceeded with great circumspection. When he approached the Indus, he drew out his army in battalia: to Jagatay he gave the command of the right wing; the left to Oktay; and put

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himself in the centre, surrounded by six thousand of his guards. On the other side, Jaláloddín prepared for battle; he first sent the boats on the Indus further off, reserving only one to carry over the Sultána his mother, the queen his wife, and his children; but unluckily the boat bulged when they were going to embark, so that they were forced to remain in the camp. The Sultán in person assumed the command of the main body. His left wing, drawn up under the shelter of a mountain, which prevented the whole left wing of the Mungls from engaging them at one time, was conducted by his chief wazir; and his right wing by Amín Málek. This lord began the battle, and forced the enemy's left wing to give ground, in spite of all the troops which sustained them. The right wing of the Mungls likewise wanting room to extend itself, the Sultán made use of his left as a body of reserve, detaching from thence squadrons to sustain the other troops. He himself, at the head of the main body, charged that of Jenghiz Khán with so much resolution and vigour, that he put it into disorder, and penetrated to the place where the Khán had at first taken his station; but that prince had retired from thence to give orders for all the troops to engage.

"This disadvantage had like to have lost the Mungls the battle; for the report being spread all over the army that the Sultán had broken through the main body, the troops were so discouraged, that if the Khán had not immediately rode from place to place to show himself, they would certainly have fled. In short, what gained him the battle, was the orders which he gave to Bela Nevián to cross the mountain, if practicable, and attack the Sultán's left wing, which the Khán observed had been much weakened by the several detachments. Bela, accordingly, conducted by a guide, marched betwixt rocks and dreadful precipices, and, attacking that disabled wing behind, obliged it to give way. The Sultán's troops, which were in all but thirty thousand, much fatigued with having fought ten whole hours against more than three hundred thousand men, were seized with a panic, and fled. In this confusion his eldest son was taken prisoner. One part of the troops retired to the rocks on the banks of the Indus, where the enemy's horse could not follow them. Many others, closely pursued by the Mungls, threw themselves into

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the river, some of whom happily crossed over; while the rest placing themselves round their prince, continued the fight through despair.

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"When he was in the middle of the river, he stopped to insult Jenghiz Khán, who was come to the bank to admire his courage, and emptied his quiver of arrows against him. Some brave Mungl captains would have thrown themselves into the river to swim after Jaláloddín, but the grand Khán would not permit them, telling them this prince would defeat all their attempts.

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"This prince as soon as he was landed safe in India, ascended a tree to pass the night secure from wild beasts. Next day, as he walked melancholy along the banks to see if any of his people appeared, he perceived a troop of soldiers with some officers, three of whom proved to be his particular friends. These, at the beginning of the defeat, had found a boat, in which they sailed all night with much danger from the rocks, shelves, and violence of the current. Soon after he was joined by three hundred horse, who informed him of four thousand more saved by swimming over two leagues from thence. The Sultán went to meet them, and promised to provide for their necessities. Mean time Jamálorrazad, an officer of his household, who was not at the battle, knowing that his master and many of his people had escaped, ventured to load a very large boat with arms, provisions, money, and stuff to clothe the soldiers, and cross over to him; for which eminent piece of service Jaláloddín appointed him great steward of his household, and surnamed him Ekteároddín; that is, *the chosen, or the glory of the faith.*

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"On this intelligence, Jenghíz Khán sent orders to his brother Utakín, and marched with the troops that remained with him as far as Kandahar, which he took.

"Some time after the reduction of this fortress, Multán, a city of India, was subdued by Bela Nevián, who had orders to conquer Lahúr also; but, as he was informed there was in that place a stronger army than his own, he did not go thither. A Patán prince, named Kobádia, had sent those forces, thinking he had more reason

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to provide against the Mungls than against Jaláloddín; for, although the Sultán was then in arms on his frontiers, yet he had only a few troops with him, and could only make a slight irruption into the territories of a prince named Rána, whom he slew for having insulted him in his distress.

