and turned their faces towards the fortress. For example, there were more than 10,000 valiant men under shields, whom they brought upwards. The Musalmāns had given them time, so that they ascended more than the distance of two arrow flights towards the fortress, and not a man of the Musalmāns appeared in view. When between the infidels and the Musalmāns about one hundred yards of the side of the hill remained, they beat the kettle-drums within the fortress, and the holy warriors and champions—leaders and common men—all raised a shout, cut away the millstones, beams, and ropes, and sent the great stones rolling down. Almighty God so willed it, that not a single individual among the infidel force should escape being killed, wounded, or disabled; and, from the summit of the hill to the base of the same, Mughals and renegades lay prostrate together, and a great number of the Mughal grandees, Nuins, and Bahādurs, went to hell.

The remainder of the Mughal army arose and retired from before the foot of the fortress. This victory, bestowed through the grace of Almighty God, according to the promise: “It is a duty incumbent on Us to help the Believers”—took place on Thursday, in the year 620 H.

On Sunday, the 12th of the same month, they [the Mughals] sprung an ambuscade against the fortress of Tūlak, and made determined attacks upon it; and, on

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2 The words, or compound word, here used, differ considerably in different copies of the text, but one has plainly ]['—another ']]['—and two others '][' and ][' respectively; and all three last are probably intended for the first, which is the name of a description of shield or buckler made of buffalo hide; and this would signify men under bucklers, as rendered above. The Printed Text has ]['

3 Every copy has fort—instead of hill—but the error is palpable. The Mughals were within about one hundred yards of the foot of the walls when the great stones were sent rolling down upon them, and they had no chance of gaining the top of the fortress. Had they been able to reach that they might have captured the place.

4 Here is one of the justly "vaunted impregnable castles and fortresses" which were not "without exception captured," as the Kashgai Mission History informs us they were.

The month is wanting in every copy of the text collated, but, from what has been stated at page 1065, that in the first month of the year 619 H. the Mughals set out to invest it the second time, and that this happened in 620 H., the fortress must have held out over a year.

8 As usual with our author, this circumstance he leaves out altogether in his
that day, the infidels lost great numbers of men killed before that fortress; and then they retired.

When the infidel Mughals had withdrawn from Khurāsān, and the jibāl [mountain tracts] of Ghūr and Khurāsān had become clear of that host, Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Hūsain, resolved upon retiring into Hindūstān, together with other Maliks of Ghūr, such, for example, as Malik Sarāj-ud-Dīn, 'Umr-i-Kharosh,7 from the territory of Jār,9 and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, and others, all joined him, and, with their families and dependents, set out. By destiny’s decree, a force from the infidel Mughals’ main army was nominated [about this time] for the purpose of ravaging Khurāsān, and, at the head of that army, was a Mughal of note, whose name was Ḥazīl Maṇjūk; and it entered Khurāsān. From the side of Hirāt and Isfīzār it advanced to the foot of the fortress of Tūlak,6 and every Musalmān the Mughals found within the fortress [of Saif-rūd] they martyred, or made captive. There they obtained information from the captives of the departure of Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Hūsain, with other Maliks of Ghūr, with their families and dependents, and their followers. They set out after the Ghūrī forces, and, on the banks of the river Arghand,9 discovered them, engaged in constructing a bridge over that river, in order that they might pass over the troops, families and dependents, and effects. Suddenly and unexpectedly, the Mughals came upon them. Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, with his followers, sought account of the fortress of Tūlak already given, but gives it here in the account of Saif-rūd; and, since the month is not mentioned in the preceding paragraph, it cannot be gathered from this. See page 1061.

6 This term is both written Kharoshtī and Kharoshī, as well as Kharosh. See pages 433, and 493.
7 Thus in the best and in the greater number of copies of the text, but in others یک and یک respectively. It is some district in Ghūr evidently, but no such place has been before mentioned in this work.
8 Our author must mean from the side of Isfīzār and Hirāt, as going from the latter to the former place, or in its direction, would be moving farther from the river Arghand. The fortress of Saif-rūd must, from this, have been abandoned in a defenceless state.
9 Not the “river Arghand-āb”—Urgundab, or Urgundab, is entirely out of the question, and, indeed, it may be said that no such river exists—āb itself means river and water, and we might as well say the river Arghund river or water, which is the real signification of “river Arghand-āb.” The word Arghund signifies angry, full of rage, impetuous, bold, etc., and thus denotes what the river is.
the protection of the hills, and so remained safe, and again retired towards the mountains of Ghur. Malik Saraj-ud-Din, 'Umr-i-Kharosh, stood to fight, and was martyred; and Malik Kuft-ud-Din, Husain, by great stratagem, dashed his horse into the river, and, with a few men, emerged from it [on the opposite bank]. All the rest of the Amir's of Ghur, chieftains, and warriors, and the females, all attained martyrdom, including the sisters, daughters, and kinsfolk of Malik Kuft-ud-Din, Husain.

From thence the Mughal army returned again towards Ghur and Khurasan.

THE FALL OF THE FORT OF ASHYVAR, OF GHARJISTAN, AND OTHER FORTRESSES.

Trustworthy persons have narrated, that, when the Chingis Khan determined to advance from his camp at the Pushtah [hill] of Nu'man of Tal-kan of Khurasan towards Ghaznin, he left behind there his baggage and heavy materials, and his treasures, because it was impossible for wheeled carriages to be taken into the defiles and passes

1 Some of the best copies of the text have بیان بسیار—with, or after much fighting, and some others have بسیار—with a numerous following, but I read it بسیار—by much or great stratagem. The reason for so doing is that it is said that the Malik who stood to fight was killed, and that Malik Kuft-ud-Din, Husain, with a few followers, reached the opposite bank. It is possible many persons may have been drowned in crossing, but our author does not say so. Malik Kuft-ud-Din, Husain, had probably heard of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din's feat on the Indus, and here followed his sovereign's daring example.

It was this same Malik Kuft-ud-Din, Husain, who recovered the body of his wounded Sultan, 'Ala-ud-Din, Utsuz, mentioned at page 416, which see, and gained great renown in India. At last he fell a victim to ingratitude, or, as some state, intrigue on the part of Ulugh Khan. See pages 702, 798, and 833.

2 The best Paris copy of the text always blunders at this name, respecting which there is not the shadow of a doubt, and turns it into "Ghuzistân!" the scribe appears to have imagined that Ghuzistân was meant. Here is another proof respecting the position of Tal-kan, and also another proof against a siege of any such fortress as Bamlân, which is said to have stopped the Mughal Khan on his way to Ghaznin. No other author whosoever mentions his having left his heavy materials, baggage, and wheeled carriages, behind at this place, and no other writer enters into such interesting and valuable details respecting these strongholds, and the doings of the Mughals in these parts.

3 Gharjistân is a district or province, once an independent principality of Khurasan. See page 341.
of Gharjistān, by reason of the very mountainous nature of that country, and the impracticability of the roads. When the Mughal army moved towards Ghaznīn, only a small force was left behind for the protection of the heavy materials, baggage, and wheeled-carriges. The fortresses of Gharjistān of Khurāsān were near by, namely, the fortresses of Rang,4 and Bindār [Pindār], Balarwān,5 Lāghrī,6 Siyā-Khānah,7 Sabekjī,8 and Ashiyār. The most of these fortresses are galleries on the faces of the mountains, in such wise that the rain falls upon the inhabitants of those strongholds, and springs of water flow forth in front of the galleries of [forming] these fortifications.9

Within the fortress of Ashiyār was a Gharjah1 Amir of great determination and energy, and his name was Amir

4 In some copies of the text the name of this fortress is written ٰر،—Rang, and in others ٰز—Zang. The former appears the most correct, according to the most trustworthy copies of the text. See page 1003.

5 Here, as at page 115, the name of this fortress is written in some of the less trustworthy copies of the text, Yalarwan, with f for r—one has Bīrwān—سنولو—and one سروار which may be read in various ways. See also page 436. It is the stronghold in which Khusrava Malik, the last of the Mahmūd Sultāns of Ghaznīn, was confined, and, subsequently, put to death, together with his son, Bahram Shāh, who was kept in captivity within the walls of Saif-rūd of Ghūr.

6 A native of this place was feudatory of Lahkanor in 642 H. See page 739.

7 At page 416, this fortress, in some copies, is styled ٰعلاعب—Satā-Khānah as well as ٰعلاعب—Siyā-Khānah. Here, however, the different MSS. vary still more, for, whilst two of the three best [the oldest abruptly terminates at page 1026] here have ٰعلاعب—Satā-Khānah, and ٰعلاعب—Shiyā or Shū-Khānah, others have ٰعلاعب—Shinā-Khānah, and ٰعلاعب—Sā-Khānah, and some, the more modern copies, turn it into ٰعلاعب—Sangah, which is a totally different place, in Mandeh, not in Gharjistān. See pages 331 and 340.

8 At page 363, the name of this fortress is as above, in the best copies of the text, and in others varies considerably, as stated in the foot-note; but here one of three oldest and best copies has what may be read either ٰعلعب Sanbajī or Sanbakjī, or ٰعلعب Sabangjī or Sabankjī, whilst another of the three best copies has ٰعلعب without any diacritical points whatever. Bahlolī mentions a fort of Sabekjī—as somewhere near Ghaznīn, probably west of it, but the latter must be a different place.

9 Our author has described these famous strongholds so plainly that, should ever an opportunity offer of exploring these parts, of which we know comparatively nothing, there will not be much difficulty, from their peculiarity, in finding them. They appear to be excavations in the rocks something after the fashion of the excavations near the present Bāmīān.

1 That is to say, a native of Gharjistān.
Muḥammad, the Maragḥānī. As there was a vast amount of wealth, and also innumerable captives, and numerous horses, in the Mughal camp [at the Pushtah-i-Nu'mān], Amir Muḥammad-i-Maragḥānī, with a strong force, started from the fortress of Ashiyyār, and seized upon as many wheeled carriages, laden with gold and other wealth, as he possibly could, from the Mughal camp, set a great number of captives free, and obtained possession of many horses. On one or two occasions Amir Muḥammad performed such like feats of daring, and displayed similar determination.

When the Chingiz Khān set out from the territory of Gibari towards Turkistān, and despatched his son, Uktāe, towards Ghūr, Uktāe, that winter, fixed his camp between Firūz-koh and Ghaznīn, and sent out bodies of his forces in every direction, as has been previously recorded. The

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2 See page 1003. He was the ancestor of the Kurat dynasty.
3 Which it is almost needless to state will not be found chronicled in any pro-Mughal history.
4 See page 1047.

Strange to say, our author, although he refers in detail to the despatch of Uktāe with an army, never refers, in the most remote manner, to Chaghatāe and the force under him, nor will any reference to it be found under the reigns of Kābā-jah or I-yal-timīsh. I will, therefore, notice, as briefly as possible, what the subsequent writers mention on the subject.

Alarming accounts, as our author also mentions at page 1084, reached the Chingiz Khān respecting the state of affairs in Tingkūt and Khitāe in consequence of his prolonged absence in the west, and that the Tingkūts and Khitā-īs were preparing to throw off the Mughal yoke. Having held counsel with his sons, the Nū-yīn, Karāchār [the ancestor of Amīr Tīmūr], and other Nū-yīns and chiefs, he determined to despatch a force to endeavour to find out Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, wherever he might be, for his existence troubled him, and whose prowess and energy he feared. It was further determined that this army, which was to be very powerful, should push on as far as the limits of Kīch and the Mukhrānāt [i.e. the Mukrans], and the frontiers of Hind. This army was put under the command of Chaghatāe, and he was directed to utterly devastate and ruin the countries through which he passed, in order that the Sultān might have no means of acquiring strength or resources, or of recovering himself, and be completely crippled.

A second army was to be placed under the command of Uktāe, which was to advance from the valley of the river of Sind towards Ghaznīn, and was to devastate the country in that direction, and so utterly destroy that city that there should be no more inducement for Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn to return there. But our author’s account, as given above, of the movements of this force, is much more clear. It was also intimated that, towards the close of the cold season, the great nūrān would be moved towards Turān Zamīn.

The army under Chaghatāe, which was the most numerous, penetrated into Sind and the Mukhrānāt, but, strange to say, not one of the pro-Mughal writers
Nū‘In Abkah, who was the Amir of 10,000 Manjanīk-čhis

See page 1047.

referred to above, and previously, says by what route it went, and no reference is made to it either under the reign of Kabā-jah or I-yal-timīsh. This army is said to have overrun the whole of the territories in question, and to have wintered [the winter of 619-20 H. — A.D. 1222-23], within the limits of a territory named Kālinjar— كرةين —on the banks of the Sind river [but the name is also written لین jar —Lanjār— لینجر, Kānjār, and even Lanjar— لینجر, the letter ā in the latter, however, is without points, and may be intended for j, čh, or kh. The Rauşat-us-Šafā calls it Kālanjī— مكانجی, the ruler of which part of the country was the Sālar, Aḥmad; but who he was, and whether he was independent, or the feudatory of any sovereign, the chroniclers say not; and he is not known to the historians of Hind or Sind.

The Jāmi‘-ut-Tawārīkh says he passed the hot season on the confines or frontiers of روس کور, but this name, being without points, is unintelligible, and that the ruler of this part was the Sālar, Aḥmad.

The fort in which Isrā‘īl, the Saljuḵ, was imprisoned and died, referred to at page 117, and note 8, is spelt like the first name mentioned, and with long a— آی —and the word کی in the Rauşat-us-Šafā may have كی originally. This fort lay, we are told, in the Multān province, and was subsequently called Talwarah, but the place where Chaghata‘e’s army wintered is said to have been on the banks of the Sind.

Whoever this Sālar Aḥmad was, he is said to have done his utmost to supply the requirements of the Mughals, and the subsistence of that great army. It, however, became prostrated with sickness through the unhealthiness of the climate [in the Mongols Proper this sickness, by mistake, is transferred to his father’s army !], and also impeded with a vast number of captives, in such wise that, in every tent [or dwelling, or hut—the word used is کینات], there were from ten to twenty, or twenty to forty, and they had the task of bringing and preparing the food of the army. In this sickly state of his troops, Chaghata‘e issued commands for each captive to clean 400 manns [of 4 dars or 8 lbs. each] of rice—and this shows they were in a rice-growing country—and the task was completed within the following week. His next command was to massacre the whole of those Hindūs [sic in M.S.S.], and, by the next morning, they were all killed, and their bodies lay about in great heaps. How unjust to call those times the dark ages! The Mughals, barbarians and infidels as they were, carried on war as it was carried on by “Christians” in the years of grace 1877 and 1878.

Whether the object of this massacre was to prevent an outbreak among the captives in the weak state of his army, who can tell? Another strange thing is that, throughout the year 619 H., in the hot season of 620 H., Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn was in the countries on the Indus which constitute the present Panjāb, had defeated the Khokhars, and afterwards gained their alliance, and had overthrown Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Kāhā-jah, before Üchchah. Towards the latter part of 620 H., Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn had come by way of Multān and Üchchah to Shiwstān, the modern Sīhāwān, and into Lower Sind, remained there several months, sent an expedition as far east as Nahrwālah in Guzarāt, and only moved from Sind, by way of Mukrān, in 621 H., on his way into ‘IRāḵ, on hearing of the movement of a numerous army of Mughals, which, if the accounts of these writers are correct, must have been this very army. See
IRRUPTION OF THE INFIDELS INTO ISLĀM. 1075

[catapult workers], he nominated to proceed [with his men]

note 4, page 293. It is therefore difficult to imagine whereabouts "Kālinjar" was, "near the banks of the Sind," where Chaghātāe and his army could have passed the winter of 620 H., and still more so that he could obtain no information respecting the Sulṭān, as will be mentioned presently; he could not have searched very diligently for him. It would have been a grand opportunity for the Sulṭān to have fallen upon the Mughals had he known the state they were in.

To return to the movements of Chaghātāe. He, finding no trace of the Sulṭān or his whereabouts, as soon as his troops had somewhat recovered from their sickness, determined to return, and set out, accordingly, on his way back to Turān-Zamīn. It is a long march from the territory of Mukrān to the Hindū-Koh, and yet the Mughal historians say not one word respecting the route followed.

I find the author of the "Mongols Proper," pages 90 and 91, quoting Wolff on this very subject, but, as Wolff often makes strange statements, one of which is contained in the passage referred to under, and as he gives no authorities, his statements are not very reliable. The passage is this: "While Jingis retired northwards his son Jagatai [this is the "Mongol Proper" name for Chaghātāe, probably] made a raid into Kerman in pursuit of Rohn-ud-din, a brother of Jalal-ud-din [1]. He advanced as far as Tēz [according to Abū-Ishāk, the Tīzakhiṟ, Tīz is a seaport in Mukrān], on the borders of the Indian Ocean, passed through Beloochistan [which, being an entirely modern name, will not be found in any early author], where he wintered, and where he also lost a large number of his soldiers, and returned by the mountain land of the Afghans [this last clause of the sentence must also be Wolff's own. The land of the Afghāns in that day was very small], where he was joined by Bela Noyan," etc., etc. See page 281, and note 5.

I must now notice the proceedings of the army under Uktāe, which are but slightly alluded to by the writers I take this from; but our author supplies some details not mentioned by them, as they, writing while in the employ of Mughal sovereigns, only cared to chronicle successes.

Uktāe, having marched from the valley of the Sind river, reached Ghazānīn, and all the offers of submission and obedience tendered by its inhabitants were of no avail [the writers appear to have forgotten that they previously stated that, on his advance to the Indus, the Chingiz Khān had "left Mahmūd, Yalwāj, at Ghazānīn as his Dāroghah." What had become of him in the meantime?], because Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Din was still alive, and a source of anxiety to his foes, who feared he would make head again; so Ghazānīn was sacked and totally destroyed, its inhabitants massacred, and the parts through which he passed were devastated, and all buildings utterly destroyed. Ghazānīn never recovered this. Uktāe, after this feat, when the season arrived, proceeded by way of the Garm-sīr of Hirāt, and set out for Māwarā-un-Nahr. For the further movements of the Chingiz Khān and his sons on their return home-ward, see page 1081.

Surgeon-Major Bellew, in his Kāshghar Mission History, referring to "Changiz," sending his son "Aoktāy in mid-winter to Ghazni and Ghor, there to wipe out in the blood of the people the disaster his troops had suffered at the hands of Jalāluddin at Parwan," which he is said to have done so effectually during a "campaign of two years," that "the aboriginal Aryan stock" were annihilated, considers the Hazāra "still pure Mughol in race type, and
against the fortress of Ashiyâr, and that body advanced to the foot of that stronghold, and the attack commenced; and, for a considerable time, they assailed it.

When they found that, through the vast strength of the fortress, and the brave men [within it], it was impossible to take it [by force], they sat down before it [and blockaded it] for a period of fifteen months—but God knows best—and, through scarcity of provisions, the people within the fortress became reduced to great straits. As long as there were provisions and flesh, they used to consume them; and, when food of that kind failed, affairs reached such a pitch that they were wont to eat the flesh of whoever was killed, or who died, to that degree, that every person used to keep his killed and dead for curing and eating. Some have related after this manner—the narrators are responsible for correctness—that there was a woman of the minstrel class in the fortress of Ashiyâr. She had a mother and a female slave. Her mother died, and she dried her body; and her

many of their customs,” but who “know nought of their antecedents,” as “the descendants of the army of occupation left there by him.” History, however, shows that there were many of the so-called “Aryan stock” in that part for some centuries after Uktâe’s campaign, but it is not to be wondered at that they should be lost, when Tâjîks are supposed to be Scythians, Dilâzâk Afghans “Râpûts” and “Buddhists,” Kâkar Afghans Panjâbi “Gukars,” and the people of Irânî descent to be “foreign Aryans.” There is not the least proof, that I am aware of, that the Chingiz Khân left any of his Mughal troops in Ghûr, but the direct contrary is shown by what our author states, and from the proceedings at the commencement of Uktâe’s reign. This “famous tribe of Hazâra,” as Mr. Dowson styles them, without doubt, derive this “designation,” however incorrect in fact, from hâsrâhs [this is the mere Tâjîk rendering of the Turkî ming, the name applied to bodies of Mughals, and others of Turkish descent, numbering a thousand men generally. See page 1093] permanently located in the tract in question, but they were sent thither many years after, and about the same time that others, the descendants of whom now figure as the Chahâr I mâk, were sent. One of the hâsrâhs moved into the part in question, from the territory of Balkh, was that of the Nû-yîn Mûkâ of the tribe of Karâyit, but they were not Mughals, but Turks, and it was located round about Bâdghâis, and in a short time increased considerably.

As to the “Hazârahs,” so called, having “entirely lost their language,” Elphinstone says, “Why, if they be Moguls, should they speak Toorkee?” See note at page 874. If some one acquainted with the history and traditions of the Turks, Tâttâs, and Mughals, were to institute inquiries among some of their educated men, I have no doubt but that they would be able to furnish us with sufficient information to trace their antecedents pretty clearly, or their descent, at least. I shall have more to say about them hereafter.
female slave likewise died, and she dried her body also. She sold the flesh of both of them, so that, from the two corpses, she acquired two hundred and fifty dinârs of pure gold. At last she also died.

When a period of fifteen months and ten days had expired, about thirty men only remained alive within the fortress. They seized Amir Muḥammad-i-Maraghâni, and martyred him, and threw his head near to the camp of the Mughal forces, in hopes of their own deliverance. When the Mughal troops beheld this occurrence, they at once assaulted the fortress and took it, and martyred the whole of those within it.

During this period [of the investment of Ashiyâr] they [the Mughals] captured the other fortresses of Ghârjistān likewise, so that, during the year 619 H., all the strongholds of Ghârjistān were taken;* and they sated the hearts of the Mughals with slaughter.

May the Most High God continue the gates of victory and success open unto the servants of the kingdom of the present sovereign, Sulṭān Naṣır-ud-Dunyâ wa ud-Dîn, Abû-l-Muẓaffar-i-Maḥmûd Shâh, for the sake of His prophet and his race!

ACCOUNT OF THE RETURN OF THE CHINGIZ KHÂN TOWARDS TURKISTân, AND HIS DEPARTURE TO HELL.