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"The defenders of Gazna made frequent sallies on the besiegers, several times destroyed their works, and broke above a hundred of their battering-rams; but one night, after an obstinate engagement in which Oktay fought in person to encourage his soldiers, who began to be intimidated, one side of the city walls fell down, and, filling up the ditch, a great number of Mungls easily entered sword in hand. The governor, seeing all lost, at the head of his bravest soldiers, charged among the thickest of his enemies, where he and his followers were slain. However, Gazna was not entirely ruined, nor did all the inhabitants perish; for after the pillage had lasted four or five hours, Oktay ordered it to cease, and taxed the people who were left alive at a certain rate to redeem themselves and the city. This prince continued here till the whole province was reduced, and then went to rejoin his father in Tartary.

"Meantime, Jagatay having entered Kermán, the ancient Kuramania of Persia, took by degrees all the cities in that province. After he had reduced Tíz, one of the first cities, with some other places which he destroyed, he proceeded to Kalánjer, a country bordering on Hindustan, where, intending to pass the winter, the soldiers by the help of their slaves built houses, cultivated gardens, and kept flocks of sheep, as if they intended to make a settlement; but when the scorching winds began to blow, to which they were not accustomed, almost all of them fell sick, while the greater part of those who lived became so weak and languid that they were not fit for service. By this distemper the country of Fárs, or Párs, which is the proper Persia, and that part of Khúzestán which belonged to Kayasoddín, Sultán Jaláloddín's younger brother, escaped for this time the invasion of the Mungls. Jagatay, by removing his troops from one place to another, gradually restored them to health; and finding the slaves which the soldiers had taken were a burthen, ordered the throats of the greater part of them to be

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cut. Then having committed the care of the conquered countries to one of his lieutenants, he, pursuant to his father's orders, directed his course to Bálkh, where the general rendezvous was appointed."

The account of Rampoldi, in his *Annali Musulmani*, differs much from others, and contains many improbabilities, notwithstanding that he quotes Mírkhond and translates D'Herbelot; yet, as it is founded in some portions on independent Arabic sources, it presents some passages worthy of translation :—

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"In the tract of country between Kábul and the Indus, according to the account of Kara Tchelebi, the Tartars, after the manner of locusts, had spread desolation and extermination with ineffable rapidity, and inflicted such damage, that six centuries were not able to repair it. o o o

o o o o

"The Sultán was prevented making his last desperate charge by his nephew Malek Agiasch, who said, 'Beware how you precipitate yourself rashly upon those who so surpass you in numbers, lest you be accused of madness, as one who deals a blow upon the edge of a razor.' o o o The hundred thousand Tartars did not cease to discharge at him a million of arrows, but were not able to hit him. When he had passed the greatest current of the stream, he was obliged to go much further in order to find a ford, as the banks of the Indus were nearly everywhere very steep. He saved himself finally at the ford of Kaitoul. o o Only seven soldiers out of the three hundred[1] who had dared to follow, unwilling to abandon the unhappy prince, escaped to the opposite bank: the rest being either slain by arrows or drowned in the river. Among the latter was his nephew, Malek al Agiasch. o o o

"Oktay took Gazna by assault after a siege of four months. It was burnt and destroyed to the very foundation, after about two hundred thousand persons had been inhumanly massacred.

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"The Sultán having composed an army out of these refugees, thought of obtaining for himself an asylum, and a principality at

[1] De Guignes says four thousand.

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the same time, beyond the Ganges, because the whole country which extended on both banks of the Indus had been successively subdued by Jengiz, who had made himself master of Multán, Lahor, Jenghapúr, Dehli, and Agra, compelling the freedmen of Scheab-e'ddin of Gaur, who had possessed themselves of those places within the last fifteen years, to flee from their abodes and abandon their estates, or at least to repair to some lofty castles, which by their situation were judged to be impregnable, at least for many years. * * *

"The troops of Jenghiz triumphantly overran in this year (1223) the whole country, from the Ganges and Indus to the Caspian Sea, and from the Sihoun to the Euphrates. * * Jenghiz returning from India, closed the warlike achievements of this year by taking Khandaar.

* * * * *

"Scarcely had Jelale'ddin Mankberni learnt that Jenghiz had crossed the Sihoun with the greater part of his Mongols, and had taken the road of Tartary, when he repassed the Indus and entered Persia, through the provinces of Kaboul, Gazna, and Kandaar, and immediately occupied Mekran, Sejestan, and Farsestan, expelling everywhere the few Mongols who had remained to protect those conquests. * * * While the Sultán was engaged in recovering his dominions in Persia, his brother Tatar Shah was extending his conquests in Hindustan, where in a short time he conquered and expelled every Mongol who dared to show his face."

D'Ohsson observes that neither the date nor the place of action on the Sind is known. "'Aláu-d dín says it took place in the month of Rajab (August), but Muhammad of Nessa says the 22nd of Shawwál (9th December), which appears more exact. Nowhere do we find any precise indication of the place which was the theatre of this event."

Price says the action at Barwán took place probably in the spring of 618 A.H. (1221 A.D.), in which D'Ohsson concurs; and that the action on the Indus took place in Rajab of that year, or September, 1221, but he is disposed to place it a year later. But there is no reason to doubt that it took place in 1221 A.D., and as the action of

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Parwán certainly occurred in the spring of that year, it would be much too late to defer the action on the Indus till December, for the retreat to the Sind was nearly instantaneous after the action at Parwán. Independent of which, the march from Ghazní to the Sind would have been impracticable in December, and the passage of the river would have been no such very gallant feat in that month, when the river was at its lowest. Besides, what becomes of the proverb which is said to have celebrated the occasion: "Marvels occur in Rajab." And although it is highly improbable that the event did give occasion to the proverb, inasmuch as it is in Arabic—a language spoken by no class of people concerned in the transaction—yet an old proverb may have been made applicable to the event, and as it is quoted by an author nearly contemporary, we may be sure that Rajab and no other was the month in which the achievement was performed.

The crossing of the Indus in the same fashion had been accomplished four years before by Shamsu-d dín Altamsh, when in pursuit of Násiru-d dín Kubácha, and though he succeeded in reaching the opposite bank with a few followers, many were drowned in the attempt. The credit which has been given in later years to Mahárájá Ranjít Sing for the same feat, was not so well earned, because he caused his cavalry and infantry to ford the Indus where the bottom is rocky and shingly, and where the stream was not more than knee deep, though the current was so rapid as to make the footing insecure. Many men and horses certainly were lost, but Ranjít Sing himself crossed on an elephant.

Respecting the place where the Sultán crossed the Indus there is much doubt. Hammer, however, sees no difficulty, reproving D'Ohsson for not knowing that it was at the ford of Kaitul, quoting for his authority D'Herbelot, who calls it Caitool, quoting for his authority Muhammad of Nessa. But the question is where is Kaitul or Caitool?

NOTE I.

Karmatians.

[The religion of Islám had no sooner become a power than divisions, feuds, and schisms broke out among its professors. Dissen-

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sions and heresies appear to be inseparable from all newly-established creeds, and the fervid Oriental temper, excited to the highest pitch by the worldly success and the intolerant fanatical doctrines of Islám, impelled professing Musulmáns to unparalleled excesses and most execrable crimes. The overthrown but uneradicated superstitions of the old religion, and the mystical theology and philosophy of nations with which the Muhammadans came in contact, had their share in the production and development of these heresies; but the acting moving spirit which gave them political importance was lust of personal distinction and temporal power. Thus the principal divisions turn upon the question of the rightful succession to the Prophet in the office of "Leader of the Faithful."