Trustworthy persons have related that the Chingiz Khân, at the time when he came into Khurâsân, was sixty-five years old, a man of tall stature, of vigorous build, robust in body, the hair on his face scanty and turned white, with cats' eyes, possessed of great energy, discernment, genius, and understanding, awe-striking, a butcher, just, resolute, an over thrower of enemies, intrepid, singular, and cruel. The fact that there were astonishing things in several respects concerning him is sufficiently clear and apparent to all intelligent persons. In the first place, he was an adept in magic and deception, and some of the devils were his friends. Every now and again he

* This date is simply impossible from his own previous and subsequent statements. The Chingiz Khân did not despatch Uktâe on this expedition until 619 H. ; and, as Ashiyâr is said to have held out over fifteen months, 620 H. must be the year in which it fell, and the other fortresses likewise.
used to fall into a trance, and, in that state of insensibility, all sorts of things used to proceed from his tongue, and that state of trance used to be similar to that [previously mentioned], which had happened to him at the outset of his rise; 7 and the devils who had power over him foretold his victories. The tunic and clothes, which he had on, and wore on the first occasion, were placed in a trunk, and sealed up; and he was wont to take them about with him. Whenever this inspiration came over him, every circumstance—victories, undertakings, indication of enemies, defeat, and the reduction of countries—anything which he might desire, would all be uttered by his tongue. A person used to take the whole down in writing and enclose it in a bag, and place a seal upon it; and, when the Chingiz Khān came to his senses again, they used to read his utterances over to him one by one; and according to these he would act, and, more or less, indeed, the whole used to come true.

Besides this, he was well acquainted with the art of divination by means of the shoulder-bones of sheep; and he used continually to place shoulder-blades on the fire, and burn them, and in this manner he would discover the signs of the shoulder-blades, contrary to the shoulder-blade diviners of the 'Ajami countries who inspect the shoulder-blade itself. 8 The Chingiz Khān moreover in [the ad-

7 See page 954.
8 The Afghāns, too, as well as some other Musalmān people of Asia, used to practise this sort of divination. One of the Šūfī poets of Afghānistān—of the family of the notorious Pīr-i-Tārīk, or Pīr-i-Roshān, as he styled himself, but not a pure Afghān—Mīrzā Khān, commences one of his mystical poems thus:—

“When, with the mind, I examined the shoulder-bone of prediction,
I saw that, within unity’s area, the community of plenitude dwelleth,” etc.

The shoulder-bone of an animal, but more particularly that of a sheep, which, like the Mughals, they also read their auguries by, is termed walāṣāy in Pūštō; but the Afghāns do not burn the bone, and merely draw their conclusions from the signs they pretend they see in it. See my “Poetry of the Afghāns,” London, 1867, page 58.

Rubruquis in his narrative says that on Septuagesima, when they all went in procession to Mangū’s dwelling [Kharqah or felt tent], “as they entered, they saw a servant carrying out the shoulder-bones of rams, burnt black. These he consults on all occasions, be they ever so trivial; as whether he shall admit such a person into his presence. The method is this: he calls for three bones, then, holding them, thinks whether he shall do what he proposed or not. Then he delivers them to be burnt, which is done in two little apartments [or
ministration of] justice was such, that, throughout his whole camp, it was impossible for anyone to take up a fallen whip from the ground except he were the owner of it; and, throughout his whole army, no one could give indication of [the existence of] lying and theft. If any woman that they [the Mughals] took in all Khurâsân and the land of 'Ajam had a husband, no living being would form a connexion with her; and, if an infidel [a Mughal] set his eyes upon a woman who had a husband, he would [first] slay the husband of the woman, and then would form a connexion with her. It used to be impossible for falsehood to be spoken, and this fact is clear.

ANECDOTE:

In the year 618 H., the writer of this Tabâkât, Minhâji-Sarî, returned from Timrân towards Ghûr. In the fortress of Sangah, which they style Akhûl Mânî,1 he saw Malik Husam-ud-Din, Husain-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrâd. Suddenly, his brother, Malik Tâj-ud-Din, [Hasan], Habashi-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrâd, to whom they [the Mughals] had given the title of Khusrau of Ghûr—mention of whom has been previously recorded—with the permission of the Chingiz Khân, returned to Ghûr from Tâl-kan;2 and from him this anecdote was heard.

He stated: "On a certain occasion we came forth from

1 This perhaps is the style of justice the Chingiz Khân was endowed with, which our author refers to—murder a man first, and take his wife after!

2 In some copies, Hasan, but his brother, Tâj-ud-Dîn, is styled Hasan in other places, and this brother, Husam-ud-Dîn, Husain. 'Abd-ul-Malik is evidently their father's title. Habashi is merely a nickname. See pages 368, 394, 1002, and 1006.

3 Tâl-kan of Khurâsân, from the camp at the Pughthah-i-Nu'mân. What our author says is a clear indication of its whereabouts.
the presence of the Chingiz Khan and sat down in a tent. 4 Uklân, the Juzbî, along with whom I had come, together with some other Nū-ins, were also seated there; and the greatest in rank among them all was the Juzbî, Uklân. Some persons brought thither two Mughals who, the previous night, when on guard around about the camp, had gone to sleep [upon their post]. Uklân, the Juzbî, asked: ‘What Mughal has brought them?’ The Mughal who had done so bent the knee, and replied: ‘I have brought them.’ The former inquired; ‘What offence have they been guilty of? State it.’ He replied: ‘These two men were mounted on horseback, and I was going my rounds and examining the guards. I came up to them, and found them both asleep. I struck their horses over their heads with a whip to let them [the riders] know they were culprits for being asleep; and I passed on. This day I have brought them up.’ Uklân, turning his face towards those two Mughals, said: ‘Were ye asleep?’ They both acknowledged it, saying: ‘We were.’ He commanded, saying: ‘Put one of them to death, and fasten his head to the locks 5 of the other, and parade the latter round the whole camp, and then put him to death also.’ They [accusers and accused] all made their obeisance, and, at once, [the former] carried out the command. I was riveted in astonishment, and said to Uklân, the Juzbî: ‘There was no evidence or proof on the part of that Mughal [the accuser], and, when they [the accused] were well aware that the punishment would be death, why did they confess? for, if they had denied [the charge], they would have escaped being killed.’ Uklân, the Juzbî, said: ‘Why are you asto-

4 A Tättâr or Mughal khargâh or tent probably, consisting of felt supported on props. For a description of them see Rubruquis.

5 Uklân and Ughlân are equally correct—the letters ħ and gh are interchangeable. He was an Uklûnût Kungkûr-āt Mughal, brother of the Juzbî, Sukâtû or Sugâtû, who commanded the Uklûnût ming or ḥajjahak, and brother of the Juzbî, Tûlân. They were brothers of the Bat Tingûr, Kokû, and were the sons of the Nû-yân Mangûrî, who married the Chingiz Khan’s mother. The term juzbî is said to mean true-hearted, and sincere, but our author gives it another meaning. See page 979.

6 John de Plano Carpini says: ‘‘They [the Mughals] shave the crown of the head. They braid their hair behind in two locks, binding each behind the ear. . . . . They highly reverence their lords, and never tell them a falsehood.”
nished? You, Tājzikṣ, do such things, and tell lies. A Mughal, were a thousand lives at stake, would choose being killed, but would not speak false; but false speaking is your occupation; and, on account of such things, it is that Almighty God hath sent a calamity like us upon you [Tājzikṣ].”

I have again returned to the relation of this history.

When the Chingiz Khān, after Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Din, Mangbarnī, Khwārazm Shāh, was defeated, set out in pursuit of the Ighrākīs, for Gibarī, for a period of three months he halted among those mountains. He used to go out hunting, and for the purpose of coming towards Hindūstān, used, continually, to burn shoulder-blades [of sheep], but used not to obtain permission [from the prognostications], and used not to perceive therefrom omens of victory. His purpose in entering Hindūstān was that, mayhap, he might return back into Chīn by way of Lakhanawatī and Kāmrūd; and, as he used not, from the portents of the shoulder-blades, to obtain dispensation to do so, he used to delay.¹

⁷ Here the word Tājzik is applied to the people of ’Ajam generally, whom the Mughals had a contemptible opinion of, and not to Ghūris only. Our author also informs us what Tājik or Tājzik signifies, and, in the face of such an authority, and a Tājzik himself, it is amusing to find that Surgeon Major Bellew has discovered, according to the statement of Capt. T. C. Plowden, B.S.C., in his translation of a book entitled “Kalid-i-Afgāni,” that they are “a Scythian people, the aborigines of Afghānīstān; they still abound there, as well as in Persia and Turkistān.” In his last book, entitled “Afghanistan and the Afghans,” page 222, the Doctor has the following on the same subject. “Another principal people of Afghanistan is the Tājik or Tasik. The term means Arabian, and is applied to anything of Arab origin. . . . But the offspring and descendants of Arabs who married women of the country in which they settled are called Tasik or Tājik.” See also note at page 1076, and note ⁸, page 304.

⁸ In the most trustworthy copies ḥafrun—“your occupation,” as above: in others, “the business of women.”

⁹ See the account of Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Bakhtīyār-ud-Dīn, the Khālj, in Lakhanawatī, pages 560—568.

¹ His superstition therefore may be said to have saved India from sharing the fate of other countries, although it is probable he would have met with more combined and systematic opposition there.

In the spring of the year 620 H. [the spring of 1223 A.D.] the Chingiz Khān resolved to move, for the reasons stated in a previous note, towards his native yārāt in Mughalīstān, taking the same route as he had entered the Ghazīn territory by, through Bāmīān and Tukhāristān, and marched to Būlān, or Bughlān, both being correct, where his Ugraḥik [the families, the waggons, heavy baggage, felt tents, etc.] had been sent on his advance towards
Unexpectedly, swift messengers reached him from Ţaṁ-

Ghazīn. Alī says he moved from the vicinity of Parshāwar, by way of the mountains of Nāmān [sic in MSS., but Bāmlān must be meant], and that the Uḡrūk was ordered to march from Buḵlān to join him on the way to Samr-
kān. At page 1074, our author plainly states where his Uḡrūk was left, and that he conversed with a person who had but recently left it [page 1079], and his statement with regard to it cannot be doubted in the least. It was left at the Puṣṭah-i-Nuʾmān between Ťāl-kān and Balkh. The pro-Mughal writers, having made the great blunder of mistaking Ťāl-kān of Kūndūz for Ťāl-kān of Khurāsān, make all other places agree with it, as in the case of Andarāb, previously referred to. The Chingiz Khān may have had his heavy baggage, waggons, and war materials removed from the Puṣṭah-i-Nuʾmān to Buḵlān subsequently, after he had determined to return by the same route by which he had come, and most probably after the attacks made upon them by the Gharjāh chief, as related at page 1073.

To return, however, to the pro-Mughal accounts. The whole of his forces being concentrated there [at Buḵlān], the Chingiz Khān continued encamped in the pleasant pasture-lands thereabout during the summer [of 620 H.—1223 A.D.]; and, when autumn came round, having appointed Dāroghahs to the different cities of Īrān-Zamīn, despatched them [1]. Troops, too, would have been required, but none are mentioned, and the subsequent proceedings, after his death, prove that no Mughal troops were left behind in Īrān-Zamīn, i.e., west of the Jīhūn, and it is very doubtful whether any Dāroghahs were. In the beginning of autumn he crossed the Jīhūn, and marched towards Samr-
kān, in the vicinity of which he encamped, and there passed the winter [620-621 H. = A.D. 1223—1224]. From Samr-kān, Jūjī, who, since the investment of the capital of Khwārazm, was ill-inclined towards his brother Chaghatāe—our author, however, tells the tale differently from the pro-
Mughal historians, as will be seen farther on—and had continued to remain in the Daşt-i-Kībchāk, which had been assigned to his charge, was directed to move, with a portion of his forces, and to keep along the skirts of the mountains to drive the game before him, as a grand hunt was proposed farther in advance.

Chaghatāe and Uktāe took up their quarters during that winter near Buḵhārā, and devoted themselves to fowling and hunting, and sent weekly to their father 50 khar-wārs of game. When the spring of 621 H. set in, the Chingiz Khān moved towards Turkistān; and now he showed his fiendish nature in its true colours. He compelled the unfortunate Turkān Khātūn, the aged mother of the late Sulṭān, and the ladies of his family—his wives and daughters, and to whom had been also added the females of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-
Dīn's family captured after the battle on the Sind—to wend their way on foot [some authors say bare-footed] and bare-headed, in front of his troops on the line of march, and to raise lamentation, as they went along, on the downfall and humiliation of their empire, and the death of those Sulṭāns; and this they were compelled to do until they reached his yūraī, in order, as he affirmed, that people might take warning therefrom. This again was partly the innate hostility of Mughals against the other Turks. Turkān Khātūn lived on in this miserable state until 630 H., when death relieved her.

Advancing by regular marches, the Chingiz Khān reached the Sīhūn, after which Uktāe and Chaghatāe also joined him from their expeditions; and, when he reached a place named Kulān Yāzī—יוז—but this name i
IRRUPPTION OF THE INFIDELS INTO ISLĀM. 1083

ghāj and Tingit, and gave intelligence that the whole
written Kulān Bāzīf, and Kulān Tāzi, in as many different authors—supposed to be situated in the vicinity of Fanākbat, but, apparently, farther N.E., Jūjī, from the direction of the Daṣḥ-i-Kibbāk, drew near, driving the game on his side before him. The Chingiz Khān now moved towards him, the two half-circles of troops dispersed for the purpose, drawing gradually closer together, and reached a place named Aḵābar or Aḵābir—&—or Aḵāfr—&—and styled Ūkā—&—in the Ruṣqat-un-Ṣaff [and Oukâir]—Aḵāfr—
by Pécis de la Croix, but on what authority does not appear, as, in this particular part of his History of “Genghisian the Great,” he gives none, and makes it out to be “the city of Tōncat,” where subsequently the kurūltāk, or diet was held, but in no history with which I am acquainted, and such as I have named, is any reference made to any city, and such a city as Tonkāt or Toncat is never referred to. The Chingiz Khān now mounted and entered the circle to enjoy the sport, and after he was satisfied his sons were permitted to do the same, and subsequently the great chiefs. The sport over, the remainder of the animals received a brand on one of the thighs, and were allowed to escape. After this Jūjī presented himself on bended knee, with offerings for his father’s acceptance, among which were 100,000 horses, every 20,000 of which were of different colours—dappled grey, white, piebald, bay, and black, his father’s troops being in want of horses.

The Chingiz Khān continued encamped in this place during the summer of this year [621 H.], and, all his sons and Amirs having joined him from all parts, including Jabah [Yamāh] and Swīdā [Saḥūdah], he now held a great kurūltāk or assembly. He distributed honours and rewards, and put to death a number of the I-ghūr chiefs; why is not said, but it no doubt had reference, in some way, to the dismissal of the ṣulās of the Yūḏī-Kīt, mentioned in note 1, page 1101, and evidently refers to what the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr mentions in a few words, that, on his arrival in this part, he received the submission of the petty rulers around, but that some, who, at the outset, were the first to submit to him, now showed symptoms of hostility, and a body of troops had to be sent to coerce them. Their names are not given. Jūjī was now allowed to return to his government of the Daṣḥ-i-Kibbāk, and, in the last month of the year 621 H. [Dec.-Jan., 1225 A.D.], after an absence of seven years, the Chingiz Khān reached his native yūvat in Mughalīstān—the Chinese say, on the banks of the Tulā river—and again enjoyed the society of his wives and children.

At this point I come to a very amusing matter, and which also is a specimen of history-writing taken from translations often second-hand, a somewhat dangerous course of procedure. At page 92 of “Mongols Proper,” the author, immediately after stating that “Jagatai and Ogotai went to hunt Kukus and Karaguls (i.e. wild swans and antelopes)—I have already stated how Chaghatāi and Uktāe employed the winter near Būkhārā—says that, “On the banks of the Imil he (Jingis) was met by two of his grandsons, afterwards very celebrated, namely, Kublaii [he is afterwards styled Khublaii] and Khulagu, one eleven and the other nine years old. They had killed their first game, and, according to Mongol custom, Jingis pricked their middle fingers to mix some blood with their food and drink, a kind of baptism of the chase. Afterwards he gave his army a fête, at a place called Buka Suchiku, and reached his Ordu or home [camp?] in the month of February, 1225.” This appears to have been taken from Erdmann, and, at page 99, this fête is again
territories of Chīn, Tamghāj, and Tingit, were in a state of revolt, and that, on account of the very great distance [of the Chingiz Khān from the scene], those kingdoms were about to pass out of the hands of the Mughal governors. The Chingiz Khān, on account of this information, became anxious in mind, and he consequently set out on his return by way of Lob and the country of Tibbat.  

referred to as a "grand reception," as though a wholly different affair; and, in a note at page 716, on "Jinjis Khan" crossing the Jaxartes, and before the "Kukus and Karaguls" [the kargawal, by-the-bye, is a pheasant, and Shaw, I believe, brought some specimens with him from Turkistān] are referred to, the writer says, "Before leaving Transoxianah Jingis, who had been joined by his sons, seems to have held a grand fête at Benaket or Tonkat. This was in 1224. It is described by De la Croix, but his description is a mere rhetorical display without facts." Now, considering that the author of the "Mongols Proper" has referred to this very "fête" in two other places, and as happening at two different times, and in two different localities, on which side have we "mere rhetorical display without facts"?

The facts of the "baptism of the chase" are these, and no doubt Erdmann, in some way, derived them from the same original source whence also I take mine:—"When the Chingiz Khān reached the neighbourhood of his native yūrat, it is said, Hulākū Khān was nine years old, and Kūblī Khān two years older. They both came out to meet him [their grandfather], and, by the way, Kūblī had captured a hare, and Hulākū a small deer [with dogs, probably]; and, as it is a custom among the Mughals, on the first occasion of boys capturing game, to anoint the middle finger with flesh and fat of the game, which anointing is termed  in Arabic—aghāmēshi—the Chingiz Khān anointed the fingers of his grandsons himself, petted them much, and gave feasts and banquets to celebrate the event."

The winter of 622 H. [A.D. 1224-5] was passed by the Chingiz Khān in pleasure and jollity in his own yūrat, but, during this time, news reached him of the hostility of Shīdarḵū, the Ḥākim or ruler of Kāšīn, who had assembled a vast army, intending to throw off the Mughal yoke. The historians I quote from appear to have lost sight of the fact that the alarming state of the Ting-ḵūt country, or Kāšīn, as it is also called, and the revolt there, had, as our author says above, brought the Mughal sovereign back from west of the Jīhūn. The Chingiz Khān now re-assembled his forces, and commenced his march towards the territory of Kāšīn. It was determined that Chaghatē, with his forces, should guard the rear of the  or, in other words, form the reserve. Ťūī, through one of his Kūṭūns being attacked with small-pox, was unable to accompany his father, and followed some time after, but Uktāe accompanied him. In this same year likewise, and about this time, the news of the death of his eldest son, Jūjī, in the Daḵt-i-Kibhsīk, reached him. The sons of Uktāe, Kūtān, our author’s Kutan, and Kiwak, were now sent back to the yūrat under the care of a trusty person.

What follows next in the account of the Chingiz Khān’s movements before his death, in the writers I am quoting, is so different from our author’s accounts, that I must make that subject the matter of another note.

These names vary considerably in the different copies of the text, but the above rendering is without doubt correct, though it is only by comparing the
When he reached that territory [Tingit], there was a Khān in the country of Tingit, a man of great energy and intrepidity, and he had an army and munitions and war materials beyond computation; and, on account of the multitude of his troops, the power of his servants, the amplitude of his dominions, the vastness of his riches, wealth, and treasures, he had assumed to himself the name of "the Tingri Khān."* On some occasions the Mughal troops

whole of the copies that it could be arrived at. It is also confirmed by others. The best copies have some لو ب ل ب ل ب and لو ب ل ب and لو ب ل ب.

The explorations of Col. Prejevalsky about Lob Nāwar and the mountain-range to the south, the existence of which some people had the assurance altogether to ignore, confirm the correctness of our author’s statement, and extent of his information, and also that possessed by the Jesuits.

* Our author’s account of the events of this period differs considerably from that of the other Muḥammadan writers who followed him, and who appear unable, or unwilling, to write aught unpalatable to the Mughal rulers, whose subjects and employes they were, and is also very different from the Chinese annals of Gaubil and others. Passing over the little episode respecting the milk-coloured blood of the Tingri Khān, which is much after the fashion of the “Saga-loving Ssanang Setzen’s” childish fables, of “the brown-coloured dog with a black muzzle which could prophesy,” and the like, the accounts our author gives appear well worthy of credence, and are, no doubt, such as were related to him, as in other instances, probably, by actors in the events he records.

We may therefore receive with some reserve the statements of the pro-Mughal writers who followed our author, and be somewhat sceptical as to the defeats sustained by the Tingri Khān, Shīdarḵū, on the previous occasions as related by them [See note at page 949]; for, had that ruler been reduced to such a state of helplessness, as they mention, how could he have again managed to acquire such power, and assemble such an immense army?

The following is, briefly, what the other, and subsequent Musalmān writers say on the subject.

The Chingiz Khān having reached the territory of Tingkūt, otherwise called Kāshfūn, succeeded in possessing himself of the cities of Kam-iw, Kā-jū, Sujū, and Arūmī or Urūmī, and invested the city of Tingāf or Tangāf [this is the same doubtless as the Ning-hya of the Chinese, as [ত] and [ন] n may be easily mistaken in MSS.], and set it on fire in several places. Shīdarḵū—the Tingri Khān of our author, and Shīdarḵū of some other writers, and the Ly-Hyen of the Chinese, but never styled “Khakān” in any history I have met with—the Bādshāh of Kāshfūn, whom, in the language of Tingkūt, they style by the title of Līwān—[the Layau of Europeans] moved from his capital, which, in the Tingkūt language, they style Irıkū or Irıkū—with fifty tomāns of troops—500,000—[this is a one-sided statement it must be remembered], and advanced to encounter the Mughal sovereign, who, likewise, made ready to meet him. When they came in contact a desperate battle ensued, and such a vast number were
had invaded his territory, but had not overcome him or

slain on the side of Shīdarḵū, but some say, as is most probable, on either
side, that three corpses were found, after the battle, standing on their heads! Among the Mughals it has become firmly established [in their minds?] that, for every ten tomāns—100,000 persons—slain on the battle-field, one of the killed stands on its head [sic in MSS.]. The author of the “Mongols Proper” (p. 102) has got hold of this fable through some foreign translation, but the translator has made a muddle of it. Certainly “the great Raschid” never made such an error in telling it. Mr. Howorth’s version of it is as follows: “The story of Raschid about the man standing on his head is explained by D’Ohsson, who says, that, when the Mongols slaughtered a large number of people, in order to mark the number of the slain, a census in which they gloried, they put a corpse on its head on some elevated point for every thousand killed.”!! There is nothing like a bold translation perhaps when a person may be in doubt.