One of these heretical sects, the Karmatians, appear on the scene very frequently in the present volume. This sect is an offshoot of the Isma'ílian heresy, and is often confounded with it. There were some points of doctrinal difference, but the uninitiated were ignorant of them, and unable to distinguish them; so the two names came to be often used indifferently. Orthodox writers, hating and despising the heretics, were prone to speak of them by some general name; or if they attempted to be more specific, their ignorance frequently led to a confusion and misappropriation of terms. Thus the title Isma'ílian includes Karmatians, Assassins, and others, and for the Isma'ílians the wider term "*Mulábida*, heretics" is often used.

The Isma'ílians do not admit the rightful succession of the Imáms recognised by the orthodox. They acknowledge 'Alí, Hasan, and Husain, but maintain that the line closed with Isma'íl, son of Ja'far Sádik, who was the seventh and last Imám. From him they take the name Isma'ílian, and from him also they are called "Seveners." The teaching of the Isma'ílians put a metaphorical interpretation on the Kurán, which tended to explain away and supersede its doctrines, leaving only a negative religion, and substituting license for morality. The doctrines of the Isma'ílians were embraced by a man named 'Abdu-llah, son of Maimún, a native of Persia, who devoted his powers not only to the overthrow of Arab ascendancy, but to the subversion of Islám and indeed of all religion. His mode of action was by secret influence and missionary exertion. The culminating doctrine of his teaching was the vanity of all

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religions, and the indifference of men's actions, the good receiving no recompense, the evil no chastisement, either in this world or the next.

Among the followers of 'Abdu-llah was one named Ahmad, or, as he was afterwards called, "Karmat." He rose about the year 278 H. (891 A.D.), and was the founder of the Karmatians. The term *Karmata* or *Karmat* belongs to a kind of Arabic writing in which the letters are very small and the lines very close. This style being well suited for secret communications, was adopted by Ahmad, and hence he was called Karmat, and his followers Karmatí or Karámata, *anglicè* Karmatians. Teaching the doctrine that everything desirable was allowable, he differed from his predecessors by endeavouring to carry out his views by violence, and began an open unrelenting war upon the ruling powers. In 290 H. (903 A.D.), the Karmatians made a fearful inroad into Syria, and in 311 (923 A.D.), they plundered Basra and Kúfa. In 319 H. (931 A.D.), under a famous leader, Abú Táhir, they took the city of Mecca with terrible slaughter, plundered the temple, and carried away the holy *hijru-l aswad*, or black stone, which they retained for twenty years. Ar Rází, the twentieth Khalif, actually agreed to pay them an annual subsidy to secure the safe passage of the pilgrims to Mecca.

The Fatimide throne of Egypt, founded by an Isma'ílian in 297 H. (909–10 A.D.), in rivalry of the Arabian *Khiláfat*, grew rapidly in power, and became a source of great jealousy and trouble to the occupants of the throne of Baghdad. Political rivalry thus combined with religious hatred to make the war between the faithful and the heretics most savage and unrelenting,

From the Isma'ílians sprang another sect which forced itself upon the notice of the Crusaders and introduced a new word, "*Assassin*,"[1] into the languages of Europe. This sect was founded by a native of Re, named Hasan Sabáh, who was schoolfellow and

[1] [De Sacy insists, though his dictum has been disputed, that this term is derived from the term "*hashíshin*," hemp eaters, because these fanatics probably infuriated themselves with this drug in preparation for their bloody work; but he acknowledges that there is no proof of such having been their practice. The fanatical fury of these murderers hardly needed any stimulus, and the craft as well as the boldness which they exhibited in the execution of their designs are hardly referrible to a state of frenzied inebriation. Does not the name of their founder *Hasan* or *Al Hasan* present sufficient materials for the formation of the word *Assassin*?]

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companion of Nizámu-l mulk, the well known wazír of the Saljúkí government, and author of the *Majma'u-l Wasáya*. An extract from that work, in page 490 of this volume, gives some account of this redoubtable character. The forcible removal of all foes and rivals by the dagger of the assassin, was the profession and the distinctive practice of this abominable sect. Nizámu-l mulk, above referred to, fell under their daggers, and the author of the *Jahán-kushá* had nearly become a victim to Isma'ílian assassins. In 483 H. Hasan Sabáh obtained possession of the strong fortress of Alah-amút, or Alamút (the eagle's nest), in the province of Rúdbár, about eleven parasangs north of Kazwín, and here he and his descendants maintained themselves for nearly two centuries,[2] when the fortress and many others fell under the iron tread of the Mongols. The excesses of the Assassins had impelled Mangú Khán to determine upon the extermination of the whole sect of Isma'ílians, and under him and his successor Hulákú their fortresses were taken, and many thousands of their men, women, children, and babes at the breast, were put to the sword.

The Karmatians appeared to have pushed themselves eastwards into the valley of the Indus at an early period. From Bírúní we learn that the Karmatians destroyed the great idol at Multán, and the heretical chief, whom Mahmúd of Ghazní drove away from that town, was no doubt a member of this sect, for the name of Karmatian is applied to him by one or two writers, although the more general name of *Muláhida* is more frequently used.

Mahmúd's wazír, Hasnak, was brought to the stake by Mas'úd upon the charge of being a Karmatian. The personal enmity of Mas'úd no doubt precipitated this act; but there is ample proof that the Khalif was greatly incensed against the wazír for having received a *khil'at* from the Egyptian Khalif, and that he had urged Mahmúd so strongly to execute him that the incensed monarch broke out in the indignant words recorded by Baihakí: "Tell the doting old Khalif that out of regard to the 'Abbásides I have meddled

[1] [From this stronghold the Chief of the Assassins was called the *Shaikhu-l jabbál* or, as we have it in English, the "Old Man of the Mountain."]

[2] [The Assassins are the *Muláhidat-i Alamút*, who are stated to have been patronised by 'Aláu-d dín Ghorí. He is censured for the attention he paid to them by the author of the *Tabakát-i Násiri*, *supra* p. 289.]

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with all the world. I am hunting for the Karmatians, and wherever one is found he is impaled. If it were proved that Hasnak is a Karmatian, the Commander of the Faithful should soon see what had happened to him. But I have brought him up, and he is to me as my sons and my brothers. If he is a Karmatian, so am I." When Mahmúd departed, and Hasnak's enemy succeeded, the Khalif's animosity was soon appeased.

Though Mahmúd expelled the Karmatian chief from Multán, the heresy was not suppressed, for in 571 (1175 A.D.), Muhammad Ghorí once more "delivered Multán from the hands of the Karmatians."[1] In 634 (1237 A.D.) we find them in some force at Dehli, where they made a concerted assault upon the faithful in the great mosque, and slew a considerable number; but they were finally overpowered, "and every heretic and Karmatian was sent to hell."][2]

NOTE J.

Geographical Index.

[The following descriptive list of countries and places, more or less frequently referred to in the preceding pages, will probably be found useful, and may obviate the necessity of reference and enquiry. Some of the names are well known, and are marked on the maps; but others are only to be found in the works of the old geographers.

Bardasír.—A large town of Kirmán, on the road leading to Khurásán, lying north-east of the town of Kirmán. It is also called Kawáshír.

Bust.—A city of the district of Garmsír, in Sijistán. It is situated on the west of the river Helmand, and is noted for its great heat.

Dáwar.—Known in old times as the "Biládu-d dáwar," and by the modern inhabitants as Zamín-dáwar. A large province, con-

[1] [*Supra*, p. 293.]

[2] [See Vol. i. of this work, pp. 453, 481, and 491, and Vol. ii. pp. 93, 293, and 336; Hammer Purgstall, *History of the Assassins;* Defrémery, *Histoire des Seldjoukides et des Ismaéliens;* D'Herbelot, v. *Carmath;* Price, *Mahommedan History*, Vol. ii. pp. 167, 332; Reinaud, *Fragments*, p. 142; *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 254; Rampoldi, v. 387; *Das Buch der Länder*, 2nd Index; Dorn, 89; Gibbon, chap. lxiv.]