At length, Shīdarḵū, unable to make any further resistance, took to flight, much to the joy of the Mughals, who considered themselves fortunate in obtaining this success, and shut himself up in his stronghold, the city of Irīḵ or Irīḵā, but which Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur, in the Kazān edition of his work, styles Kāčtī. The Chingiz Khān remarked that, as Shīdarḵū had been so utterly defeated in this battle, and his territory devastated, he would have no more strength left to him, since great part of his troops had been slain. So, holding him of little importance, and passing his city without molesting it [he must have left a force to watch it], but plundering, slaughtering, and devastating the territory of Kāshīn, the Chingiz Khān turned his face towards Khiṭā, and, when spring came round, he determined to move against the territories of Tingnāgh—[See third para. farther on] and Khūrjā—but, before he could carry out his intentions respecting them, he had an awful dream which warned him that his end was near, and he became very much agitated in mind in consequence. He is also said to have received intimation about this time of the death of the Khalfah, Un-Nāṣir B’illah, who died in Shawwāl, 622 H. When he awoke from his dream, he inquired of Baisūkā Aḵā, his nephew, the son of Jūjī Kasār, who was in attendance: “Are my sons Uktās and Tūf distant or near?” As they were in their own urdū, with their forces, Baisūkā Aḵā replied that they might not be more than two or three farsangs distant. The Khān said: “Let them bring them hither;” and, when they presented themselves the following day, along with the great Amīrs, after partaking of the morning meal, the Chingiz Khān turned his face towards the assemblage and said: “I have some counsel to hold with my sons, and a confidential matter which I wish to communicate to them, and desire to be private with them for a short time.”

When the Amīrs and others who were then present withdrew, the Chingiz Khān turned towards his sons and said: “My beloved ones, the time approaches for me to take my last journey, and the period of my dissolution is at hand! By the power of the Almighty, and the aid of Providence, I have acquired and consolidated [not very consolidated west of the Jībūn, at least, and in very few, if in any, places had Intendants even been established, much less troops located, at this period, but certainly there were ample proofs of the butchery and desolation he and his barbarian hordes had committed] for you an empire, so extensive, that from one side of it to the other is one year’s journey. I wish to ask of you who, by your counsel, is
subdued his country, and many times he had overcome the

the person most befitting to succeed me.” Uktäe, Chaghatäe, and Tülf—for he was also present according to some of my authorities, but Jüj had recently died in the Dagh-i-Kibchäk—bent the knee, and replied:—“Our father is sovereign, and we are his servants, and will obey what he commands.” The Great Khan replied: “I have implicit faith, in all things, in the wisdom and experience of Karächär, and desire his opinion, and whom he approves of I will appoint.” Having received the opinion of that Nü-yïn, the Chingiz Khan directed that the Covenant entered into in by-gone times by Kabal Khân and the Bahâdur, Kas-jüüli, bearing the Al-Tamghah of Tumna-i Khân, which had descended to him from his ancestors, and to which his forefathers had also appended their names [see the note on the Turks at page 896] should be brought from the treasury. This having been done, it was shown to his sons; and he continued:—“I name Uktäe as Khân, and appoint him my successor, and make over the throne to him. Do ye likewise act in accord one with another, and enter likewise into a Covenant that ye will not deviate from his commands, and that ye will attend his kürfläes.” This they did; and the Covenant was attested by the Amirs and Ministers. He also requested that the mother of Uktäe, Bürta Khüch, should exercise the sovereign authority over the mlüsîs until such time as a kürfläe should assemble to confirm Uktäe’s succession, which would be two years. He further commanded that, as the countries of Mäwar-un-Nahr and other territories adjoining it had previously been assigned by him to Chaghatäe, and as there were ancient [sic in MSS.] foes still existing between I-rân and Turân, namely Sultan Jalâl-ud-Dîn and his brother, he would make over Chaghatäe to the paternal charge of Karächär; and urged that Nü-yïn to act towards his son as he had acted before towards himself, his father, and continue to give Chaghatäe the benefit of his assistance in the government of the affairs of his dominions. He also caused Chaghatäe and Karächär to enter into a Covenant as father and son; and the last-mentioned Covenant was made over to Chaghatäe’s charge, and that previously mentioned, between the brothers, to Uktäe. “The Great Khan further requested, that, when his death should happen, no lamentations whatever were to be made, and that it should be kept a profound secret [‘the ruling passion’ of treachery was ‘strong even in death’]; and that as soon as Shîdarkû, the king of Kâshân, should leave his city and come to the Mughal camp, as he had agreed to do, he should be put, at once, to death, in order that firm possession of his territory might be secured. Having said this, he closed his eyes, and thou mightest have said that the Chingiz Khân had never existed.”

Alif, quoting Hâfiz Abrû, and other authorities, differs considerably from the above in some points. It states that, after settling the succession, at which Chaghatäe was not present, the Chingiz Khân requested his sons, Uktäe and Tülf, to return to their own tribes and territories, that is such tribes and countries as had been entrusted to them, lest Chaghatäe, who was not present, might not act according to his father’s commands, and might raise sedition in the empire; and he further urged them, for the sake of his good name and fame, to observe his laws and regulations.

Uktäe and Tülf took leave of their father, and returned to their respective posts, while the Chingiz Khân, with a numerous army, marched towards the country of Tingwafigh—Takâsh—[which may even be more correctly Ningaïsh—تکاش] It is written in various ways. The Rauṣat-us-Sâfa has Táng-
Chingiz Khan in battle. At the period that the Chingiz

tābāsh—تکاباش—but the first mode of writing is contained in the majority of trustworthy writers], and Khūrijah

When he reached them, the Bādshāhs of those countries were ready to become tributary, and to submit to him. On reaching a place named Liwak-šān—لیوک گناه—which is on the frontier boundary between Khūrijah, Tingnāsh, or Biktāsh, and Tingkūt, the Bādshāh—also styled Wālī—of Khūrijah [the Kin emperor according to the trans-lations from the Chinese annals, but from what subsequently happens in the reigns of Uktāe and Mangū this is contrary to fact] despatched envos, with numerous and valuable presents for his acceptance, among which was a bowl of the finest pearls, and to tender their sovereign's submission and obedience. The Chingiz Khan commanded that such among those present at that time in his assembly, as had their ears bored, should be presented with pearls, while those, whose ears were not already bored, had them bored very quickly, and received pearls also; and, notwithstanding this, a great number of pearls remained undistributed. The Chingiz Khan commanded, saying, "It is a day of largess: let the pearls be scattered that people may pick them up." This was done; and, in consequence, a number of pearls were lost in the ground, and for a long time after that pearls used to be found there.

About this time Shīdarḵū, Bādshāh of Kašīn, who had shut himself up in his capital, Irākīā, Irīkīā, or Irīkīh, sent an envoy to the Chingiz Khan to intimate that, if the Mughal Khan would enter into a Covenant with him, stipulating for his safety and security, he would, within the period of one month, come in person to his urdu, and present pesh-kash, which is equivalent to doing homage. The Chingiz Khan gave the required guarantees, and confirmed them with most solemn oaths; and the envoy departed.

After the envoy had gone, the Chingiz Khan was taken ill, and grew excessively weak; and, from an awful dream which he had, warning him of his approaching death, he was much disturbed. It was at this time, according to the authority I have named, that he sent for his sons, and appointed his successor: the remainder agrees with the statements of other writers. His death, as he desired, was kept a profound secret; and, when Shīdarḵū, Bādshāh of Tingkūt or Kašīn—he is styled so indiscriminately—according to the terms agreed upon, left his capital, the city of Irākīā, and drew near the Mughal camp, the Nū-yīns and Amirs came forth to receive him, and escorted him and his train, as though about to lead him to the presence of the Chingiz Khan, but, on their arriving within a short distance of the urdu, a body of Mughals, posted for the purpose, fell upon Shīdarḵū and his followers, and butchered the whole of them. An army was then despatched to Irākīā, which the Mughals entered, plundered, and massacred its inhabitants, and then desolated the country round. Such is Alī's account.

The death of the Chingiz Khan took place on the 4th of Ramaqān, 624 H.; in the Turkish year of Tunzūz or the Ḥog, which was the year of his birth, his ascending the throne, and of his decease, which last date is equivalent to the 16th of August, 1227 A.D. A few writers say 623 H. He had reigned 25 years, and his age was 75: some authors say 73, but, as he was born on the 20th of Zl-Ka'dah, 549 H. [See note, page 398], he was exactly 75 years, 1 month, and 10 days old [our author says he was 65 when he came into Khurāsān. See page 1077], whatever Abū-l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān, or Father Gaubil have said to the contrary; and he was certainly too old to have
Khān returned from the land of 'Ajam, and the countries

"coveted," the wife of the so-called "Shidurgho," as we are told he did in "Mongols Proper."

Having carried out their father's last instructions, the sons of the deceased Khān proceeded to perform the funeral ceremonies according to the custom of their people. There was no secrecy whatever after Shīrḵū had been put to death, and his capital secured; and there was no killing every one they met.

Bentinck censures Marco Polo for relating, that, "in his time, the Tartars were accustomed, at the funerals of their Khāns, to slay all those they met in the way, and that they slew all whom they met on the way to the place appointed for the sepulchre of Jenghiz Khān; and that, a little before [true: a little before] his arrival in Grand Tartary, there had been 20,000 persons massacred in that manner, at the interment of Mangu Khān, grandson of the conqueror." Bentinck further remarks, and quite correctly too, that none of the Eastern authors, who have written on the Tartars [Mughals?], charge them with "such an abominable custom." He adds, that "in Grand Tartary"—he means Mughalīstān and the Mughals—the inhabitants live so dispersed in their khangāhs or huts, that one might travel several hundred leagues without meeting a thousand. Polo too kills the Chingiz Khān six years only after his defeat of the "Um" Khān, as he styles the Āwang Khān, and asserts that he was shot in the knee by an arrow before the castle of Thaigin!

Pétis de la Croix who often quotes "the great Raschid," very correctly says [page 382]: "There is no likelihood that the barbarous custom, which has since been practised amongst the Tartars and Moguls, to kill those they meet in the way, when they are carrying to the grave the body of a Grand Can, was at this time observed; for the historians mention no such thing, and, besides, this custom is not countenanced by the law." The custom of burial among the Mughals is given in detail by our author farther on.

After performing the funeral ceremonies—the preliminary mourning—the bier of the Great Khān was taken up, and his army set out on their return homeward, and the bier was in due time conveyed to his ʿurduš in the locality of his ancient yūrāt, which was "within the limits of," not at, Ḳarā-Ḳuram. The corpse was finally buried at the foot of a large and solitary tree, under which, one day, when following the chase—not when he was "ill"—he had rested, and at which time he remarked: "This place is suitable for my sepulchre." The place in question is called Būlkān Kaldūn, according to some authorities, and Būrkān Kaldūn by others, including Abū-ul-Ghāżī, Bahādūr Khān, which is merely the change of for r. After the burial, the place was proscribed against intrusion from one generation to another, the word used to denote it is ʿūrduš—an Arabic word signifying "confiscated," "prohibited," "embargo," "ban," etc., and it was called the or the "exclusive or especially prohibited place," which words appear to be the translation of Būrkān Kaldūn. The Tā-ʾīṣī, Yaṣū Būkā, the Uhūd Ürûngkūt of the race of Kaiān, was the Ḫorchī or guardian of the spot, which guardianship appertained exclusively to his tribe, who were, in consequence, exempted from all other duties and services.

It is likewise stated, as a wonderful fact, that, in that same year, that plain ——thus showing that it was a plain, and neither "a mountain" nor "a cave"—became totally destitute of grass on account of the numerous trees of various kinds which grew up therein, and soon became such a dense forest
of Islām, this Tingri Khān held counsel with his Malik

that one could not pass through it; and, the place being alike inaccessible and interdicted from curiosity, the exact whereabouts of the burial-place of the Chingiz Khān became wholly unknown. Tūlīf his son, who died about four years after, was also buried there. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar distinctly states that the Chingiz Khān’s body was taken back to Karā-Kuram and buried in that neighbourhood, and that no human being was permitted to invade the spot; and this agrees with what other authors state, as given above, and the burial customs of the Mughals.

It is amusing to read, in the face of the statements of authors who wrote their histories in the territories of the Mughal sovereigns, with the best means of obtaining information on such a point, and about which there is absolutely nothing to conceal, the various theories of European writers. Pétis de la Croix, after stating that the spot was proscribed from the visitation of any one, says: “They buried him there [under the tree] with all the pompous ceremonies of the Mogul religion, and afterwards erected a most noble monument in this Place upon his Grave.” Where is the native historian who ever said so, or whoever once mentioned such things as “the pompous ceremonies of the Mogul religion”? All this is purely imaginary. Again he says: “The people, who came to visit the Tomb, planted other Trees round it, which so artfully covered it, and in such beautiful Order, as rendered it in time one of the finest Monuments in the World”. He, however, quotes no authorities for these highly-coloured statements, and, moreover, buries him in “Tangul,” which is totally incorrect.

Gaubil says he was buried “in the cave of Ki-nyen, in a mountain to the north of the sandy desert, and that his posterity were also buried there. Several Mughal lords of his posterity, whom he met at Pekin, he says, informed him that the Chingiz Khān was buried on the mountain of Han, in Lat. 49° 54’, Long. 9° 3’ W. of Pekin. Another writer, not named, says the place of his burial was called Sali-chwen, and that the Chinese word chwen denotes “the Sali to have been a place full of fountains [springs?], lakes, and hills.” The statement of Erdmann, p. 444, agrees nearest with the Oriental writers, but D’Ohsson’s, vol. 1. p. 381, seems purely mythical.

But why need I mention all this? Has not Professor Forbes himself discovered not only the place of burial, but even the tomb in which the corpse was enclosed? I wonder he did not discover Tūlīf’s tomb also, for he was buried there too. In a paper read before the British Association in September, 1876, he asserts [but what are the proofs?] that it lies “almost a day’s journey from Urga, viz, from twenty to twenty-five miles, and that “the tomb consists of a stone structure which is now level with the ground; there is a circle of stone ten feet thick, and one hundred yards in diameter, and in the centre of this there is a circle which has once been a covered building, some fifteen yards in diameter,” etc., etc. Did not he “discover” an inscription too? If it is a Mughal tomb, look below ground, not above, seeing what our author and others say with regard to Mughal modes of sepulture.

I must say a few words respecting the wives and children of the Chingiz Khān before closing the notice of him, as European writers have rendered the names of them even more unintelligible than those of his four famous sons.

He is said to have had 500 Khātūns [wives] and concubines, every one of whom was taken from some tribe or other after he had reduced or conquered it. Some were married to him according to the Mughal rites and customs,
IRRUPTION OF THE INFIDELS INTO ISLĀM. 1091

and Amirs, saying: “The Chingiz Khān is come. On

but most of them were such as had been carried off, and were kept in his haram. Those who were held in the highest respect and esteem were the following five:

1. Būrtah Kūchīn—بیئ چین She was neither called “Burte Fuðshin” nor “Burte Fuðshın,” and consequently, whether “Fuðshin” or “Fongrin” was the title given by the Chinese Emperors to those of their wives who ranked “immediately after the Empress,” or whether not, these names and titles do not appertain to Būrtah Kūchīn, who was the Chingiz Khān’s chief wife. She was the daughter of the Nū-yǐn, Dāe, the Bāḏgān, as he is styled, of the Kūngkūr-āt Mughals, which was one of the most numerous, and distinguished for valour, as well as one of the proudest of the whole of the Nairūn tribes, one reason for which is stated to have been that, in issuing from Irgānāh-Kūn, they led the way, and such was their celerity in doing so, that they burnt their feet on the ironstone not yet become cool.

They are Nairūn Mughals beyond the shadow of a doubt, and yet the author of the “Mongols Proper” informs us, at p. 703, “I have small doubt that they were Turks, for although small clans still survive among the Mongols who are called Khongkiras (i.e. Kunkurat), by Ssanang Setzen, there is no tribe among them which bears the name, while we find that one of the four main divisions of the Üzbeks is called Kiat Kungrat,” etc., etc. The author has made a very delightful meddle here. The Kūngkūr-āts are truly Turks of the Mughal ī-māk, but Nairūn Mughals, of which Kāiat is one of the two great divisions, and perhaps he is not aware that the Üzbeks are Mughals, whence the term Kāiat-Kūngkūr-āt. There are Kūngkūr-āts, Kākūs, and many other tribes mentioned in these notes, still to be found in Turkistan and Mughalistān. Mīr ‘Abd-ul-Karīm, Būkhārī, who wrote in 1222 H.—1807 A.D.—continually refers to them in his work; and some of the Kāshgār Mission actually met a “Kirghiz who was a Naymān,” and “Yuldūz Kalmāk who are Turgut and Koshot!”

When the Chingiz Khān was defeated by the Makrits, his Kūngkūr-āt wife was taken captive, and made over by them to the Āwang Khān, their sovereign. She is said to have been pregnant of Jūjī at the time; and the Āwang Khān, out of his former friendship for the husband, treated her with respect, and sent her back when the Chingiz Khān demanded her. Jūjī was born on the way home; and his appearance on the scene appears to have been unexpected, for his name, given in consequence, signifies “the unexpected guest.” I may have to refer to this circumstance again, farther on.

Būrtah Kūchīn subsequently bore three other sons—Chaghātāe, Uktāe, and Tūfī, and five daughters, who, in due time, married to different Mughal and other chiefs, who, with a single exception, are styled Gūrgān, signifying, in the Turki language—not the “Chinese,” I believe—son-in-law. One of these sons-in-law, a son of the chief of the Kūngkūr-āt, had previously borne the title of Gūrgān, but I have not space for much detail.

2. Kūlān Khātūn, daughter of Tāʼīr Asūn, the chief of the Ūrhar Makrit tribe. Her father submitted to the sway of the Chingiz Khān, and brought his daughter, and presented her as an offering to him. Ābū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādūr Khān, ignores her altogether, in his History, and substitutes Kor-Bāsū, the widow of the Tayānak Khān, who is mentioned as one of his wives of lesser degree farther on. Kūlān Khātūn had a son by the Chingiz Khān named Kūsakān—کوسکان—or Kūlakān—کولکان—who was assigned rank, in
several previous occasions we have fought with him and

every way, equal to the other sons of the Chingiz Khan. He died early, leaving several sons, and one of them, Kūchah, succeeded to his father's rank and position, and the command of the 6000 men, which the Chingiz Khan had conferred upon him.

3. Yassūkān, a Tältār lady, whose name, in some Histories, is written Tassūkān, but it appears that the two points of the first letter - ī - in this instance have been carelessly written with the points over instead of under. She bore a son, who was named Ūjār, but he died in his youth.

4. Konjū Khātūn, daughter of the Altān Khān of Khītāe. She was by no means good-looking, but, as her father was the greatest sovereign of that age, she was treated with respect accordingly. She bore no children, and was still living, in her own ursū, in the time of Artūr or Artūk Būkā.

5. Yassūlūn, sister of Yassūkān the third wife, but married to the Chingiz Khān after the death of her sister.

Besides these were other Khātūns, who, although not considered so high in rank or position, were nevertheless treated with great reverence, and sometimes would monopolize the company of their husband. One of these was Anīkāh - Khatūn, daughter of the Jākambū, also written Jākābū, the brother of the Awang Khān. His name is said to have been Bādšāh - Dādan. After the overthrow and death of his brother, he took shelter in Tingkūt, where he obtained protection, and was treated with honour. The Bādshāh of that country gave him the title of Jākambū, equivalent to "Dāshābū," in "Degum Dsāmbū," and "Māthi Dsāmbū," etc., in Tibbatī titles. Jākambū signifies "Amīr-i-Mu‘azzam," and "Buzurg-i-Mamlakāt." The Chingiz Khān espoused her, and married one of her sisters, named Biktūmīsh Kūchīn, to his son, Jūjī, and another, Siūr Kūkīūl Bīgū, to Tūlī, and all four sons of Tučī Khān were by her. After the Chingiz Khān had married Anīkāh a few days only, in consequence of a dream which he had, he gave her in marriage to one of his Amirs, the Nū-yīn, Gahī, also called Gāfī, the Ürā-uṭ [he is turned into "a dyer on the borders of China," in the "Mongols Proper"], who happened to be the Amīr in waiting that night.

Another of the Chingiz Khān's Khātūns was Kūr Bāsū, the widow and chief Khātūn of the Tayānak Khān, Bādshāh of the Nāmāns. She was brought to him sometime after the Tayānak Khān's death; and, according to the Mughal custom, the Chingiz Khān entered into bonds of marriage with her.

Besides these Khātūns he had many others, the daughters of Sultāns [Mughal and Tältār Chiefs?] and Amīrs; and he also had a son named Jūrīn, by a lady of the Nāmān tribe, who died before any other of his children; and another son named Jīfān or Arjīfān, who died in childhood. His mother was of the Tältār 1-māk.

The Great Khān likewise adopted a boy of the Tingkūt tribe, in his eleventh year, and brought him up; and was wont to style him his fifth son. He was the Nū-yīn, Jīfān, who had a great name for valour, and was the Bāshī or Chief of the Khās or Personal Ming—in the Tājīk language signifying Hazārah—of the Chingiz Khān, which was limited to 1000 persons; and from it many of the chief officials and leaders were chosen. In Uktār Khān's reign, when he was despatched into Khītāe, Jīfān adopted a son himself, who was also a Tingkūt, named Būrah, taken captive as a child of three years, who was from the ursū of Būrtah Kūchīn, as were many other
defeated him. Now he has returned, and his forces have

eminent officers serving in the Khāṣ Ming or Hazārah as Sadhahs—leaders of hundreds—but I have not space to mention more than one—the Bāwūrčī, Bürki, of the Durbān tribe, who was the grandfather of Fūlād Aḵā, from whom the Khwājah, Raḥīm-ud-Dīn, the Hamadānī, obtained information respecting his account of the Mughals compiled from the Altān Daftar, or Golden Record, and verified its contents. Alīf says, quoting other authorities, that Jīfān was held in such high esteem and honour, that, in Uktāe's reign, he used to sit higher, on public occasions, than his brother Mangū, afterwards supreme ruler of the Mughal empire.