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tiguous to Rukhkhaj, Bust, and Ghor, and the opening of the latter to Sijistán. Elphinstone says: "On the right bank of the river (Helmand) lies the rich country of Zamín-dáwar, which has the Parapomisar mountains on the north, and some hills connected with that range are found within its limits. This fine country extends for forty or fifty miles to the west of the Helmand."—See Elphinstone's *Caubul*. 4to., p. 122; Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, 173.

Fáriyáb.—See Tálikán.

Garmsír.—The hot country, so called from the heat of the climate. A narrow tract of country in Sijistán, along the lower course of the Helmand.—See Thornton, *Gurmsehl.*

Ghor.—Also called Ghoristán. The mountainous country between Hirát and Ghazní. According to Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal it was a rugged mountainous country, bounded by the districts of Hirát, Farrah, Dáwar, Rabát, Kurwán, and Gharjistán back to Hírát, which were all Muhammadan countries. Ghor itself was a country of infidels, containing only a few Musulmáns, and the inhabitants spoke a language different from that of Khurásán.—See Elphinstone's *Caubul*, Vol. i., p. 244.

Ghurjistán.—The correct orthography of this name according to Yákút and others is Gharjistán or Gharshistán. Yákút says it is bounded on the west by Hirát, east by Ghor, north by Merv, and south by Ghazní. The ruler of the country was called Shar, and from this title the land was also called Gharju-s Shar. The Mervrúd waters the country, and its chief towns are Bashín and Súrmín, but the Shar generally dwells at a town in the hills called Bílkan.[1]

Gílán.—(In Arabic, *Jílán.*) A country between the Caspian and Black Seas, in great part the same as Tabaristán.

Gilgit.—A small unexplored country on the southern declivity of the Hindu Kush, between Chitral on the west, and Baltistán (Little Tibet) on the east.—Burnes, *Bokhara II.*, 209.

Gurdez.—A country between Ghazní and India.

Júzján.—Also called Júzjánán. Júzján is the Arabic form of the native name Gúzgán. It must not be confounded with the country of Jurján or Gurgán, on the eastern shores of the Caspian. Yákút

[1] [Colonel Anderson's text of Ibn Haukal makes the name of this place to be "Kankán," or, as he transcribes it, "Gungan."]

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says the names Júzján or Júzjánán both designate a large district of the province of Balkh, between that city and Merv. The chief town was Yahúdiya, and Ibn Haukal mentions Shabúrkán, Andkhod, and Ambár among its principal places, adding that Ambár was the largest town.

Kazwín.—In Persian, *Kasbín* or *Kashwín.* A celebrated town of Persia, a little to the west of Teherán.

Khwárizm.—Chorasmia. The country on the east of the Caspian Sea, the capital of which was Gurgánj,[1] The Arabs converted the name of the country into Jurján, and that of the capital to Jurjániyá. The Mongol form of the name was Orgánj. Noshtigín, a Turkí slave of Maliksháh Saljúk, was made governor of this province, and contrived to secure his independence. His son, Kutbu-d dín, extended his dominions, and acquired the title of Khwárizm Sháh, a name which had been borne by the rulers of the country before the Muhammadan rule. The empire of the Khwárizm Sháhs rose upon the ruins of the Saljúk dynasty, and their territories extended from Ázarbáíján and the Caspian Sea to the Indus, and from the Persian Gulf to above the Síhún or Jaxartes. A succession of nine princes reigned for 138 years from 491 to 628 Hijra (1097 to 1230 A.D.): but in 618 H. the last of them, Jalálu-d dín Mankburní was driven by Changíz Khán beyond the Indus, and he was killed in Mesopotamia ten years afterwards, stripped of all his dominions.

Kum.—A town of 'Irák-'ajamí, between Teherán and Ispahán.

Máwaráu-n Nahr.—"(The country) which is beyond the river (Oxus);" Transoxiana, including Bokhárá and Samarkand.

Re or Raiy.—An ancient city, the ruins of which are situated a little to the south of Teherán. All Oriental writers agree upon its antiquity, and it is called "the mother of cities." It was once a very large place, the capital of the Jabbál (the hills), and very rich and flourishing; but it was destroyed, and the inhabitants were put to the sword by the Tatars at the beginning of the seventh century of the Hijra.

Rukhaj.—Or more properly *Rukhkhaj*, from which, preceded by

[1] [The town of Khwárizm or Kás (Káth), on the east of the Jihún, was for a time the capital. See Defrémery, *Hist. des Samanides*, p. 275; D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, i. 183; Jaubert's *Edrisi*, ii. 192; Aboulfeda, 479.]

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the article *al* (ar Rukhaj) comes the Arachosia of the ancient geographers. One of the dependencies of Sijistán, the chief town of which, bearing the same name, was situated on the Hindmand or Helmand.

Sabúrkán, Shabúrkán.—A city of Júzján, west of Balkh. The Shibbergán and Shubergán of the Maps.

Sakáwand.—In the territory of Kábul, which belonged to Kumlu. It is mentioned by Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal as one of the dependencies of Bámían, along with Kábul, Ghazní, and Parwán. Idrísí gives it as being seven days' journey from Kábúl, and the same distance from Khouïab, for which I would read Haríab, حرياب, as I believe it to be the Iryáb or Irjáb of Sharífu-d dín and the Haryúb of the present day,—which is at the head of the Kuram valley, to the south-east of Kábul. Sakáwand would therefore be at or near Jalálábád;—and this position agrees with Idrísí's account of the warm climate of Sakáwand and Hariáb, at which places the palm tree did not grow, and snow did not fall. The Buddhist establishments mentioned by Fa Hian and Huen Thsang were no doubt still flourishing in the time of Kumlu.—*Gen. Cunningham.*

Sarakhs.—An ancient city of Khurásán, situated about mid-way or six days' journey, between Merv and Naishápúr,

Sijistán.—Same as *Sistán.* A province south of Hirát.

Takínábád.—A large city of Garmsír.—See *Tabakát-i Násirí, supra,* p. 293.

Tálikán.—A city of Tukháristán between Balkh and Merv, three days' journey from the latter. There is another town of the same name east of Kunduz. The Tálikán of Tukháristán is the one most frequently mentioned, and it is generally coupled with Fáriyáb, a city of Júzján west of the Oxus, three days' journey from Tálikán, three from Shabúrkán, and six from Balkh.—See Elphinstone's *Caubul,* ii., 221, 240.

Tukháristán, Tukháristán.—A province of Balkh, lying east of the city of that name, and west of the Jihún. The chief town was Tálikán.

Tús.—An ancient city of Khurásán, two marches N.E. from Naishápúr, and a little to the north of the modern town of Meshhed. It consisted of two towns, Tabarán and Núkán, and was a place of

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considerable importance. The city was devastated by the Uzbeks in 996 H. (1588 A.D.), and its place has been taken by Meshhed.

Zábul, Zábulistán, Záwulistán.—A large province south of Balkh and Kábul, including Sístán, and having Ghazní for its capital. Rustam Zábulí, the hero of the Sháh-náma, is said to have been a native of this country.

Zaranj.—The chief town of Sijistán, from which the lake formed by the Helmand and the Farra is often called the Lake of Zaranj (the Zarrah of the Maps),

Zúr.—Name of a mountain in Dáwar, and of a celebrated idol which was there worshipped. According to Elphinstone, it is in the middle of the Lake Zaranj or Zarrah, which the natives call the Sea of Zúr. Conolly however says it is not in the lake, but in the vicinity of it.—See Elphinstone's *Caubul*, Book iv. chap. iv.; Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 174.]