The Chingiz Khān had yet another adopted son, a Tāttār. When his tribe was attacked and plundered by the hostile Mughal tribes, a little boy was found by them weeping in his cradle. Būrtah Kūčín, at that time, had borne her husband no children, and she adopted the child, and brought him up. He subsequently rose to high rank: his correct name was Shiḵī Kutūḵī, commander of the Tāttār Ming or Hazārah. He is one of the leaders who was overthrown by Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn. See page 289.

The total number of the Chingiz Khān's children was thirteen—eight sons and five daughters—and yet Pétis de la Croix says he had "a prodigious number of children."

I intended to have given here a list of the whole of the Chingiz Khān's Mings or Hazārah, but I have not space for them.

The Contingents instituted by the Chingiz Khān, which were all cavalry, consisted of a Khāṣ or Personal Ming, or Hazārah, a Kol or Centre, a Būrangāh, or Right Wing, so styled, and a Juwāṅghār, or Left Wing, also called the Jūḵ. The word Hazārah, which is Tājīfī or Persian, must not be supposed to be the actual name by which these Contingents were called by the Mughals, for it is not—nor is it the name of a tribe, as Mr. Dowson, in Elliot's Historians [vol. vi., page 368] imagines—"the famous tribe of Hazārah," as he styles them. The word is the mere translation of the Turkī word mīng, a thousand. The number, too, was but nominal in many instances, since there were two Hazārah of 10,000 men each, one of 8000, and several others of a higher number than a thousand. See note, page 984.

The Būrangāh contained 30,000 men in 22 Hazārah. Out of these there was one of Üṅrāt Mughaḵ̣ [vul. Virats], 4000; one of Bārīn Mughals, 2000; another of Ungkūt Turks, 4000; and one of various ḫāṣ tribes, 10,000. The Nū-yīn, Būrjī or Būrjīn, the Arāf, was its head.

The Juwāṅghār, consisted of 25 Hazārah, among which was the Üṅrāt Hazārah, 4000 men; the Angfrās Kungkur-āts, 3000; the Kungkur-āts, 5000; the Bārīns, 3000; and another of Kungkur-āts, of 4000. Besides the other Mughal Hazārah, there was one Hazārah of ḫāṣ-Khīṭā-is of 10,000 men, and another styled the Khūraj Hazārah of 10,000 men. Its head was the Nū-yīn Mūḵalīf, the Jalā-īr, surnamed The Ko-yāng, signifying in the language of Khīṭā, the Great Khān.

The contingents assigned to the Chingiz Khān's sons and brothers, and their sons, his mother, and other relatives, amounted to 28,000. His eldest son Jūlī's contingent numbered 4000 in four Hazārah, consisting of the tribes of Sujīlīt, Kangūt, Hōghīn, also called Usushman, and Suntāe [?]. The contingent of his second son, Chaghatāe, amounted to the same number, also consisting of four Hazārah, of the tribes of Barāla, Karāyāt, Sūn-lat, and Sūlūs.

Some recent Indian history compilers have made sad errors in connexion
become very numerous, and he is proceeding against the

with these four tribes assigned to Chaghatäe Khan—Chaghatäe’s tribes. These writers have assumed that there was a great and distinct tribe called “Chagtae,” or “Chugtar,” as a recent author writes it, and a “Chagtae language”! Some have even gone so far [see “The Turks in India,” by Henry George Keene, M.R.A.S., Judge of Agra, etc. : London : 1879] as to assert that Bābar, who founded the Mughal empire in India, was not a Mughal, but a “Chugtae Turk.” He was a Barlās Mughal [see note, page 898] pure and simple, of the race of Kāiāt. It is quite time such fallacies should be given to the winds.

The contingent of his third son, Uktāe, formed four Hazārahs of the same number as those of his other two brothers, consisting of the Hazārahs of Jalā-īr Yamākālīn or Bamkālīn [مکارونا] a branch of the Sūldūs, Mangkūt, and Sūnīat. After Uktāe came to the throne, the whole of his personal troops consisted of men of these four tribes.

The share of Kūlakān, another son of the Chingiz Khān, and to whom he was greatly attached, numbered 4000, in four Hazārahs, consisting of men of the Birlās, and other tribes.

These four Mings or Contingents in all numbered 16,000 horse.

The Chingiz Khān conferred a contingent to the number of 5000 upon his younger brother, Ü-Tigīn, or Aw-Tigīn, as it is also spelt, consisting of Ürad Kālangkūs, Baisūts, Jūrī-āts, also called Jājar-āts, and small numbers of many of the other tribes not included in the previously mentioned Hazārahs. The contingent of the sons of Jūjī Kasār, another brother of the Chingiz Khān, consisted of 1000 men drawn from several tribes; and that of Ichkādāe, or Ichkikdāe, son of Kājbūn, a third brother of the Chingiz Khān, who died in his youth, numbered 3000 horse, consisting of Nāmāns, Urf-angkut, and some other scattered tribes. The contingent of his mother, Ülūn Ankāh, numbered 3000 Kūrīs and Ülkūnūts.

At the time of his decease the Chingiz Khān assigned the whole of his Khaṣah, or personal troops, and all the Hazārahs of the Centre, Right, and Left, consisting of 101,000 men, and his yūrats, to his youngest son, Tūlū or Tūlī, who always continued with him, and who, in his lifetime, commanded them, under himself, hence no separate contingent appertained to him; and, after Tūlī’s decease, they fell to the share of his sons, Mangū, Kūbhīāe, and others.

It must be understood that these were contingents always kept up by the Princes, Nū-yīns, Juzbūs, and Bahādurs, to whom they were assigned, and not as being the entire amount, by any means, of the Chingiz Khān’s forces. They were capable of being expanded at any time. That such was usual, we have sufficient proof in the number of troops which Hulākū led into I-rān-Zamīn, drawn from a portion of these contingents, some of which subsequently increased very much; and we are told that one of Chaghatāe’s Hazārahs, in a short period of time, had increased to the number of 100,000.

I have been particular in mentioning these Hazārahs because, to judge from one of the questions propounded at the Oriental Congress of 1876, great doubt appears to have arisen in the minds of some persons on the subject, and some have even asserted that the real Mughal element in the Chingiz Khān’s armies was very small, and that Mughal is “nothing more than a dynastic name adopted by Ghengis to denote the empire which he founded,” but, from what I have here given, those who know Turks from Tāttārs, and
Altûn Khân of Tamghâj. It is advisable that we should make peace with him, and enter into alliance with him, and that, in concert, we should proceed into the country of Khîta, and overthrow the Altûn Khân." His opinion and that of his Malik's agreeing, this was determined upon, and peace was made by the Tingri Khân with the Chingiz Khân, and a firm treaty was entered into between them.

When the Tingri Khân's heart became tranquil on this union, he came to the Chingiz Khân, and united with him; and the forces of the Tingri Khân combined with the Mughal army, and they turned their faces towards the countries of Chin and Khîta. There was a river the name of which is Karâ-Mûr [Mûr-ân?], and they crossed it with the intention of devastating the country of Khîta. A number of Nû-îns and [other] Mughals represented to the Chingiz Khân, saying: "Our army is moving towards Khîta; if we should sustain a defeat, the troops of the Tingri Khân are likewise our enemies. His territory will be in our rear, and not one of us will reach our own country in safety. It is advisable, since the Tingri Khân is among us, that we should slay him, and set our minds at ease respecting him, so that there will not be an enemy behind us, and, with our hearts at rest, we can turn our faces towards the Khîta country." The Chingiz Khân resolved to act upon this

Mughals, and who understand the difference between Badz-ûkîs, and Udz-ûkîs, Kâîâts and Nagûz, Durâl-gîns and Nairûns, will perceive how greatly the Mughal element predominated, and how fallacious such a statement is.

To sum up:

The Khâs Ming or Hazârah 1,000
The Ming or Hazârah of the Nû-în Bûrfî, also called the Kol 8,000
The Right, or Burânghâr 30,000
The Left, or Juwânghâr 62,000
The Mings or Hazârâhs of the sons 16,000
The Mings or Hazârâhs of the brothers, nephews, and mother 12,000

129,000

In the "Mongols Proper," on the authority apparently of M. Erdmann, the 101,000 men, including all the Hazârâhs here given, with the exception of the contingents of Tûlî's brothers, mother, and kinsmen, 28,000 in all, which appertained to Tûlî, after his father's death—have been mistaken for, and added as, a separate force, and styled the "Centre under Tului," thus swelling the 129,000 to 230,000, which is not correct. The 8000 Arlîâts, too, have been left out.
counsel, and he seized the Tingri Khān, and gave orders to kill him. On the Tingri Khān becoming certain that they would slay him, he said: "Convey a single message from me to the Chingiz Khān, and that message is this: 'I have not shown any perfidy towards thee. I came to thee under treaty. Thou art acting perfidiously towards me, and art going to act contrary to the covenant entered into with me. Now give ear. When thou slayest me, if from me issues blood white in colour like unto milk, know that three days after me thou diest.'" When they conveyed this message to the Chingiz Khān, he laughed, and said: "This man has become mad: blood like milk never issues from the wound of a slain person, nor has any one ever seen white blood. It behoveth the more speedily to put him to death."

When the executioner struck the Tingri Khān with his sword, white blood like unto milk issued from the wound; and he perished. When the tidings of this astonishing circumstance reached the Chingiz Khān, the accursed, he quickly arose, and came to the spot; and, when he saw that the occurrence was actually so, it struck his heart, and his strength forsook him; and, on the third day, his heart broke, and he went to hell.

He had made his last request, saying: "It is incumbent that ye slay the whole of the Tingri Khān's people, both male and female, small and great, young and old, and not leave a single person alive." When the Chingiz Khān was departing to hell he had devised the sovereignty to his son Uktāē; and Uktāē turned back, and massacred all the people of the city and territory of the Tingri Khān.

II. Tūshī, Son of the Chingiz Khān.

Tūshī was the eldest of the Chingiz Khān's sons, and was exceedingly energetic, intrepid, manly, and warlike; and his greatness was to that degree that his father used to stand in awe of him.

In the year 615 H., when Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, had gone forth to devastate the tribes of Kadr Khān

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4 One of the best copies of the text omits the words "of the city and territory."

5 See note 4, page 1026.
of Turkistān, who was the son of Ṣafaktān-i-Yamak, Tūshī likewise, from the side of Tamghāj had advanced [with an army] in that direction, and had been engaged in a conflict with the army of the Khwārazm Shāh for a night and a day, as has been previously mentioned in the account of the Khwārazm Shāh. At this time, when Sultan Muḥammad fled from the banks of the Jīhūn and the neighbourhood of Balkh, the Chingiz Khān despatched his sons Tūshī and Chaghatai, with a great army, towards Khwārazm.

He [Tūshī] proceeded thither with that army, and appeared before the gate of [the capital city of] Khwārazm, and the fighting commenced. For a period of four months7

6 This name is clearly written in the different copies of the text with but slight variation. Every one of the best copies have the 'Arabic ﺖ-٥ as the first letter, used, of course, to express or represent some Turkish letter. Thus seven copies have Ṣalāh b. Ṣafak; three others express Tawārīkh, and one copy Tawārīkh, and one Tawārīkh. The difficulty is to decide who this person is, but, at the same time, it is necessary to point out that this affair is in no way connected with Tūk-Tughān, the Makrīf, although it is mentioned by our author, at page 267, as immediately preceding the latter affair, which he refers to without mentioning any name as here. The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh also refers to this affair very briefly, but mentions no name.

At the end of this work, in the lines addressed to the Ulugh Khān, he is styled "Khān of the Ilbarf and Shāh of the Yamak," and these Ilbarf are again plainly stated to be Turks at page 800, and at page 796 it is mentioned that that tribe had to remove from their accustomed place of abode, which is not specified, but Khīfic is implied, when the Mughals became predominant over Turkistān and the tribes of Khīfic. See also pages 599 and 791.

In an old geographical work Yamak is briefly referred to as the name of a city or town and a territory or country famous for its beautiful females, and that it is also said to be the name assigned to the sovereign of the I-arūs, whoever he might be. But, as I have previously mentioned, in note at page 951, the Bāshīghs, or Chiefs of the Ūn-I-arūs, were in ancient times styled Il-Ilār and those of the Tūkūz-I-arūs, Kótīrīn, or, according to Abū-l-Ghāzi, Bahādur Khān, Il-Īrkin, and, in after years, Yıldız-Küt.

7 The Khwārazmīs made a much more gallant defence than our author has given them credit for.

After the Chingiz Khān had effected the capture of Samrānand and had become established in Māwarā-un-Nahr, he, towards the close of 617 H., despatched his sons Jūlj, Chaghatai, and Uktāe, to reduce the Khwārazm territory at the head of a great army, which one author states amounted to about 100,000 men, and they set out by way of Bakhārā. The capital city of Khwārazm was named Jurjānīh by 'Arabā, but was called Ürgānj and Urgânj by the Turks and the great men thereof. The 'Ajamīs call it Gurgānj.

The author of the "Mongols Proper" tells us twice (pp. 83 and 85) that "Urgendj" is "the modern Khiva," but subsequently, in his additional

4 A
the people of Khwārazm continued to resist the Mughals, notes, that "old Urgendj was the capital of Khuarezm," in which he is tolerably correct, but its site is not so very near "the modern capital—Khiva," being only ninety-two miles distant from it as the crow flies. In Col. J. C. Walker’s last map [1879], notwithstanding the various "authorities" mentioned on the margin of it, "Khiva" duly figures under the name of Khārezm, while in the same map, as the name indicates, "Kunia"—an error for Kuhnah, or old—"Urganj" is the site. Such an error is to be lamented, but I fear I shall have to refer to many others. Khwārazm is the name of the territory, and the words "the city of Khwārazm" merely refer to the city which is the capital of Khwārazm; and this mode of terming a capital by the name of the country was not uncommon. I do not agree with Pétis de la Croix that the city was ever called Khwārazm, except in the sense mentioned. What is erroneously styled Khiva in maps is Kitiwak—of the people of the country.

Among the number of great men present in the territory of Khwārazm at this time, there was no one, in the absence of the members of the late Sultān’s family, whom they could better choose under the circumstances than the Amīr, Khumār-Tigān, the chief of the Kankulis [Pétis de la Croix's "Hmarteqen"—the point of the kh having been omitted by the scribe, he read it as 'ā], who was a kinsman of the late Sultān’s mother, the unfortunate Turkān Khātūn, and also held the office of Ḥājjīb-i-Dar, or War-Būkā; and they chose him to direct the administration. In the exigency of affairs, they accorded him the title of Sultān. There was besides, at the capital, the Fahlawān, ‘Alī, the Darghami.

After these measures had been adopted, one day, a small body of horse appeared before one of the gates, and began to drive off the cattle. Not knowing what calamity was lurking behind these horsemen, a number of imprudent and short-sighted persons led out a large force, both horse and foot, from the Khalkī gate towards them, thinking to capture them. The Mughal horsemen, for such they were, pretended flight, but took care occasionally to give their pursuers hope of overtaking them, until they had drawn them to a place called the Bagh-i-Khurram—the Pleasant or Delightful Garden [turned into a "Town called Baghe-Eram," by Pétis de la Croix, who has made some terrible errors in his account of these operations, and has interwoven his own observations so much with the authors he quotes, that one is not to be distinguished from the other]—about a farsang from the city, where was the van of the Mughal army in ambuscade. These rushed upon the Khwārazms, and assailed them on all sides. The latter fought from early morning till noon, but the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gfr says, from noon to the setting of the sun, when, having sustained great loss, they retired precipitately towards the city. The Mughals pursued; and, in the confusion which ensued, succeeded in entering along with the fugitives by one of the gates, and penetrated as far as the Tanūrah quarter. This, however, could only have been a suburb, as the Mughals were stopped by Faridūn, the Ghūrī, an old officer in the late Sultān’s service, and his soldiers, and the Mughals thought fit to retire. The Tārīkh just named states, that the Khwārazms lost 100,000 men on this occasion, but this is impossible, and seems a mere confusion of events, and refers to the upshot of the siege, or is altogether an exaggeration.

Next day, the Mughals again appeared before one of the gates, but, finding Faridūn there posted with 500 men, did not make any attack during the whole
and to fight against those infidels. At last, they took the
of that day, and withdrew at night. Next day, when Jujf and his brothers
arrived with the remainder of the great host, they made a perambulation of the
city, and a person was despatched to summon the defenders to submit to the
yoke of the Mughals, and open the gates. This was refused, upon which the
Mughals completely invested the city, and made preparations for besieging it.
As there was no stone in those parts, the Mughals had to use blocks of wood
for their catapults, cut from the timber of the mulberry-trees; but I do not see
how blocks of that, even though "hardened by being soaked in water," as an
European writer states, could have had much effect upon walls of burnt brick;
but some say wood blocks were only used towards the close of the siege when
the stones had all been expended. The Mughals, as was usual with them,
made the men of the conquered cities do the hard work in sieges, and so they
obtained assistance from Jund and other conquered places, in the shape of men,
tools, and materials, including loads of stone which were brought in carts.
When all had been prepared, and the missiles and battering apparatus were
ready, they opened the siege, and carried on their operations with vigour, but
the defenders were as active and determined in the defence.

After a considerable time, the Mughals sent a force of 3000 men to divert
the stream or branch of the river Jihun, which flowed past the city, and
supplied the people with water, and there effect an entrance [the aqueduct
apparently mentioned at page 474, which proved an effectual barrier to the
Churfs]; but the garrison made a sally to prevent it, and slew every one of the
detachment. Here again P. de la C. has fallen into error, and makes the
Mughals dig a canal to drain the ditch! Great part of the city was reduced to
ashes by the discharges of flasks of naphtha and other inflammable ingredients;
but, now, quarrels, which had been going on for some time between Jujf and
Chaghatai, became so serious—Fașiḥ-i says severe fighting ensued as the
upshot of these quarrels, and that a great number of Mughals were killed—that
the matter was brought to the hearing of their father, then engaged in the siege
of Tul-kan. He was not at Samarkand, as P. de la C. states: he had, in the
meantime, left it, and had taken Tirmid also previous to this. Five months
had already passed in the siege of the Khwārazmī capital, and great loss had
been sustained, and the Chingiz Khān, in his rage, directed Uktāe, the
younger brother of the two there present, to take the command, and that all
should pay him implicit obedience. He accordingly carried on the siege with
fresh vigour; but it took another two months before the Mughals succeeded,
by filling up the ditch with brushwood and rubbish—they may have drained
the ditch to do this—in effecting a lodgment, and planting their standards on
the walls. Even then the people fought hand to hand with them, from street
to street, and door to door, for several days, while the Mughals discharged
flasks of naphtha among them. Vast numbers were slain on both sides,
including the brave Khumār-Tiglm; indeed, one author says "the city became
a sea of blood;" and the siege altogether is said to have cost the Mughals
nearly 100,000 men, including the unfortunate Musalmān people compelled
to work for their own people's destruction.

The loss sustained by the defenders is computed at about the same amount,
but round numbers are often doubtful; still it must have been very great.
The whole of the remaining people were driven out into the plain without the
city, and after 100,000 artisans, mechanics, and tradespeople, had been selected,
to be carried off with them and transported into Mughalīstan, or to assist in

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city, and martyred the whole of the people, and destroyed all the buildings with the exception of two places—one the Kūshk-i-Akhjak① [the Castle of Aḫjak], the other, the mausoleum of Sultān Muḥammad-i-Takish.

Some have stated on this wise, that, when the Mughals captured the city of Khwārazm, and brought the inhabitants out of the city into the plain, he [Tūshī] commanded that the women should be separated from the men, and such of the women as they cared for the Mughals retained. The remainder were directed to form into two bodies, and they caused the whole of them to be stripped naked, and round about them Mughal Turks [Turkān-i-Mughal], ② with drawn swords, were stationed. The two parties were then commanded, thus: ‘The women of your city are good pugilists, therefore, the order is that both sides should set on each other with their fists.’ Those unfortunate Musalmān females they caused, thus ignominiously, to attack each other with hands clenched; and, for the space of a whole watch of the day, all those women continued to deal

the destruction of their own people, and the young women and children, and young men, had been sent into slavery [they were transported into the farther East, and several towns and villages were peopled by them and their descendants], the remainder were all butchered. [This reads like the doings at Eski Saghra and Kasānlik in 1877 A.D.] The number was so great that it was computed that each Mughal soldier had some twenty-four to put to death; but, before we compute the number at 2,400,000, because the Mughals numbered 100,000 at the commencement of the siege, we must allow for their loss during that operation, and also leave out the Musalmān auxiliaries, but we may safely assume that more than a million perished. Alī says the Mughals numbered 100,000 at this time, and that the number said to have been butchered passes almost all belief.

It is said that the Chingiz Khān, before sending his hordes against the city, despatched a message to the celebrated Khwārazmī saint, the Shaikh, Najm-ud-Dīn, the Kabrī, otherwise Al-Kīwākī—or of Kīwak, which Europeans have turned into Khīwā—advising him to leave the place, since the upshot might be its plunder, and the slaughter of the people, but the Shaikh refused, saying: “For eighty years have I dwelt here in its prosperity, and should not leave it in the day of its misfortune. I will take my chance with others, await my fate, whatever it may be, and not fly from the Almighty’s decree.” He perished with the rest.

After the fall of the capital, the other towns and cities of Khwārazm submitted.

① In one copy, Aḫheḥak.
② From the way in which our author here writes Turkān-i-Mughal, i.e. Mughal Turks—Turks of the Mughal i māk—he was evidently well informed as to the accounts of their descent. See note at pages 874 and 875.
blows upon, and to receive the blows of, each other, until, at length, the Mughals fell upon them with their swords and martyred the whole of them—the Almighty reward them!

When Tūshī, and Chaghatāe, the sons of the Chingiz Khān, had finished their work at Khwārazm, they turned their faces towards Khīfchāk; and the forces and tribes of Khīfchāk they continued to subdue one by one, and make captive; and they brought the whole of the tribes under subjection. Tūshī, who was the eldest son of the Chingiz Khān [as already stated], when he became acquainted with the climate of the land of Khīfchāk, considered that, in the whole universe, there could not be a more delightful land, a pleasant and climate, softer water, meads more verdant, and pasture-lands more extensive; and repugnance towards his father began to enter into his mind. He said to his confidants: “The Chingiz Khān has become mad, as he massacres so many people, and desolates so many countries! It thus seems meritorious on my part that, in some hunting-ground, I should slay my father, enter into an alliance with Sultān Muḥammad, [Khwārazm Shāh], render this country flourishing, and give help and assistance to the Musalmāns.” His brother, Chaghatāe, gained intimation of this idea [of his brother’s], and made known this perfidious notion and design to his father. When the Chingiz Khān became aware of it, he despatched his own confidential agents, so that they administered poison to Tūshī, and killed him.

1 This is an error. The brothers never agreed together, as I shall presently show, and they had quarrelled at Khwārazm only recently. After the capture of Ürgang, Jūjī, with the uḷis (armed men of the tribe) of the Yüddi-Kūt of the I-ghūrūn, returned towards Karā-Kuram, but subsequently Jūjī retired into the Dašti-Kīchāk; and Chaghatāe and Uktāe proceeded, by way of Hazār-asp, to rejoin their father’s camp before Tāl-ḵān. They captured Hazār-asp in the course of two days, and massacred its inhabitants, the number of whom, according to some writers, was so great that they did not deem it advisable even to record it. These events happened in 618 H.

Although our author wrote soon after these events took place, and was living at the time they happened, he was seemingly unaware that Uktāe was present at Ürganj, and that he, after the quarrels between the brothers, was put in command over them, a fact which is beyond a doubt. Such being the case, and from what he himself says was the cause of his father’s enmity towards him, it is probable that Jūjī had no hand in these brutal cruelties.

2 The Sultān had died some time previous to this, in 617 H.

3 Jūjī was but thirty years old when he died. He left behind him fifteen
Tūshī likewise had fourteen sons, the eldest of whom was named Bāṭū, the second Chaghatāē, the third Shāibān, sons, but some say, fourteen. The eldest was Īrdaḥ, whose mother was Sūṛtā Khāṭūn, daughter of the sovereign of the Kungkūr-āt tribes, and that son was wont to lead the left of his army, while Bāṭū, his second son, led the right. Another was named Barkā, our author's Barkā, who turned Musalmān, being the first of that family who did so. The remaining sons, except Tūshī-Tīmūr, who also turned Musalmān, are not so well known to history and need scarcely be mentioned here. Jūfī's death took place in Rabī‘-ul-Awwal, 624 H., not in 626 H., as P. de la C. says, for he died before his father. Bāṭū succeeded to his father's dominions, whose reign will be found farther on. The Khāns of Krim [the Krimlā] were lineally descended from Jūfī Khān, whose descendants reigned longer as independent sovereigns than any others of the race.

Our author has exaggerated a little here, probably, but there is evidently some truth in what he says. There is plenty of evidence to prove that his father stood in some awe of Jūfī, for, undoubtedly, he was a great and high-minded prince; and this, together with the occurrences attending his birth, appear to have alienated the heart of the Chingiz Khān from him. When the Mákrī tribe plundered the urdu of Tamur-chī, they carried off Būrthah Kūčhīn, his wife, who is said to have been pregnant at the time, and brought her to the Āwang Khān, their chief. P. de la C., although he afterwards says Jūfī was the eldest son, says this lady was then "big with her second child," and makes out "Aung Rican" to be "her father!" He treated her with great reverence and respect, and, after some time, sent her back to her husband, and, on the way, she gave birth to a son. No preparations having been made for the occasion, there was nothing available to swaddle the babe with: therefore the messenger of Tamur-chī, who had been sent to demand her release, mixed some flour and water together, and swaddled the boy in the dough, and thus managed to convey him safely, with his mother, to the urdu of Tamur-chī. The boy being unexpected—it would seem indeed that Tamur-chī was unaware of his wife's pregnancy, hence the doubts respecting the paternity of the child—was named Jūfī, or Tūshī, which, in the dialect of the Mughals, signifies the unexpected guest. It is not correct, as related in "The Mongols Proper," that the mother gave birth to Jūfī "after her return from captivity:" he was born on the road.

His brothers, particularly Chaghatāē and Uktāē, used constantly to taunt Jūfī respecting his birth, and they seem to have been jealous of him; but his father had great faith in his ability and valour, and entrusted him, previous to the invasion of Islām, with the command of an army, which army was overtaken by Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārizm Shāh, and brought to action, as related at page 269, and his father had since conferred upon him the government of the whole of the suūres or tribes and territories within the limits of Ardīfān and the Altāē mountains. Subsequently, the Chingiz Khān added thereto the territories of Khwārizm, the Daǧht-i-Kibchāk or Khīchākh, and such conquests as Jūfī might effect over the countries of Khurz, Bulghār, Ālān, As, and Rūs.

After the capture of the capital city of Khwārizm, that is to say, Ūrgan, Jūfī separated from his brothers, and withdrew into [towards?] the Daǧht-i-Kibchāk; and, when Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdē [Sahūdah] returned from their three years' expedition, and reached the Daǧht-i-Kibchāk, they had to obtain aid from him, as already narrated, before they could proceed farther on
and the fourth Barkā; and trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that the birth of this Barkā took place at the time of the conquests in the territories of Islām. When his mother gave him birth, Tūshī, his father, com-

their way. When the Chingiz Khān retired from Nangrahār, and set out on his return into Mughalīstān, and reached Kulān Yāzif, Jūjī presented himself, as already mentioned in the account of his father; but another writer, Hāfīz Abrū, states, and his statement is, without doubt, correct, that, after the disagreement with his brothers before Ūrganj, subsequent to its capture, Chaghātāe and Uktāe set out with their troops to rejoin their father, and reached his camp at Tāl-kān, but Jūjī set out towards Ardīsh, where were his wives and families, and joined his own urdūs. As his father, previous to this, had commanded him to invade the countries to the north and west, such as the territories of Būār [sic. Yūsuf], of the Bāsh-gīrd, the Rūsī, and the Jarkas [the Cheremis I], the Daqht-i-Kībchāk, and other parts in that direction, and to hold possession of them, when Jūjī set out toward Ardīsh, his father, at first, imagined that he did not intend to obey his commands, respecting that expedition, and that he had, consequently, returned to his home and given himself up to pleasure and jollity instead of carrying out his instructions. The Chingiz Khān was, in consequence, exceedingly incensed, and commanded that it would be necessary to put him to death without looking upon his face again. The real cause however was that Jūjī, at the period in question, had become prostrated by disease, and, on that account, when the Chingiz Khān returned from the territory of the Tājīfs, and took up his residence in his own urdū, Jūjī was unable to present himself in his father’s presence, but he despatched several loads of game, and made known his illness. Subsequently, he was again summoned to appear, but he made apologies, and stated his inability to attend on account of sickness.

Shortly after that, a person having set out from Jūjī’s yūrat to proceed to the presence of the Chingiz Khān, coming along the road, noticed that Jūjī had gone forth, and was proceeding from yūrat to yūrat. By the way, Jūjī had to pass a place where he had been wont to follow the chase, and, being incapable himself, through weakness, he despatched his Amīrs to hunt. This person, who was on his way to the camp of his father, noticed, from a distance, a considerable gathering assembled engaged in hunting, and made sure to himself that it was Jūjī; and, when he reached the presence of the Chingiz Khān, and the latter inquired of him respecting Jūjī’s illness, he replied: “As to his illness I know naught, but, at the time of coming hither, near the skirts of a certain mountain range, he was engaged in hunting.” At these words the wrath of the Chingiz Khān was roused to such degree as cannot be narrated, and, in his mind, he felt certain that Jūjī had become disloyal, and paid no regard to his father’s words, and so he said: “Jūjī has gone mad, and, in consequence, is acting the part of a fool. It is necessary to send troops against him; and it is advisable to despatch Chaghādāe and Uktāe in advance, and follow in person myself.” At this crisis, news arrived that Jūjī was dead; and the Chingiz Khān was greatly grieved at his loss. What that person had stated respecting Jūjī hunting was entirely false and fictitious, and the Khān gave orders to put him to death; but he had got some inkling of what he might expect, when he heard of the decease of Jūjī, and made his escape from the urdū, and the wrath of Jūjī’s father.
manded, saying: “Give ye this boy to a nurse of the Musalmāns, in order that his navel string may be severed by a Musalmān, that he may imbibe Musalmān milk, and turn out a Musalmān; for I intend that this son of mine shall be brought up in the Musalmān faith.” If this statement is veracious, the Almighty mitigate his torment [in hell]! Undoubtedly, through the blessing attending this intention, when Barkā grew up, he became a scion of Islām. Up to this period of time, the date of the completion of this History, the year 658 H., of the sons of Tūshī, that one Musalmān sovereign is still left.

May Almighty God continue the Sultan of Islām, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn wa ud-Dunyā, Maḥmūd Shāh, upon the throne of sovereignty to the day of resurrection!

III. Uktāe, Son of the Chingiz Khān.

When the Chingiz Khān died, he devised the sovereignty to Uktāe, although Chaghhatāe was older than he; but Chaghhatāe was a butcher and a tyrant.

Uktāe, when he ascended the throne, and carried out the last command of his father, the Chingiz Khān, and massacred all the people of Tingit, both females and males, returned from thence towards Turkistān. Having brought

4 The name of this sovereign is also written Uktāe, and Ukdāe, and d being interchangeable, signifying “ascent,” “height,” “loftiness,” “sublimity,” and the like, but Ogotai is absurd, and could only have occurred to a person who had never been in the East, and who was unacquainted with the pronunciation of the name as written in the original, and the value of the letters of the alphabet.

5 This is incorrect. Uktāe did not ascend the throne until two years and more after the decease of his father. I have already given an account of the events which happened after the death of the Chingiz Khān in a previous note.

I must notice the events of Uktāe’s reign in order to correct some erroneous accounts respecting him, but I must do so very briefly, because the events of his father’s life, which were necessary to rectify incorrect accounts respecting him, have occupied much space. I must mention that “Tului,” youngest son of the Chingiz Khān, did not “act as regent” at all: it would have been totally contrary to the custom of the Mughals, and the Chingiz Khān had himself named one, as already related. There are other equally erroneous statements respecting Uktāe which may be seen from the following.

Uktāe is the first of the sovereigns who reigned in the Ulugh Yūrat, also
that territory under his authority, he nominated armies to march into various parts of Khurāsān and Irāk, and styled the Aṣal or Original or Chief Yūrat, which words refer to Kalūr-ān and Karā-Kuram, and which last is also celebrated as the Urdu-Bālīgh.

After having performed the funeral ceremonies over their father and sovereign, the sons, Nū-yīns, and Ambārs, each retired to his respective yūrat; and, for a period of two years, the mother of Üktāē and his brothers, Būtrah Kūčhīn, administered the affairs: she may be styled “Regent.”

After two years, and the period of mourning had expired, this Kḥātūn, Būtrah Kūčhīn, lest any untoward event might happen in the empire, summoned the sons of the deceased, and the great Ambār, to assemble at the Ulugh Yūrat, which the Chinese style Ho-lūn, and hold a kūrfītāē or diet; and, in the beginning of the spring of 626 H., they arrived. From Imil and Kū-Tāk came Üktāē and his sons; from the Dastḥ-i-Kībchāk came Bātū, Barkah, Shaibān, Tingkūt, and two other sons of Jūfī Khān; from the eastern parts of the empire [i.e. east of Kalūr-ān] came the Nū-yīns, Ü-Tīgīn or Aw-Tīgīn—also written Ünīf and Ünchī-Tīgīn—and Būktūf, the brothers of the Chingiz Khān; Chaghatāe Khān came from Bāsh-Bālīgh, and the Nū-yīn, Karachār, from his yūrat, besides numbers of other personages from all parts of the empire.

The Ulugh Nū-īfīn, Tūlī Khān, and other brothers younger than he, who were already present at the Ulugh Yūrat, and his Ambrās, also attended; and, after all the Princes, Nū-yīns, and Ambārs, had assembled, a mighty feast was given, during which the matter which brought them together was discussed. After this, the testament of the Chingiz Khān, nominating Üktāē as his successor, and the covenant entered into between the sons, confirming that nomination, were read out before all, in the presence of the troops then in the Urdu, in order that they also should confirm it. All, with one accord, now addressed Üktāē, saying: “In accordance with the will of the Chingiz Khān it behoveth thee to take thy seat on the throne of sovereignty;” but Üktāē made excuses, saying: “There are others older than I am, my uncles and my brother Chaghatāe; let one of them be raised to the throne; moreover, my younger brother Tūlī is more worthy than I am, and, according to the customs and usages of the Mughals, the youngest son of the greatest of the Kḥātūns, and who is in possession of the Yūrat and place of abode, should succeed the father.” For forty days was this feasting continued, during which discussion went on, and daily did Üktāē continue to make excuses; but, on the forty-first day, all the Princes and Nū-yīns came before him and said: “This sovereignty was assigned to thee from among the rest of the brothers and sons of the Chingiz Khān; how then is it possible to contravene it?” Then the whole of the assembly, according to ancient [Turkish] custom, having taken goblets, removed their caps, unloosed their girdles, and thrown them over their shoulders, Chaghatāe, as the elder brother, seized the right hand of Üktāē, and Tūlī his left, while his uncle, Ü-Tīgīn, seized him round the waist, and, with the approval of the Astrologers and Divinics, seated him on the throne, and hailed him by the title of Kāʾān—أُلु because the metre of both words is precisely the same, and there is no ḫā in the former; further, that it was not “borne by all Ogotai’s successors,” for Kyūk did not bear it, neither was it “new,” for Būzjanar, the ninth ancestor of the Chingiz Khān, bore that title. One writer indeed says that, “as the
towards Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and began to administer the affairs of the country according to justice and equity, to keep his forces under subordination, and to cherish his subjects.

By nature, Uktāe was exceedingly beneficent and of excellent disposition, and a great friend to the Musalmāns. During his reign the Muḥammadans in his dominions were tranquil and prosperous in condition, and treated with respect. He used to strive greatly to show honour to the Musalmān people, and to render them flourishing and contented. In his reign, masjīds were founded in all the cities of Tingit, Ṭamghāj, Tibbat, and the countries of Chīn; and all the forts and strongholds of the region Mughāils do not use much ceremony respecting titles, they style a Pālishāh, Kaʿān or Khān indiscriminately."

After Ükdāe had been placed on the throne, gold and gems were poured over him; and, Tūlīn having held the bowl to him, the Princes, Nu-yīns Amīrs, and all who were both within and without the assembly, and all keeping exact time, bowed the knee to him nine times, the lucky number of the Mughals. No author with whom I am acquainted refers, in the most remote manner, to "prostrating themselves nine times," whatever "ancient Chinese ceremonial might have been," and he was not a Chinese.

Surgeon-Major Bellew, in the "Description of Kāshghar" (Report, page 61), says with reference to this number nine: "Similarly the presents given by the father to the bride must be in the same number or its multiple of each kind, as nine frocks, nine mantles, nine carpets, &c., and the presents made by friends too must be in the same number, as nine pieces of silk, nine veils, nine caps, &c. The origin of the selection of this particular number, called tācis, is not known, but the custom is observed by all the Turk and Tartar tribes of Central Asia." He might have said, more correctly, "Mughāl." Türkūz stands for vīne in the Turkish language, and I may add that the origin of the custom is known, and it will be found by referring to the note at page 875, which see, and is referred to in several other places.

A volume almost might be written on the subject of presenting the cup or bowl. It was not peculiar to the Mughals, but was usual among all the descendants of Turk. It would be interesting to compare their customs in this respect with those of the Scandinavians. The presentation of the cup was the highest mark of consideration and homage, and all present on such occasions bent the knee. It was likewise the highest honour a sovereign could show towards a vassal or subject. Ambassadors whom it was intended greatly to honour were presented with the cup, and it was necessary on the occasion of making a treaty, or confirming an oath. Kumīz or fermented mare's milk was generally used, but they also made drinks from millet, honey, and rice. Wine was used on special occasions, and by the Khāns.

This ceremony took place in the month of Rabī’-ul-Awwal, 626 H. [Feb, 1228 A.D.—which is but eighteen months from Ramaẓān, 624 H., but, as previously stated, some contend that the Chingiz Khān died in Ramaẓān, 623 H., just two years and six months after the death of his father.
of the east he gave in charge to a number of Musalmān Amīrs. Such Amīrs as they [the Mughals] had removed from the countries of I-rān and Tūrān he located in the cities of Upper Turkistān, and in the land of Chin and Tamghāj, and in Tingit, and commanded that they [the Mughals] should address Musalmāns by the terms “friend,” and “brother.” He also directed the Mughals that they should give their daughters [in marriage] to Musalmāns, and that if they [the Musalmāns] should evince a desire to demand their children [in marriage for their sons] they should not deny them.

Throughout the whole of the eastern countries [under the sway of the Mughals], the Friday’s religious services [of the Muḥammadans] were established; and Musalmāns took up their abode in those parts, and they founded towns and cities of their own, and built places according to the manner of their own [native] cities.6

Of the friendliness of Uktāe towards Musalmāns the author has heard an anecdote which is here related.7

Anecdote.

Trustworthy persons have related that Chaghatae used to regard Musalmāns with hostility, and his mind constantly contemplated the shedding of Musalmān blood, and not leaving one of that faith alive. Now the Chingiz Khan had instituted certain ordinances, the punishment for the infringement of some of which laws used to be death. For example: adultery and crimes of lust in general, theft, lying, and embezzlement, and the act of seizing a morsel from another’s mouth, were punishable with death; and whosoever should enter a piece of water, whether large or small, they were to kill him also, and likewise any one who should wash his face at the edge of any water, so that the water from the washed face of such person should enter that water.8 The punishment of any

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6 The Jesuits in their accounts of the Chinese empire refer to some of these places. See also note at page 1100, first para.
7 All writers agree respecting his showing a preference towards the Muḥammadan religion. He excelled his brothers and contemporaries in impartiality, grace, and bounty.
8 See note 3, page 1109, for the reasons of this prohibition.
one who might be guilty of an offence less than one of all
these was to be three or five, or ten, or more, stripes with
a rod, but with the stipulation that, while punishment
was being administered, the offender should be entirely
stripped, and that the rod should be wielded with force
and severity. To these ordinances⁹ they have applied the
name of Yasah, in the Mughalí language, that is to say,
command, mandate, decree.

One day, both the brothers—Uktāe and Chaghatāe—
were proceeding along a track into the open country.
Uktāe was in advance, and Chaghatāe behind him, at the
distance of a quarter of a farsang [league]. Suddenly,
Uktāe reached the head of a reservoir of water, and per-
ceived therein a Musalmān who was washing his head
and body. When the eyes of Uktāe fell upon that Musal-
mān, he turned his face towards his personal attendants,
and said: "Alas! this unfortunate Musalmān will be forth-
with put to death by the hand of my brother Chaghatāe:
what is advisable?" After that he inquired: "Hath any
person among you an ingot of gold or of silver¹ ready at
hand?" One of his attendants bowed and said: "I have
an ingot of silver with me." Uktāe said: "Give it to that
Musalmān, and tell him to throw it into the reservoir;
and that, when my brother Chaghatāe reaches this spot
and sees him, and questions him, he must say: 'An ingot
of silver of mine hath fallen into the water, and I have
entered the reservoir in order to search for it,' so that he
may escape being put to death." Uktāe's attendants gave
the ingot of silver to that Musalmān, and he threw it into
the water; and Uktāe urged his horse onwards.

When Chaghatāe reached the spot, he perceived that
Musalmān in the water, and commanded his attendants to

⁹ And a great many more forming the Code of the Chingiz Khān entitled
Yāsā, or Yāsah.

¹ In all these histories which I have gone through, strange to say, I have
never met with the slightest allusion to coined money in any shape with the
exception of the bālish or ingot.

Thomas, in his "Pathan Kings," gives the description of a coin bearing the
name of "Chingiz Khān," and the Khālsfah 'un-Nāšir's title, and he considers
it genuine. It must therefore be a coin of one of the subjected Musalmān rulers
of Ghūr or Kārmān, or parts adjacent, such as Hassan, the Kārlūgh Turk, and
others mentioned in these pages, and not a Mughal coin. It bears no date.
irruption of the infidels into islam.

seize him. He demanded of him, saying: "Since it is the yasah of the Khān that no living being should go into the water, why hast thou acted to the contrary? we must kill thee." The Musalmān represented: "An ingot of silver of mine hath fallen into this reservoir, and I have got into the water in order to seek for it." Chaghátyā directed so that a number of Mughals entered the water, and made search for the ingot, and having found it brought it; and by the expedient and kindness of that just and beneficent sovereign, Uktā, the Musalmān escaped. May the Almighty lighten his punishment hereafter!

Through his efforts, numerous Musalmāns escaped from the hands of the accursed tyrant, Chaghátyā. A number of trustworthy persons have related after this manner, that, judging from the ancient chronicles of bygone times, and of past ages, that, in the states of Turkistān, and the countries of Chīn, Tingit, and Tamghāj, no sovereign more beneficent nor of better disposition than Uktā ever placed foot in stirrup. When he became firmly established in the dominions of his father, and his brothers and the Nū-yins and Khāns of Turkistān, submitted to his authority, he girded up his loins, and organized and equipped his armies, and despatched them towards different countries. The Mughal Nū-yin, Jurmāghūn, was despatched into Irāk in the year 626 ii., and the Nū-yin, Mangūtah was sent towards Ghaznīn; and, in the before-mentioned year, Uktā made over to his charge Tukhāristān, Kunduz, and Tāl-kān; and the Malik of Khurāsān, Ghūr, Kirmān,

* Our author does not appear to have known the reason why, in the ideas of the Tattārs and Mughals, bathing in such a way required to be strictly prohibited. The prohibition was that "during the seasons of spring and summer no one should immerse himself in running water [one writer says, "in the daytime"], nor wash his hands in streams, nor wash his garments, and afterwards spread them in the open country to dry; and that water should not be taken from running streams in vessels of gold or of silver, because, in the belief of these people, such acts are the cause of increase of thunder and lightning, which, in their localities, from the beginning of spring to the end of summer, while rain used continually to fall, prevailed to such a degree, that the lightning was fearful, and the roaring of the thunder tremendous."