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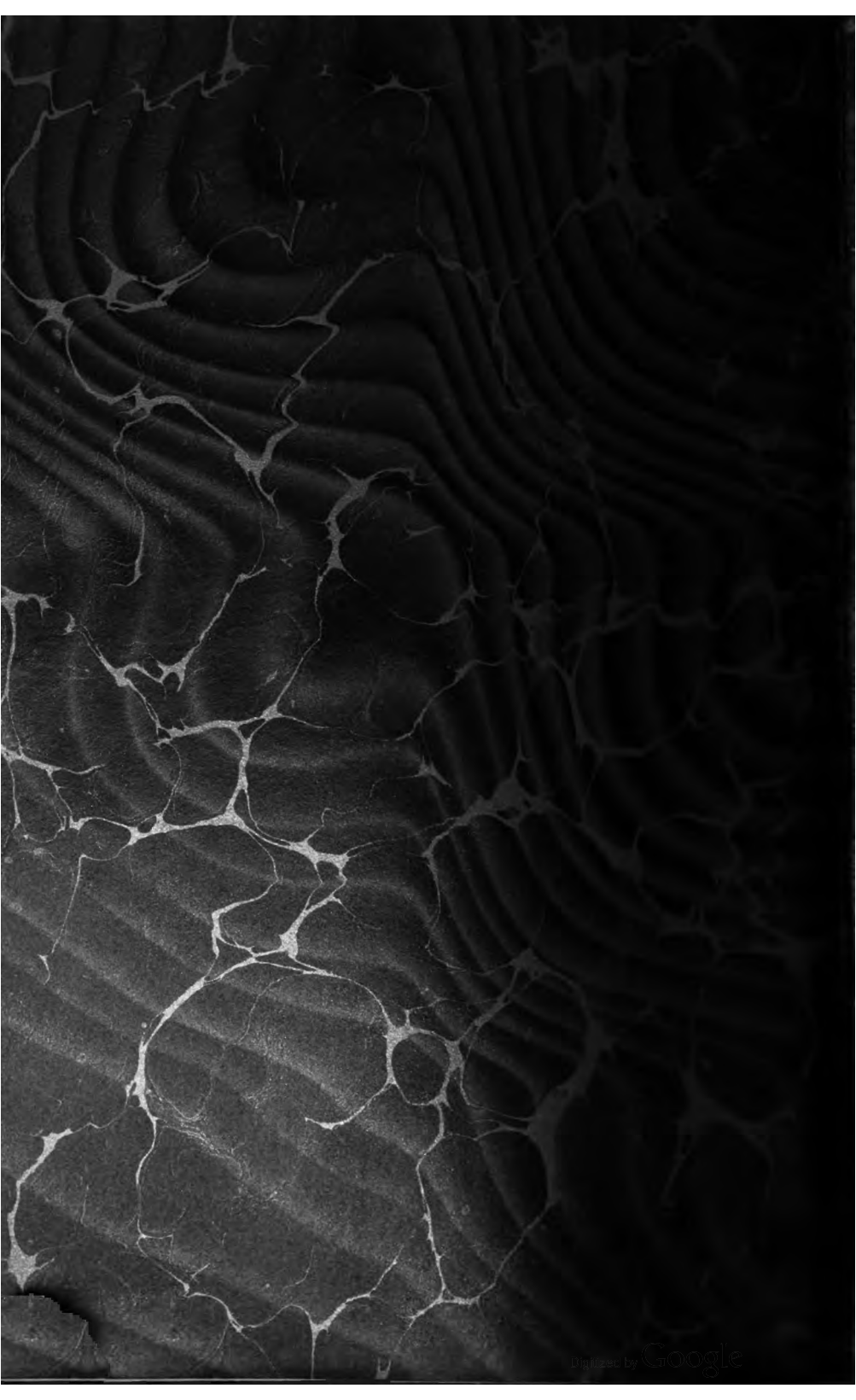
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