* Nominated to proceed, probably, but not despatched until the following year in which he crossed the Jihūn or Amūlah. He was a Mangūt, or, as it is also written, Manghūt Mughal.

* One or two modern copies of the text have Tāe-kān here, but all the rest
and Fārs, and those, who still continued in [possession of] different forts and strongholds, all proceeded to Ḵarā-Ḵuram, to the presence of Uktāe, and requested that Shāhnahs [Intendants] might be sent to them; and different parts of Khurāsān began to thrive again. Another anecdote of Uktāe's countenance of Musalmāns is apposite, and is [here] inserted.

ANECDOTE.

Trustworthy persons have related that Chaghatae, the accursed, was, at all times, striving to oppress the Muḥammadans, and devising means to bring trouble and calamity upon the people of Islām, and bringing ruin upon those that remained of them and causing their extirpation, so that no sign or trace of them might anywhere be found. In the diffusion of that iniquity he was wont to machinate and to labour, and was in the habit of instigating a party of Mughals—Nū-yīns and Bahādurs—in such a manner that they used to bring to Uktāe's notice words and acts on the part of Musalmāns such as used to be the source of trouble and injury to the people of Islām, and the cause of their ruin and destruction, until, on one occasion, Chaghatae incited one of the priests of the idol-worshippers, which sect, in the Turki language, they style Tūniān [Tūnis], on such wise, that he came before Uktāe are as above. As Tāe-kān is in Tuhāristān, which is first mentioned, as well as Kunduz, Tāl-kān of Khurāsān is undoubtedly referred to.

5 Which is always mentioned as the asul or original yūrat of the Chingiz Khān, and known also as the Urdāe-Bālīgh. It was not a city, but an encampment.

6 Uktāe is said, by the Pro-Mughal Historians, to have poured balm into the wounds inflicted by his father. There was certainly much balm wanted, but many of the wounds have never been healed to this day, witness numbers of the once most flourishing cities of Asia, which still lie in ruins. Uktāe bears the character of a just ruler, and his liberality was excessive. When the records of his gifts and grants were made up, it was found that he had expended not less than 100,000 tomāns of gold bālīgh, some say 60,000; but the statements respecting the value of each bālīgh varies. Some compute a bālīgh of gold at 500 miskāls, others at 60 dirhams and 2 dāngs; some, 8 dinars and 2 dāngs, and others 8 dirhams and 2 dāngs.

7 In some copies of the text it is Tū-īnān—οὐδεὶς—as in Rubruquis, who calls them "Tuinianos," and says they were idolaters. This word has sorely puzzled some of the copyists of the different MSS. of the text collated; but, in the Printed "Official" Text, it is invariably mistaken for the plural form of
and stated, saying: "I have seen the Chingiz Khān in a dream, and he has given me a command to convey unto thee, and thou, who art Uktāe, his son, and installed by him, in his place, shouldst neither neglect, in any way, to carry out that command, nor deviate from, or fail to comply with, that yasah [ordinance]; and let it not be that thou receive not the Chingiz Khān's approbation. The mandate is this that the Chingiz Khān has commanded, saying: 'The Musalmāns have grown exceedingly numerous, and, in the end, the downfall of the Mughal empire will be brought about by the Musalmāns, therefore it is necessary that the whole of them that are in our whole dominions, to wit, from the countries of Chīn, Čamghāj, Tingit, and Turkistān, as far as the land of Īrān and 'Ajam, you should put to death, and not leave name nor vestige of them to remain.' I have now delivered unto thee the command of the Chingiz Khān, thy father, and have removed that obligation from my neck. It behoveth thee to comply with it, and show obedience thereto, and not grant respite of life to the Musalmān peoples, so that the empire may not sustain deterioration."

When he [the priest] conveyed this command to Uktāe, who was a just, wise, prudent, and sagacious monarch, and friendly towards the Musalmān people, he, of his princely penetration, perceived that this statement was false and a lie, that, from the utterance thereof, the odour of fabrication pervaded the smelling sense of discrimination, and that it appeared to have been hatched by his brother, Chaghatāe—the Almighty's curse upon him! Uktāe presently commanded that, for the Tūnī idol-worshipper, a grand place should be got ready, with due preparation and arrangement for his accommodation, and provided with all things requisite and befitting for him, and said to him: "This command is a very serious and awful one, and it

the Turkish title, Nū-īn, Nū-yīn, or Nū-yān, which so often occurs, namely, Nū-īnā—نیئن—or Nū-yīnā—نیئن. The Editors of the Calcutta Text probably imagined that i was an error for ی. The same errors occur in the printed text in the account of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār, the Khājī ruler of Lakhnawatī. See note 3, page 567.

Farther on, our author styles them "the idol-worshippers of Tingut and Čamghāj." The singular form of the word above referred to is Tūnī or Tūnī.
will be necessary to shed the blood of a vast number of people. There is not a person among the Malik, Nū-yīns, Bahādurs, and Juzbīs, that has not a great number of Musalmān captives, and they [the Malik, etc.] are dispersed in various parts of the territories of Chin, Tamghāj, Turkistān, I-rān, and 'Ajam. It is absolutely necessary that this command should be communicated to them, in order that the whole of them may act according to its precept; and therefore it is now necessary for thee to wait so that this mandate may be sent out into the whole of the Mughal dominions, in order that the Nū-yīns, Juzbīs, and Bahādurs, and other Malik, may assemble, and this awful command may be communicated to them, in such wise that all of them may be required to comply with it.” Uktāc consequently issued directions so that they lodged this Tūnī idol-worshipper at the place which had been fixed upon, in such a manner that he was treated with honour and reverence, and not a tittle of the minutiae of due attention was left unobserved, because that accursed Gabr had some name and reputation in the region of Turkistān, and in Tamghāj and Chin.

As soon as the prescribed period expired, and the grandees of the Mughal dominions assembled, Uktāc commanded so that they convoked a great assembly, attended with princely ceremony, such as was the established custom of that people [the Mughals], and all with befitting formality, and observance of the prescribed duties. After this, Uktāc ascended the throne; and the whole of the grandees of the empire were present, with loins girded,

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8 This word is spelt in three different ways, as mentioned in the preceding note. It is applied by the Karghīz nomads, and other tribes erroneously supposed to be Karghīz, to their chiefs or the heads of tribes, in the present day.

As these Malik are immediately after styled ‘the Malik of Turkistān,’ it would seem to infer that they held Musalmāns of 'Ajam in bondage, while they, as in the case of Arsalān Khān of Kāīālik, mentioned at page 1023, were Musalmān Turks.

9 I have previously mentioned that this term is not solely applied to Parsīs or Fire-Worshippers, any more than tarsā is to Christians. Our author uses the last word with respect to Christians in several places. It does not follow, therefore, that the person above mentioned was a Fire-Worshipper, nor need I write an essay on fire-worship in Mughalistan for the occasion. Our author here simply means to say that he was an infidel, or unbeliever.
before the throne; and those among them who were permitted to sit came down on the knees of homage. He then commanded that that Tūnī should be conducted into his place of audience with all honour and reverence. When he arrived, and sat down ¹ before the throne, Uktāe said: "Now is the time that thou shouldst pronounce the command of the Chingiz Khān, and declare what that command is, in order that all may obey it." That Tūnī stood up, and pronounced the command of the Chingiz Khān in the manner he pretended he had received it, and delivered it. All present bowed their heads to the ground, and, with one accord, said: "We have heard the command, and we bend our necks thereto. What is the will of Uktāe, the sovereign of the time, with respect to the mode in which it is necessary to obey this command, and how it behoveth to proceed, in order that we may all of us act accordingly?" Uktāe replied: "Every claim requires proof and demonstration, in order that truth from falschood, and right from wrong, may be distinguished; and this statement requires the testimony of witnesses of the circumstances, because, if it turns out correct that it is the command of the Chingiz Khān, it will be necessary for all to obey that command; and, if it is false and a fabrication, or is the invention of this person, or invented at the instigation of an insidious person, the blood of people, subjects, and servants, must not be shed for a lie."

On Uktāe's concluding this speech, those present bowed their heads to the ground [saying]: "This which the Khān speaks, the whole of the sages of the world, the discriminating and the exalted in intellect, cannot add to, for it is a princely speech and a noble saying, which excellency of understanding and sovereignty indeed demands; and no created being is able to place the hand of objection to the forehead of this command, but it behoveth that Uktāe should direct and point out in what manner the truth or falsehood, veracity or falsity thereof, may be demonstrated and made known." Uktāe turned his face towards that Tūnī idol-worshipper, saying: "Dost thou understand the Mughal language, or the Turki language,

¹ This shows that he was of high rank and position.
or dost thou know both those tongues?" The Tūnī idol-worshipper replied: "I understand the Turki language, and I do not understand the Mughalī tongue." Uktāe turned his face towards the hereditary Mughal grandees, whose lineage and descent were from pure Mughals, and said: "Unto ye it is certain and clear, that the Chingiz Khān used not to understand any language whatever save the Mughalī language." They all bent their heads to the ground, and, with one accord, replied: "Indeed, such is the case, that the Chingiz Khān understood no other language than the Mughalī." Uktāe, turning his face towards that Tūnī, asked: "In what language did the Chingiz Khān deliver this command unto thee: in the Mughalī or the Turki language? If he spoke in Mughalī, seeing thou dost not understand it, in what manner didst thou comprehend what he was saying; and, if he spoke in Turki, since he used not to understand Turki, how did he communicate the order? Give an answer from which an odour of truth may come, in order that action may be taken thereon."

That impious, malevolent, cursed, Tūnī remained silent and confounded, on such wise that the breath did not issue from that infernal one, and he became completely shamed. All the Mughal grandees and the Malik of Turkistān bowed their heads to the ground, and with one accord said: "This command [from the Chingiz Khān] is false, and is devoid of truth." Uktāe said to the Tūnī: "For the sake of my own dignity, and that of my brother Chaghataī, I do not inflict punishment upon thee. Return to thy abode, and say unto Chaghataī, and to his dependents, that they must draw back their hands from afflicting and oppressing Musalmāns, as they are our brothers and friends; in them the strength of our dominion is evident, and, with their assistance, many peoples have been subdued by us."* May Almighty God mitigate his torments [in hell]!

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* Here is an indication that the dialects must have been, at this period, very different from each other.

* Some of the Historians of the Mughal sovereigns, who give this anecdote in half a dozen lines, state that Uktāe ordered this Tūnī to be put to death, but they do not say who or what he was, merely "a person." A similar plot,
IRRUPTION OF THE INFIDELS INTO ISLĀM.

Some persons, whose statements are worthy of reliance, have so stated that such-like favours and reverence were a proof of this, that Uktāe, secretly, had become a Musalmān; but God knows the truth.

ACCOUNT OF THE NOMINATION OF ARMIES FROM TURKISTĀN TO PROCEED INTO THE TERRITORY OF 'IRĀK.

When Uktāe despatched an army towards Khurāsān and 'Irāk, he made the Nū-in Jurmāghūn the com-

in which the then Yīḍī-Kūt of the Ī-ghūrs was concerned, is mentioned farther on.

"The wish" here is evidently "parent to the thought."

Considerable convulsions arose in the territories overrun and partially subdued by the Mughals, after the death of the Chingiz Khān. I say partially, for such was the fact, wherever troops were not stationed for the purpose of holding possession. These convulsions extended, on one side, as far as Khīchāk, Sāṣān, and Bulghār, and, on the other, as far as Khūtan, Chān, and Khiṭā; while the countries west of the Āmūlāh had been devastated and ruined, but not subdued.

It appears that soon after the decease of the Chingiz Khān, on the borders of Tingkūt, Tūf Khān, who was in possession of the Ulugh or Great Yūrat of his father, in accord with, and at the advice of, the great nobles present there, thought it advisable to despatch the Nū-yīn, Ijīdāh [the Īchākādē of others. See page 1049], and Kyuk Khān, son of Uktāe, with troops, towards the frontiers of the country of Kolghān [کلگان], or Kolshān [کلشان]. After slaughtering the people and devastating the country, according to the fashion of modern Christian warriors, they reduced it; and an Amir of Tingkūt, named Bahādur [بهدور], with a strong force, was left to hold it.

I notice that Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.B., in his Gazetteer entitled "Central Asia: Afghānīstān," Part II., in his article on "Kūram," has been led into an unfortunate error respecting the death of the Chingiz Khān, on the authority of one of the writers he quotes: viz., "Wood, Burns, Moorcroft," but which of the three does not appear. He says, page 573, "It is said that Jangiz Khān [this is the "popular" way of writing the name] died here from the effects of a melon sent to him from Bālkh, in which there was a little pernicious insect"! This place is but 113 miles in a direct line N.N.W. from Kābul. Where Kābul? Where Tingkūt? See page 1085, and note at page 1088.

To remedy the state of affairs just mentioned was Uktāe's first object after he ascended the throne, and he prepared to despatch bodies of troops into various parts. Allī says that as soon as he was established he despatched Koktāe and Swīdāh [Sahūdah] with three tomāns of troops—according to the pro-Mughal accounts three tomāns is the maximum strength of their armies, and is, of course, wholly incorrect—into Khīchāk—or Khūchāk, as our author writes it—Bulghār, and Sāṣān. This is probably the reason why some European writers have mixed up this expedition with the former one in which
mander of it; and on that army marching towards that territory it consisted of about 50,000 Mughals, and other

Suldān [Sahūdah] and Jabah [Yamah] were engaged, already described, in the note at page 1000.

In 628 H., the Nū-yīn, Jurmāghūn or Jūrmāghūn, of the Mangkūt tribe, was despatched at the head of three tomans of horse [the “three” tomans again], which, as I have previously stated, nominally consisted of 1000 men to each mīng or kasārah, ten of which constituted a tomān, but really the mīng, instead of merely numbering 1000 men, was often double and quadruple that number, as shown in note at page 1093. Our author’s estimate of the strength of Jūrmāghūn’s army is, I believe, nearest the truth.

Another object, and the principal one, in despatching Jūrmāghūn, was to operate against Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwārāzm Shāh; and, at the time of giving orders for the despatch of this army, Üktāsī turned his face towards one of the leaders named Ittīmās—Ittīmās—or Itmās—Itmās—as it is also written, and said: “If any one among ye is able to finish the affair of the Sulṭān it is thou;” and so it happened, according to the Tārīkh-i-Jāhān-gīr; for, when Jūrmāghūn reached the vicinity of Isfahān, he detached Ittīmās, with a body of troops, in advance, to operate against the Sulṭān.

It is necessary here to go back a little. After the capture of Úrgan of Khwārāzm, the Chingiz Khān installed in that territory, as Shabnāh or Intendant, Chīn-Tīmūr, sometimes called Jai-Tīmūr, who belonged to one of the tribes of the Kūr-Khitā-I, and this person is probably one of the family of the Gūr Khān, mentioned in the note on that dynasty, page 934. He had remained Intendant in Khwārāzm up to this period [he had never, as yet, been governor of Khurāsān, but he became so shortly after]; and, when Üktāsī, before setting out towards Khitā, despatched the Nū-yīn, Jūrmāghūn, into Īrān Zāmīn, he confirmed Chīn-Tīmūr in his former appointment [Fāṣīb-I says Üktāsī nominated him Hākīm of all Īrān-Zāmīn in 628 H.], and commanded that all the Intendants in those parts should proceed, in person, to Jūrmāghūn’s camp, and render him all possible aid. Jūrmāghūn crossed the Āmulāh in 627 H.

On receipt of this mandate, Chīn-Tīmūr set out by way of Shahrīšīnāh for Jūrmāghūn’s camp; and the different Princes of the family of the Chingiz Khān, located in the parts lying nearest to Khurāsān, were directed to despatch Amfrs of their own, with their contingents, to join Jūrmāghūn’s army. His force of three tomans was thereby increased by 50,000 additional troops, thus showing that our author’s estimation of the number was pretty correct. The number of followers with Jūrmāghūn’s whole force is said to have been innumerable.

After that leader had, as he supposed, arranged the affairs of Khurāsān, and commenced his march westward, two Amfrs of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Kūrkhāh and Tughān-i-Sunkar, who were at Nīshābūr [sic in MSS.], commenced attacking and making raids in the parts around, and slew the Intendants left in Khurāsīn by Jūrmāghūn; and other “rebels” and “disaffected people” [all are rebels and disaffected people who prefer their former independence to a foreign yoke in these enlightened days, as in the dark ages, so called] were daily creating sedition in that quarter. Such being the case, Jūrmāghūn sent back Chīn-Tīmūr, along with his deputy, Kalbād, with troops, against these Khwārāzmī Amfrs [they were, as their names indicate, Turks of Khwārāzm] in
races of Turkistān, and captives of Khurāsān; and the number, which turned their faces towards 'Irāk, amounted, in all, to about 100,000 horse.

On reaching that country in the year 628 H., they massacred so many of the people of that territory and parts adjacent that the pen hath not the power of recording them; and all the cities of 'Irāk, and the Jibāl [of 'Irāk-i-'Ajam], of Arān, of Āzarbāijān, Gīlān, the territory of Rustam-dār, which is on the shores of the Baḥr-i-Khurz [the Caspian sea], as far as the Dar-band-i-Rūm [the Caspian Gates], and Ṭabaristān, the whole were ravaged, pillaged, and laid waste, with the single exception of the city of Ṣafahān [Iṣfahān], which was not taken for a period of fifteen years after the first irruption of the Chingiz Khān, the Mughal, and the entry of his forces into the country of 'Irāk, as will be subsequently recorded in its proper place.

That army of Mughals [under Jürmāghūn] entered through the Ḥulwān Pass, and ravaged the country up to the neighbourhood of the metropolis of Islām—the city of Baghddād. On several occasions, from the Court of the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Mustansir B'illah, the Malikhs of Islām, with the troops of 'Ajam, and Turks, Kurds, and 'Arabs [in his service], were despatched to repel the Mughals and the infidel hosts. They [the troops of the Khalfah] frequently engaged in holy warfare against the infidels, and encountered them in many conflicts; and, upon all occasions, the troops of Islām were triumphant and victorious. During that period, in no way, could the infidels seize upon any of the parts adjacent to, and [immediately] round about, the Dār-ul-Khilāfsat, Baghddād.

the direction of Nishābūr and Tūs; and, after the rout of one of them—Karīchah—Kalbād returned to Jürmāghūn's army again, and Chīn-Timūr appears, from what followed, to have returned to his post in Khwārazm and Māzandarān, which events will be found referred to at page 1120, note 8.

6 All the copies of the text have 623 H., which, of course, is a great error, since the Chingiz Khān only died in 624 H., and Üktāe succeeded in the third month of 626 H.: 623 is evidently a mistake of 624 for 623 and, besides, at page 1109 he states that Jürmāghūn was despatched in 626 H.

7 Turks had been entertained in the service of the Khalfahs for three centuries previous to this period.

8 See note 4, page 711.
The accursed Jurmāghân, who was the commander of the infidel Mughals, pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Ḫum and Kāshān, and some [of his forces] he despatched on incursions into Fārs and Kirmān. The Atā-Bak, Abū-Ḥikr of Fārs, who is the sovereign of that territory, and likewise the brother of the Ḥājib, Burāk,*

* There is a mistake here: it is his brother's son who is meant. Burāk, the Ḥājib, is the traitor who managed to obtain possession of Kirmān, and who afterwards murdered Malik Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Æ Sūltān, brother of Sūltān Jalāl-ud-Dīn. To make interest with the Mughals, and get confirmed in his usurpations, he sent the head of that Prince to Üktāe Kā‘ān, and he was confirmed in the rulership of Kirmān. This "illustrious man," par excellence, came into Khwārzm, along with his brother, Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Ḥamīd-i-Būr, in the reign of Sūltān Takīgh, and with others, to collect the tribute for the Gūr Khān of Karā-Khiṭāe, and they were induced to remain in Khwārzm, and there turned Musalmān. Some say they were not permitted to return; but this seems improbable, as they are said to have been brothers of Jal-Tīmūr-i-Tānīk, or Bānīk, son of Kaldūz, chief of Taʾrāz, the leader of the Gūr Khān's army; and others, again, that they came after the defeat of their elder brother, Bānīk. Whether they were detained or not, or came after or before Bānīk's defeat, they rose in the service of Sūltān Takīgh and his successor; and Kiwak Khān, son of Ḥamīd-i-Būr, became the commander of a body of troops, and was killed at Bukhārā when the Chingiz Khān appeared before it, and Burāk, Ḥamīd's brother, became one of the Sūltān's chamberlains. Another brother was styled Āghūz Malik. See page 283, note 1, page 283, and note to page 934.

This "illustrious man"—illustrious for the murder of his master and benefactor's son, and treachery towards another, to whom he presented a daughter for his haram—received from Sūltān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Pīr Shāh, the title of Ḥuṭlāgh Sūltān, and from the Mughal Kā‘ān, to whom he sent Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn's head, the title of "Ḥuṭlāgh Khān, Ṣāḥib [i.e. Lord] of Kirmān." Burāk died in 632 H., and Ḫuṭb-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Fatḥ, son of Jal-Tīmūr-i-Bānīk, or Tānīk, who stood in the position of nephew, step-son, and son-in-law to Burāk, assumed the authority, according to the latter's will.

In the same year, several of the Khwārzmī Amīrs, who, on the arrival of the Mughal army at Ùrgaj, had fled from thence, and had come to Shīrāz, to the Court of Salghur Sūltān, Abū-Ḥikr-i-Sa‘d, from thence came [with their followers] to Jāraft of Kirmān. They were Aor Khān, Sūnj Khān, and Tīmūr Malik, that second Rustam and second Isfandiyār, the defender of Khujand [See note at page 972, para. 3]; and from Jāraft they unexpectedly made a dash upon this same Ḫuṭb-ud-Dīn, son of Jal-Tīmūr-i-Tānīk, but he encountered and overthrew them. Some of the party, which appears to have been not very numerous, were killed in the encounter, some were taken prisoners, and some took to flight. After the victory, Ḫuṭb-ud-Dīn treated his captives with favour, gave them dresses of honour, and sent them back to Shīrāz; and the Atā-Bak, Abū-Ḥikr, son of Sa‘d, sent, and made apologies to Ḫuṭb-ud-Dīn, and stated that he had been totally unaware of their intention. These Ḫuṭb-ud-Dīn accepted, and declared himself satisfied. In 633 H. he proceeded to the Urdū of Üktāe Kā‘ān, in order to get his accession to the sovereignty of Kirmān acknowledged and confirmed, but the Kā‘ān directed that
the Khitā-ī, who had become ruler of Gawāshīr and Kirmān, entered into an accommodation with the Mughal forces, and agreed upon a fixed sum as tribute which they should pay them yearly. The territories of Fārs and Kirmān, through that conclusion of peace, became tranquillized, and remained safe from the molestation of the forces of the Mughal infidels. The whole of the remainder of the cities of 'Irāk, Āzarbāijān, and Ṭabaristān, were ruined and destroyed.

At this period, likewise, armies of Mughals were nominated to march from the side of Turkistān into the territories of Kābul, Ghaznīn, and Zāwulistān; and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Hasan, the Kārlugh—the Almighty's mercy be upon him!—when he saw, on several occasions, that he could not resist the power of the infidel Mughals except in the way of enduring vassalage, submitted to be dependent on them, and consented to receive Shāhnahs [Intendants]; and the Maliks of Ghūr and Khorāsān likewise all obtained Shāhnahs.

The Bahādur, Ṭā-īr, was appointed to proceed into the territory of Hirāt from Turkistān, and Mughal forces advanced towards the country of Nim-roz. These events came to pass in Sijistān and Nim-roz, on the second occasion, during the time of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tīghn, the Khwārazmī, who, in Sistān, had acquired strength, and had laid in abundant stores and munitions of war. In Kūṭb-ud-Dīn should be sent away into Khitāe to serve under the Šāhib Wazīr, Maḥmūd, Yalwāj, and the vassal sovereignty over Kirmān was given to the late Burāk's son, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Mubārak-i, Khwājah Jūk, and he was installed on the 28th of Shabān, 633 H.

Rukn-ud-Dīn ruled sixteen years, and was afterwards deposed by command of Mangū Kā'ān, in 650 H.; and Kūṭb-ud-Dīn, son of Jai-Tīmūr-i-Bānlko, was restored. Subsequently, Kūṭb-ud-Dīn, by the Kā'ān's command, put the deposed Rukn-ud-Dīn to death.

This Ḫīraft is the same well-known city, two miles in extent, which, in a work entitled "Eastern Persia," "with an Introduction by Maj.-General Sir F. J. Goldsmiss, K.S.I.," one of the contributors, Major O. B. St. John, R.E., says was "not a town, but a district."!

Tavernier, who visited it, says "Girefte," as he spells it, "is one of the biggest cities in the province of Kerman," and that its trade is "hones and wheat."

1 See page 180. There our author says that Abū-Bīkr brought dishonour and reproach upon himself through becoming tributary to the infidels. See also note 8 to the same page.
the year 625 H., a Mughal army entered the territory of Nim-ruz and invested the fortress of Ūk of Sijistān, which lies in the direction of north-east from the Shahristān of Sistān. For a period of nineteen months that army sat

When intimation reached Ūktān Kā‘ān of the agitated state of affairs in the provinces of Khurāsān, he directed that the Bahadur, Ṭā-ʿIr, who, as stated by our author farther on, at this time was located in the territory of Hirāt, and stationed at Bādgheis, which is a dependency of Hirāt, should move from that place, with his troops, against Karākāh, one of the two Amirs of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, referred to in the note at page 1116, who was still fighting against the Mughals. Bādgheis, the chief place of this district, I beg leave to say, is not and never was called Bádkhis or Bādgheis. It is the place before which Tūkhār, one of the sons-in-law of the Chingiz Khān, was killed, as mentioned in note at page 989. There is no Ḳh in the word: it is written بادغى.

Ṭā-ʿIr was directed to crush Karākāh, according to the Fanākatī, and put down the outbreak with the utmost severity. He began his march accordingly, but, on the way, heard of the reduction and rout of Karākāh having been already effected by Kalbād, and that the former had taken refuge within the fortress of Ūk of Sijistān or Zāwulīstān. On this, the Bahadur, Ṭā-ʿIr, marched against it, invested it for a period of two years; and at length, the walls having been mined, the fortress was taken.

After the Bahadur, Ṭā-ʿIr, had gained possession of the fortress of Ūk of Sijistān, he despatched an agent to Chīn-Tīmūr, saying, that, by virtue of the mandate received from the Court of the Kā‘ān, the government of Khurāsān had been assigned to him, Ṭā-ʿIr, and requested that Chīn-Tīmūr would refrain from exercising any authority therein. He replied that the statement that the people of Khurāsān were rebellious was false, and that therefore he could not see why such an extensive tract of territory, and so many subjects, should be ruined on account of the misdeeds of Karākāh; no doubt referring to what had already taken place in Sijistān and Khurāsān. Chīn-Tīmūr further stated that he would transmit a statement of the case to the Kā‘ān, and act as he might be instructed.

This reply was not palatable to the agent of Ṭā-ʿIr, and he left the presence of Chīn-Tīmūr in a rage. Subsequently, at Ṭā-ʿIr’s request, probably, the Nū-yīn, Jūrmāghūn, sent to Chīn-Tīmūr, requesting that he, along with the Amīrs despatched by the Princes [mentioned in the previous note] to reinforce him, would return to Khwārazm and Māzandarān, where he had been Intendant, and leave the affairs of Khurāsān in Amīr Ṭā-ʿIr’s hands.

Chīn-Tīmūr had nominated Kalbād, one of his principal retainers, to accompany the Amīrs of the Princes on their return from Khurāsān to the presence of the Kā‘ān, to do homage, and give an account of these affairs. At this juncture, Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Šāʾīlk, on the stipulation that he should be allowed to proceed to the presence of the Kā‘ān, came down from his stronghold in Māzandarān, and submitted. Chīn-Tīmūr returned from Māzandarān, whither he appears to have gone; and the holders of most of the strong fortresses of Khurāsān, on the report of Bahā-ud-Dīn having submitted, tendered submission likewise. On the arrival of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Chīn-Tīmūr treated him with the utmost consideration; and another Malik, at this time, also came from Māzandarān for the purpose of proceeding to the presence of the Kā‘ān to do
down before the fortress; but, notwithstanding all the efforts and exertions which the Mughal infidels used to homage, namely, the Afsahed [see note 1, page 262, para. 4] 'Alā-ud-Dīn of the Kabūd Jāmāh—in one copy of the Fanākāfi's work styled Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn—he having been approved of by his people and kinsmen for that purpose.

These two Malikās set out for the Urdū-Bālīgāh, accompanied by Kalbād, in 630 H. As, previous to this occasion, not one of the great Amīrs or Malikās of Māzandarān had presented himself before a Mughal sovereign, Ūktāe Kā'ān was exceeding well pleased therewith, and he ordered entertainments to be given in their honour, and showed them great favour. Chīn-Tūmūr and Kalbād, in consequence, were distinguished by the Kā'ān with various favours and benefits; and Ūktāe observed: "During the period that Jārmāghān has been away, and has gained possession of such an extent of territory, he has never yet sent a single Malik to me, while Chīn-Tūmūr, with such a small following and slender means, has done such good service. I therefore appoint him to the government of Kūrāsān [as well as Khwārezm and Māzandarān which he then held], and no other Amīr shall have sought whatever to do with those parts." Kalbād was also associated with Chīn-Tūmūr [subordinate to him]; and the Kā'ān conferred, in lieu, upon the Afsahed of the Kabūd Jāmāh, the tract extending from the limits of the Kabūd Jāmah territory to Astarābād, and, upon Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sa'īlīk, the districts of Isfārāīn, Jī-īn, Baībāk, Jā-jūrn, Kūrānīd, and Arghāīn; and, to each of them, the Kā'ān presented a commission written in gold, and gave a yarlīgāh, or patent, to Chīn-Tūmūr.

When Chīn-Tūmūr became duly installed, in accordance with the yarlīgāh of the Kā'ān, he appointed Sharaf-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Yazīdī, to be the Wazīr of his government, and Bahā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Jā-īn, the Shāhīb-i-Dwāīnī, or Head of the Revenue Department, and that department under him assumed order and lustre. Not long after this, Chīn-Tūmūr was about to despatch an official, named Kūrkūz, also written Kurkūz, on a mission to the presence of the Kā'ān, but Kalbād strongly objected to it, saying: "He is an Lāghūr, and will take care to make matters subservient to his own interests only, and therefore it is not advisable to send him." Chīn-Tūmūr, however, did not alter his determination, and Kūrkūz was despatched. Contrary to Kalbād's expectations, when he reached the presence of the Kā'ān, and the latter inquired of him respecting the state of the people, and the territory of Kūrāsān, and other provinces under the control of Chīn-Tūmūr, he gave such details and information as greatly pleased the Kā'ān, and made him well satisfied, and he expressed himself accordingly. Kūrkūz was sent back again, having fulfilled his mission in the manner desired, and, the requests made having been granted, he returned; and, shortly after [in 633 H.], Chīn-Tūmūr died.

D'Ohsson has made a muddle of these affairs, if the extract contained in the "Mongols Proper" [pp. 133, 134] be from his work, and he could scarcely have understood the passage, or else he had an incorrect manuscript before him, whereby a good man, and an efficient administrator, is turned into a tyrant, torturer, and extorter, and a cause of dissatisfaction through his actions. His co-partner, Kalbād, figures under the name of Kūlīlāt, and as the "general of Chin Timur"; and such is history!

Amīr Chīn Tūmūr having died in 633 H., Amīr Tūsīl—[whom some style Usāl—أوسل]—was nominated to succeed him in the government of Irān-
make, in no way did they succeed in gaining possession of that fortress and city, until pestilence overcame the

Zamin [as much of it as was under Mughal sway at that period], but the executive authority was administered by his Deputy, Kürküz, already referred to. Tüsâl or Üsâl died in 638 H., and Amîr Arghân, the Üfr-ât, was nominated to succeed him, after he had acquired the requisite acquaintance with the duties of the office of Bakhtar-gar, and proficiency in the duties of the Batak-chīfān department. He was first despatched to make a report on the manner in which Kürküz had administered the government, and, subsequently, held it himself for ten years. The fate of Kürküz will be related subsequently.

This is stated differently in Alîf, wherein it is mentioned that in the year 627 H., Tâj-ud-Dîn, Binaî-Tîgîn, the Khwârazmî, having raised the banner of sovereignty in Sîjistân, an army of Mughals was sent against him, but under what leader is not mentioned, and that the fortress of Ük [şî], which is situated in the north-east part of that territory, was invested. The investment was carried on for a period of nineteen months; and all the efforts of the Mughals to take the fortress were of no avail, until pestilence arose, and then it fell. Our author may have mistaken the year, or perhaps it is the mistake of a scribe; and, taking into consideration the date of Üktâe’s accession, Alîf appears to be correct.

This is the affair related by our author above. He was resident in the neighbourhood, was moving about those parts just before these events took place—as has been related, and will be again mentioned farther on—and was personally acquainted with the defender of this fortress, and therefore is worthy of credit. Malik Tâj-ud-Dîn, Binaî-Tîgîn, must have been the person referred to by the Fanâkatî as Karâchah, or the latter joined him. That author, however, gives no further account of these proceedings, and the two Khwârazmî Amîrs are not again referred to by him, and, such being the case, our author’s account is evidently the correct one. For some account of Binaî-Tîgîn and his fate, see pages 199 to 202.

Ük, which is a well-known place in history, was never called “Oke” nor “Hok,” as it appears in a recent compilation, unless such can be made out of şî which would be rather difficult. It has been in ruins for many years; and Afghāns have often brought me Bakhtrîn and Sâsânîn coins from it. Its site is between Farâh and Zaranj, or the city of Sîstân or Sîjistân, as it is also called.

Ük is also the place referred to at pages 34 and 201, but regarding which the different copyists, with scarcely an exception, from its similarity to şî—arg, a citadel—and from its being mentioned in connexion with şî—fâla’s, a fortress—have jumped at the conclusion that arg must be meant. I find an example of great sagacity of this kind in the Ro. As. Society’s copy of the Fanâkatî’s work. The word was correctly written with ş, but someone partly erased the letter to make an , of it!

The fortress of Ük is again mentioned, nearly three centuries after, when, in 908 H., Sultan ‘Alîf, the Arghân, brother of the Amîr, Zî-un-Nûn, Arghân, was governor or feudatory of the territory of Sîjistân, at which time, at the instigation of Khudâ Kull, governor of the fort of Lişâh, Sultan Hûsîn Mîrâz despatched a force against Sultan ‘Alîf.

The word Shahrîstân signifies the walls round a city, also a küshk with many gardens; but this place is one of the very few old sites, the names of which exist unaltered to the present day. The Shahrîstân stands upon or
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Musalmāns of the fortress, and until matters reached such a pitch among the people thereof, that one or two hundred men, who would be collected together in one place, would suddenly—Be the readers preserved from such a fate!—pass to the Almighty’s mercy.

Trustworthy persons have related that, one night, the people of the fortress projected the formation of an ambush during the night, for the purpose of repelling the Mughal troops, and that they should conceal themselves among some of the kilns outside the northern gate. It was determined that, when the morning dawned, [a body of] fighting men should issue from the eastern gate of the citadel, and engage in holy warfare [with the enemy], and, when the Mughal troops should turn their faces towards that body of holy-warriors which should issue from the eastern gate, the kettle drums should be sounded on the summit of the fort. Then the body of men in ambush outside the northern gate should, on hearing the sound of the kettle drums, disclose the ambush, and should advance on the rear of the infidel army, and fight for the faith as by the tenets thereof enjoined. According to this determination, about 700 men, Tūlakīs, in complete panoply, issued from the fortress at midnight, and proceeded to the spot fixed upon for the place of ambush, and there took up their position. At daybreak the next morning, after having performed their religious duties, the people of the fortress donned their arms and issued forth from the eastern gate, and began the attack upon the infidels. The Mughals, from their camp, turned their faces towards those Musalmāns, the champions of the faith, and a severe action commenced; and, when the

close to the ruins of the place here referred to. As I have before mentioned, Zaranj was the capital city of the territory called Sījistān by ‘Arabs, and by the people Sigistān and Zāwulistān; and the name of “city of Sīstān” or “Sījistān,” applied to that city, is after the same fashion as styling Ürganj, Khwārazm. The Masālik wa Mamālik says that an ancient city of Sīstān was called Rām Shahrīstān, and that Zaranj was founded by people from that place. There would be nothing easier than to take it for granted that the fortress here referred to is the citadel of the city of Sīstān, but Zaranj is not referred to. The fortress in question is a totally different place, and in a different situation.

3 It is explained at page 1062 how the Tūlakīs got there.
forces on both sides mingled together at close quarters, with sword, spear, and arrow, according to the previous night's arrangement, they beat the kettle drums within the fortress for the purpose of unmasking the ambuscade. Once, twice, the drums sounded, but not a man issued from the ambuscade; and, of that whole body, not a trace could be discovered. Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tīgīn, despatched confidential persons, saying: "Go ye and see what is the cause of this delay of the ambuscade party." When those sent came to the spot they found the whole 700 men dead, for they had surrendered their lives to God; and there was no sign of life in any one of them. God preserve us from the like!

This catastrophe has been recorded here in order that those who look into these pages may know, for certain, that, when the wrath of God, the Most High, ariseth, such like marks of punishment are manifested.

Trustworthy persons have related that the most common and violent manner in which the pestilence affected the people of the fort of Úk of Sīstān was this, that their mouths would begin to ache, and their teeth to become loose, and, on the third day, they used to resign their lives to their Creator. The state of the people of the fortress continued in this way until, suddenly, a woman among the inhabitants thereof became attacked with the aching of the mouth, and, on the second day, her teeth became loose. She had a little daughter, and, on the third night, she called her unto her, seated her by her, and said: "My dear! to-night I will anoint thy hands and feet with hīnā with mine own hands, for to-morrow is the third day, and the hour of thy mother's decease." With this view she applied hīnā to the hands and feet of her little daughter. It is usual with women that, when they apply hīnā to the hands and feet of any one, they apply the fingers to the tongue in order that the fingers may be moistened with the saliva of their mouths, and then they apply the hīnā to the part to be dyed. Having applied the hīnā to her little daughter's hands and feet, she resigned her heart to death, and went to sleep. In the morning, the

* It must be remembered that the night precedes the day in the computation of Oriental peoples.
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woman’s teeth had become firmly fixed at the roots, and the aching of the mouth had entirely passed away. When the third day came and passed, the neighbours and acquaintances found her recovered, and, on the fourth day, she had become quite well again.

People were astonished, and they made inquiry of her about it, saying: “How has it come about, and by what means, that thou art still alive, the disease of the mouth gone, and thy teeth firm? What medicine didst thou take, and what remedy apply?” The woman replied: “I had no medicine whatever, and took none: Almighty God restored me to health.” They said: “He is the Author of all things, but, really, what act didst thou put in practice, and what operation was performed by thee?” The woman mentioned the application of hinna to her daughter’s hands and feet, the incident of wetting her fingers, and, by that action, of the hinna reaching her mouth. The whole [of the neighbours and acquaintances] concurred together that the cure for this disease was hinna; and it so happened that this circumstance reached the [hearing of the] people of the fort, and the incident became diffused, and matters came to such a state, that every one who was attacked with this disorder they used to put hinna in the mouth of, and such person would recover. A man of hinna reached the price of two hundred and fifty golden dinars, and whoever possessed any acquired great wealth by disposing of it.

Almighty God hath many favours for His servants, but for death there is no antidote!

At last, Malik Tāj-ud-Din, Bināl-Tīgin, was struck in the eye by an arrow, and that eye was lost; and, subsequent to that accident, he was directing the defence of the fortress from the top of one of the towers, when, suddenly, he lost his footing and fell from the top of the fort to the ground, and was taken prisoner. He was made a martyr of, and the fortress of Ūk of Sijistān fell into the hands of the Mughals; and the inhabitants were martyred, after a great number of the infidels had gone to hell, as has been previously recorded herein.

May God, the Most High, continue the Sultan of Islam, Nasir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Din, Maḥmūd Ẓahār, who is
the Bādshāh of the present time, upon the throne of sovereignty, victorious and triumphant!

ACCOUNT OF THE DESPATCHING OF MUGHAL FORCES TOWARDS GHAZNĪN AND LUHĀWAR.

When Uktāe ascended the throne, he [likewise] gave orders for forces to proceed towards Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and the Bahādur, Tā-īr, who had displayed great zeal and energy during the fighting in Sijistān under the standard of one of the great Nū-īns, was made their commander. This great Mughal Nū-in [Tā-īr’s leader] in the fighting before Īk of Sijistān had gone to hell, and Uktāe commanded that the Bahādur, Tā-īr, should become the head and commander of that Mughal army, in his place.

* Written here, as elsewhere, Luhāwar and Lohor.
  * Who this great Nū-īn was does not appear, and he is not referred to by others. Tā-īr was in these parts, according to the Histories quoted, previous to the accession of Uktāe Kāʿān, as early as Rabī-ul-Awwal, 626 H.; and, as already narrated, he was subsequently ordered to aid in putting down the outbreak of Kārāchah, so called, in the districts dependent on Nīshābūr. After that, Tā-īr invested the fortress of Īk of Sijistān. Our author says it held out nineteen months, but some of the Histories, quoted in the previous notes, say it occupied Tā-īr two years; and, under these circumstances, the fortress could not have fallen before the close of the year 628 H., or beginning of 629 H., and not in 625 H., as our author states at page 201. Lāhor was not taken until upwards of ten years after the affair of Īk.

The Tarikh-i-Alfi states that, in 633 H., Uktāe despatched armies into various parts, including an army, under a leader named Mukāṭū [مکتوب]—towards Hind and Kashmīr, and that, after ravaging many tracts of country, he returned again [into his own territory].

This is an important item of information, for it clears up a very obscure part of our author’s account of Sulṭān I-yal-timīsh’s reign, at page 623, when he set out towards Banān, and had to return through the illness of which he afterwards died; for our author has not stated whom he marched against, but it is evident, from the direction there indicated, and the year, that he must have been marching against this very Mukāṭū, when sickness obliged him to return. There is nothing mentioned in the Histories of Kashmīr, of which there are several, of any such invasion.

The Nū-īn, Mangūtah, we first hear of in Indian History, in 643 H. Mukāṭū must be a different person.

The capture and ruin of Hīrāt by the Nū-īn, Iljīdāe, or İlčīkdāe, nephew of the Čheingiz Khān, in 620 H., and the massacre of its inhabitants, all but eighteen persons, has been already described. Of these survivors seven remained hidden among its ruins, while eleven were at Kalah-i-Koh, and the Khaṭīb, the Maulānā, Ṣharaf-ud-Dīn, was included among them.
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When they [the Mughal troops] from Sījistān entered

After the infidel Mughals, and Tāṭārs, had taken their departure from Hirāt and its territory, these sixteen persons—all men, it appears—issued from their places of concealment, and assembled before the shop of a certain ħalwā′ or confectioner, and began to look at all directions. Seeing no one, they stroked their faces and exclaimed: "Thanks be unto God, that during our existence we can once more breathe freely!" After this, these sixteen, the unfortunate remnant of the inhabitants of Hirāt, were joined by twenty-four others from the places adjacent to that city; and, for sixteen years, it is said, "there were no other inhabitants in Khurāsān; and, for some time, from the banks of the Jīhān or Āmūlāh to the territory of Astār-ābād, if there were any people who had escaped with their lives in some out-of-the-way place, they must have existed upon such things as the dead left unconsumed."

These forty persons passed their time in the tomb of Sūltān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī, which had not been destroyed by the infidels. A full account of the matter of these persons, and their names, is recorded in the History of Hirāt.

In the year 635 H.—but Alī says in 634 H.—Ūktāe Kāʾān gave orders that the cities of Khurāsān destroyed by the Mughals should be restored, and among them was Hirāt; and those people of the weaver class, who had been removed from Hirāt when that city surrendered to Tūlī Khān in 618 H., and had been located in Turkistān and Mughalistān by him, were made the instruments in commencing this good work. The chief men and heads of families among these weavers were the Muḥammad [he is also styled Amr and Peqhwā', but not signifying a chief, a noble, or a leader here, but Provost] of the Guild of Weavers of Hirāt, ʿIzz-ud-Dīn, Hirawī [from Hirāt or Hirāt]; Jālāl-ud-Dīn, Mālānī; Sādī, Bāḏghaṣīf; and five others. It had been mentioned to the Kāʾān that one of the cities in question was Hirāt, and he had been told much respecting its former populousness, wealth, and prosperity; so he was the more desirous of re-peopling it. ʿIzz-ud-Dīn, the Provost, with his family and kinsmen, had been located at Bishā-Bālīgh; and he had obtained access to the Kāʾān's presence, and used, every year, to manufacture a thousand suits [pieces, probably] of clothes of excellent quality for his use. He was now summoned to the presence of Īktāe, who said: "I am going to send thee for the purpose of re-peopling and restoring Hirāt. Art thou able to do so, quickly, thickest thou, so that people may be able to say that Hirāt is something like itself again?" ʿIzz-ud-Dīn replied that, under favour of such a great monarch, he could do so; and that every year he would send, for the Kāʾān's use, 2000 suits of clothes of various delicate colours, such as, in the atmosphere of those northern parts, it was impossible to produce, equal in colours and texture to those of Khurāsān. Īktāe, accordingly, despatched him; and he was allowed to take fifty of his people along with him, and was also furnished with a mandate to collect people from all parts of Khurāsān, and locate them at Hirāt.

ʿIzz-ud-Dīn set out; and, on the arrival of the exiles in the neighbourhood of Hirāt, the Khaṭīb, Sharaf-ud-Dīn, and the others, who had been living in concealment, came forth to meet them, and conducted them into Hirāt; and they set about its restoration. Having made some progress, in the following year [636 H.], the Provost, ʿIzz-ud-Dīn, set out for the area of the Kāʾān to arrange certain matters in connexion with the restoration of the city, and made a request that he might be permitted to remove to Hirāt his own family, and
Khurāsān, the Nū-īn, Anbān,7 and the Nū-īn, Nikū-dar, and the troops which were in the territory of Ghūr and Khurāsān, marched towards Ghaznūn. Previous to this, they had driven⁸ from Banūn Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Қarluq, and had entered into a stipulation with him for payment of tribute, but, notwithstanding this, they were desirous of getting Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Қarluq, into their hands, and they had been unable to

also the two hundred other families located in Turkistān and Mughalīstān. His request was so far complied with that he was allowed to take away with him his own family, and one hundred—some say fifty—other families; but, on reaching Fāryāb, death overtook him. On this, his son, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, who then succeeded to his father’s office and title of Provost, conducted the families to Hirāt, after which he retraced his steps to the presence of Üktāe. This was in the year in which Naḥmūd, the Tārānī, broke out in Bükhārā. Having reached the Kā‘ān’s Īrdū, he solicited that a Shaṭḥār or Intendant should be appointed to Hirāt, and a Dāroq ḡā [Warden, Provost, etc.]. A Қarluq Turk, but whose name is not mentioned, unfortunately, was nominated to the first-mentioned office, and a Mughal named Mangāsāe to the last. The former was of the same tribe—but, probably, of the other branch—as Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Қarluq, referred to in the text above. See note ⁴, next page.

Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, and the Қarluq, reached Hirāt together, but the control of the civil affairs was left, as before, in the Provost’s hands. In a short time the Jū-e Injīl—a canal so called—was opened and brought into Hirāt, and the Burj-i-Қarluq built, and named after the Intendant in question. In 638 H. Malik Majd-ud-Dīn, the Kāl-yūnī, was made governor of Hirāt, by command of Bāṭū Khān [this must have been at the time Üktāe, from his excessive inebriety, had to be looked after, as stated in note ⁹, page 1142, and Bāṭū Khān did so by virtue of his position as head of the family. He subsequently exercised authority after Üktāe’s decease, and again during the interregnum after Kyūk Khān’s death, as will be noticed farther on] and the Muḥaddam, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, was relieved of his duties. Majd-ud-Dīn, in concert with the Қarluq Intendant, opened the Alanjān canal, which became the source of such great prosperity to the Hirāt district.

Majd-ud-Dīn was put to death, after the decease of Üktāe Kā‘ān, in 640 H., by command of the Nū-yīn, Kūrkūz, and his head was brought to Tūn; but, in the following year, Prince Bāṭū, as my authority styles him, made Majd-ud-Dīn’s son, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Kāl-yūnī, governor of Hirāt, but he died from the effects of poison in the following year.

This name is somewhat doubtful. It is written Anbān—ابن—as above, Anīn—ابن—and Anūn—ابن—and Abīn—ابن—and Aṣūn—ابن—I do not find the name among the great Nū-yīns of the Chingiz Khān. Anbān is also a title of rank.

The word used in the text—کلم—means “extirpated,” “rooted out,” “driven out,” etc.; but, had such been the case, he could not have been made a tributary. He had been already reduced to subjection and made tributary, as already stated at page 1119.
effect their object. In the year 636 H., however, they suddenly and unexpectedly attacked Malik Saif-ud-Din, Ḥasan, and he fled discomfited from Kārmān, Ghaznin, and Banlān, and came towards the Multān territory, and the country of Sind. At that period the throne of Hindūstān was adorned by the Sulṭān Raṣīyyat—May she rest in peace!—the daughter of the august Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Din, I-yal-timīsh; and the eldest son of Malik Saif-ud-Din, Ḥasan, the Karlugh, presented himself before the Dīhil Court, and, by way of beneficence, the territory [sief] of Baran was assigned to him. Some time passed, when,

1 See note 7, page 498, para. 4.

2 Sulṭān Raṣīyyat reached Dīhil, from Lāhor, on the 19th of Shaʾbān, the eighth month of 637 H.

This favour was shown towards him because he was a Turk, as Raṣīyyat's father was, and also because a great number of the principal nobles were Turks also. His name and title are Malik Nāṣir-ud-Din, Muḥammad. See page 361. Had he been a Mughal he would probably have been put to death, or kept in durance until he died, as Barkā Kāhān's agents were, as will be found mentioned farther on, although their sovereign was a Musalmān.

The Kārlūgh or Karlugh, or Kārūk or Karlık, as the name is also written, here referred to, belong to that portion of the tribe mentioned in note 8, page 374, but I may add that there is no tribe of "Koorloogh (properly [I called Kharlokh or QarluK] known to history. See Journal Ro. Geogr. Soc., 1872, note to page 509.

Thomas ["Pathān Kings"], noticing the coins of those Turkish chiefs, says that "Saif ud din Hasan Karlagh," as he styles him, "was one of the leading generals of Jalāl ud din Mankhārīn," but where is the authority for that statement? This chief has been mistaken for Saif-ud-Din, Iqṭurk, a totally different person, who deserted the Sulṭān, after his victory over the Mughals near Bārwān; but he and all his followers were destroyed within a few months of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's defeat on the Indus in 618 H., as mentioned in Yāfā'-I, in the Jahān-Kushā, and others, and detailed at the end of note 9, page 1021. Ḥasan, the Kārlūgh, does not appear on the scene, east of the Indus, until many years after this event. See the preceding page, and page 720.

At page 96 of his work, Thomas quotes Major-General A. Cunningham's "Archæological Report to the Government of India," for 1863-4, to show who the "Kārlagh" were, but that statement is equally erroneous. Cunningham makes them out to be Indo-Scythians, and subjects or dependents of the rulers of Dīhil, which they never were, the bestowal of Baran upon Ḥasan's son, notwithstanding, since he left the Dīhil frontier very soon after, and, probably, never went to Baran at all. His going thither, moreover, would not have made his family and tribe, west of the Indus, dependents upon the Dīhil empire.

In order to dispel this very erroneous supposition, and to throw some light upon the matter, it will be well to give, in the first place, a short extract from the "Report" quoted by Thomas. Major-General Cunningham says:—
unexpectedly, he left it; and, without the permission of the Sulṭān, returned to the presence of his father.

"The first invasion of the Indo-Scythians must have caused a very general displacement of the ruling races. . . . The vanquished would naturally have sought refuge in the less accessible districts around, and to this period, therefore, I would refer the settlement of the Awdins and Janjikas in the Salt Range to the south, and the Gahars in the hilly tracts of Pharwāla and Dāngali to the south-east" [but what have they to do with the Karlūgh Turks?].

"Of their subsequent history but little is recorded; we know only that they were divided into several branches, and that they all became Muhammadans. [When, or in what year?] In the time of Bāber, the ruling tribe, called the Karluki Hasdras, held the districts on both banks of the lower Suhān river, under the chiefs Sangar Khān Karluki and Mirza Malvi Karluki. At a still earlier period the chiefs of this tribe [1], Hasan Karluk and his son Muhammad, had asserted their independence [of whom? and what history says so?], by striking coins in their own names. The coins of the father are of the well known 'Bull and Horseman' type, with the legend in Nāgari letters, 'Sīr Hasan Karluk.' The coins of the son are of three different kinds, two with Persian characters only, and the third with Persian on one side and Nāgari on the other. On the last coin there is a rude figure of a horse surrounded by the chief's name, Nāser [sic] ud-din wa ud din, in Persian letters, and on the reverse his name in three lines of Nāgari letters, Sīr Muhammad Karluk. On one of the Persian coins this chief calls himself Muhammad bin Hasan Karluk (الله), and on the other he takes the title of ul-Malik ul-Mu'ās'man bin Hasan. From the types and general appearance of these coins their date may be fixed with certainty as coeval with those of Altamish [I-yal-timīgh?] and his sons, or from A.D. 1210 to 1265. The accuracy of this date is strongly confirmed by Ferishtah’s account [Dow’s or Briggs’s Ferishtah?] of the first campaign of Nāser-ud-din Mahmūd, the youngest son of Altamish. In July, A.D. 1247, Mahmūd proceeded to Multān [This is quite a mistake. See this Translation, pages 677, 678, 679, 814, and 815. Multān is a blunder in the Calcutta Printed Text for Banfān—بناون—and, moreover, the expedition was against "the infidels of Chīn"—the Mughals—and "the Rānah of the Jūd Hills"—"Jas-Pāl, Sīhra," and the Khokhars, not the Karlūgh Turks, who had been expelled from their own territory by the Mughals. Maḥmūd left the capital, not in July—the height of the hot season, but in Rajab, 644 H., about 15th November, 1247 A.D., and advanced to the Sūdharah and the Jhilam, not the "Chenāb"], from whence he sent his Vazer towards the mountains of Jūd and the provinces [Whose provinces?] on the Indus. . . . According to this account, the rebellion [against whom was this rebellion, and what History says so?] lasted for about twelve years, from the death of Altamish, in A.D. 1235, until the close of Mahmūd’s campaign in the end of 1247 [Did the rebellion end then?]. It is to this period that I refer the assumption of independence [of whom?] by Hasan Karluk and his son Muhammad. The age of these coins, as I have observed, corresponds exactly with the date of this rebellion, and the coins themselves before [sic] are found in greatest number in the rebellious districts of the mountains of Jūd."

The remarks on these coins, and their correctness, are such as we might expect from Major-General Cunningham’s knowledge of the subject, but the
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On Malik Saif-ud-Din, Hasan, the Karlugh, entering the country of Sind, the territory of Ghaznin, and Kar-
historical, as shown by our author, in various places in his History, and by many other writers, are entirely erroneous, and are further proofs of the danger of trusting to translations of *Ferishtah.*

For what "can be made of the Indo-Scythian theory" in the "Report" in question, see the very pertinent remarks of Beames in his edition of Elliot's *Memoirs on the History, Folk-lore, and Distribution of the Races of the North Western Provinces of India," London, 1869, pages 112, 113, 136, and 137; but Tāqīkīs, as well as Turks, have been brought under the "Indo-Scythian" system lately, as I have noticed in another place.

General Cunningham connects the Karlugh with his "Indo-Scythians" of the Salt Range, and makes Hasan, the Karlugh, and his son, Awāns and Janjhūhīs, and subjects of the Dihlī kingdom, as he alludes to their "rebellion." They were, in no wise, connected with the Awāns or Janjhūhīs, for the very cogent reason that the Karlughīs, who are constantly mentioned in the account of the Mughals, are Turks, and were never subject to Dihlī. Neither I-bak nor I-yal-timīsh held any part of the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah, which, as well as the country as far east as the Rawāf, for some time was held by I-yal-dūz, and the southern part of that Do-ābah by Kābā-jah. That portion of the Ghūrī empire held by I-yal-dūz, consequent on his captivity and subsequent death, fell under the sway of the Sulūn of Khwārazm, to whom the Karlughīs were subject; and, in the time of the Chingiz Khān's advance to the Indus, Kam-ud-Dīn, the Khārnān, had only shortly before been ousted from the fortress of Nandana, by the Khwārazmī Afirs [See note 1, page 534, para. 7, and page 750]. Hasan, the Karlugh, may have been connected with this Kam-ud-Dīn, and he may even have been Hasan's father, for it is certain that Hasan, the Karlugh, did hold Khārnān, as our author states above. There were a number of Turkish tribes settled between Kābul and the Indus. The reason why these coins are found in the parts indicated by General Cunningham is, either that they formed part of the district or province of Banfān, or adjoined it, and Baulān was held by the Karlughīs. Naṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, of Dihlī, never held any territory west of the Jhilam, although Ulugh Khān, his lieutenant, did, on one occasion, penetrate into it as far as the Indus; and, soon after, Maḥmūd's territory extended no farther west than the Bākh, as already stated. See also note 2, page 862.

Bābar says—I quote from his Memoirs translated into Persian, of which there are two versions, and have compared them with the Turkish original—"In the Zafar Nāma, and some other books, this range [the Jūd Mountains] is called and written, Koh-i Jūd. Why it received this appellation was not discovered at first, but, afterwards, it was found that Jūd and Janjhūhāh were two septs descended from one original. In one half of this range are the Jūd, and in the other the Janjhūhāh [or Janjhūlfi]. The greatest of them receives the name of Rāi, and his brothers and sons receive that of Malik. The Malik of the Ilūs and ulīsīs round about the river Sūhān was Malik Hakībat. As these few districts, such as Bharah, Khūsh-āb, etc., had previously been held by the Turks, I was desirous of getting possession of them. Sankar or Sangar Khān, the Janjhūhāh, came in the same day. There are Balūchīs in the Bharah district. There are Jats and Gūjars as far as the mountains of Kāshmir, and among these are numerous other
mān, remained in the hands of the Mughal Shāhnahs [Intendants], until the year 639 H., when the Mughal forces, and the troops of Ghūr, were directed to advance to Lohor. The Bahādur, Ţā ir, who was in possession of Hirāt and Bādgahs, and other Nū-ins who were holding peoples.” Bābar, of course, does not mean that these peoples were Turks. They had been settled in these parts long before the Turks, even if we go as far back as Maḥmmud of Ghaznīn, the “Pathan” Turk of Dow, Briggs, etc. The peoples which Bābar refers to are Awān-kār, Gahep, Jaṭ, Janjuḥūṭ, Ḥālup, Bhanerḥ, Bhagfīl, Kahān Jaṭ, Mālir Jaṭ, Kassur Jaṭ, Kāltar, Gakhār, Tajrī, also called Rāṭh, Gahrāl, besides Khokhārs immediately south of the Jūd Mountains in the Bahrāh and Khuṣrāb districts, and a few others.

Bābar also mentions giving “Nilāb and the Ḥazārah-i-Kārlūk or Kārlūgh Humāyīn,” and “Sunkar or Sungar, Kārlūk, Mirzā Malawi [Tarbi], Kārlūk, with some thirty or forty chief men of Kārlūk” coming in, and making “over the ḭil and ḩilāṣ, such as Kārlūk, Ḥazārah, Ḥālīf, Dāl, etc.”

Because Bābar uses the Turkish words īl and ulti for tribe and clan, in writing of them in his work, it must not be supposed that all the people must be Turks on that account.

We commonly hear of this tract of country referred to as Chach Ḥazārah, and Taṭh Ḥazārah, but, according to fact, Chachch is separate from Ḥazārah-i-Kārlūgh, and the former lies nearer the Indus—along its banks really. It is probable that some Kārlūghs may have been permanently located in this part, as well as its being subject to the Kārlūghs, as previously referred to, but how it became styled Ḥazārah is very difficult to say, because, among all the mings or haūrahs of the Chingiz Khān, there was not one of Kārlūgh Turks, but a Kārlūgh contingent of that portion of the tribe which continued in its old seats did serve with the armies of the Chingiz Khān, in Khurāsān and Ghūr, under their chief, Arsalān Khān of Kārlūk, previously mentioned in several places in this Translation.

What makes the matter still more complex is, that, in the original Memoirs of Bābar, I find, referring to the habitation of Tāṭār, the Gakhār, that it was situated much lower down than the Kārlūk or Kārlūgh [it is written both ways in the original, and with gh for k for the final letter] Tāgh—[فارسی نامه‌های خلیل غریب]—which, in one of the Persian versions, is translated as “much lower down than the koh-i-Kārlī” ; thus retaining the Turkish word, while the other version gives the proper translation, “the koh-i-barf-dār, or Snowy Mountains, which is to say, the Pīr Pinjāl Mountains.” It strikes me, therefore, that the non-translation of the word kārlūk or kārlūgh, signifying “snowy,” or “pertaining to snow” [See the note on the Descent of the Turks, and the term Kārlūk or Kārlūgh, page 877]—the origin of the name of the tribe—in the Persian version referred to, has had something to do with this district having been styled “Ḥazārah-i-Kārlūk,” and “Kārlūk Ḥazārah,” as well as from the probability of Kārlūgh Turks having been once stationed therein, but who had no blood connexion whatever with the so-called “Indo-Scythians.”

There were no Afghan tribes, at this period, dwelling in Karmān; they were located farther south, and south-west, and their power was not great.

Troops raised in those parts, or rather the contingents of those Musalmān chiefs and petty rulers who had submitted to the Mughal yoke.
possession of the territories of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, the Garm-sir, and Tukhāristān, the whole of them, with their troops, arrived on the banks of the river Sind. At this time, Malik Kabir Khān-i-Ayāz was the feudatory of Multān, and Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Karā-Ḵush, was feudatory of Lohor, and the throne of sovereignty had devolved upon Sultān Muʿizz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh.4

When the news of the arrival of the Mughal forces reached Multān, Malik Kabir Khān-i-Ayāz, for the sake of his own dignity, assumed a canopy of state, assembled troops, and made ready to do battle with the infidels.6 On information of the number of his followers reaching the Mughal camp, those infidels came to the determination of advancing towards Lohor, and they appeared before the gate of that city. The Ḥiṣār of Lohor was unprepared with either stores, provisions, arms, or war materials; and the people of Lohor were not united, and did not harmonize together. Most of the inhabitants of the city were merchants and traders, and had undertaken journeys, during the time of the Mughals, into the upper parts, into Khurāsān and Turkistān, and, by way of precaution, every one of them had obtained a pass 9 from the Mughal, and a safe conduct, and, knowing this, in defending and fighting for the safety of the Ḥiṣār of Lohor, they used not to act in unison with Malik Karā-Ḵush, and would neither render assistance nor make resistance, nor encounter the enemy. The troops of Islām did not assemble together, on this account, that the Turk and Ghūrī Malik were distrustful of Sultān Muʿizz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh; and, consequently, the army did not speedily set out from Dihlī for the purpose of repelling the Mughals.8

For some time fighting went on before the gate of the city of Lohor, and the Mughal army planted a great number of catapults9 round about the fortifications of that

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4 See page 655.
5 See the account of Malik Kabir Khān-i-Ayāz at page 727, and page 730.
6 The Printed Text uses ʿalā—profit, advantage, etc., instead of ʿāṬ—which implies—exemption, immunity, and the like.
7 A walled city with a castle or citadel.
8 For the causes which led to the delay in relieving Lāhor, see pages 655, 656, and 657.
9 The manjiān, or ʿirād—the catapult or mangonel, which, under the name
city, and destroyed the walls; and, to such degree as Malik Karâ-Kush was able, he remained and resisted the infidels. On becoming aware of the disunion and discordant inclinations of the inhabitants, and, as the Kâzî and chief personages used to show great misconduct in keeping guard on the walls of the city, Malik Karâ-Kush knew that the upshot of affairs would be disastrous, and that the preservation of that city was beyond his power and capability. He therefore came out of it with the troops his followers, under the pretext of a night attack, made a dash upon the camp of the infidels, and, in one charge, broke through the ranks of the Mughal army, and set out for Dihlî. In that charge some of the principal females of his haram and of his retinue got separated from him. A number of his people were slain and made martyrs of, and some, in the darkness of night, and in the tumult, threw themselves off the backs of the horses and hid themselves among the ruins and grave-yards. During that tumult likewise, the females of the Malik’s haram managed to conceal themselves somewhere.

The following day, when the inhabitants of the city and fortress of Lohor, and the Mughal forces, became aware of Malik Karâ-Kush’s evacuation of the place, and of his flight, the hearts of the former entirely broke, and the Mughals became still more bold; and they captured the city. Conflicts arose in every quarter of it, and the Musalmâns fought continuously with the infidels; but two bands of Musalmâns, in that disaster, girded up their lives like their waists, and firmly grasped the sword, and, up to the latest moment that a single pulsation remained in their dear bodies, and they could move, they continued to wield the sword and to send Mughals to hell, until the time when both bodies, after fighting gallantly for a long period against the infidels, attained the felicity of martyrdom. One of that [band of] heroes was Āk-Sunkahr,¹ the sene-

¹ He was a Turk. His name signifies the white sunkahr, or gelfalcon, as is supposed, referred to at page 752, note 4.
schal of Lohor, who, with his dependents, in combat, and in conflict, surpassed, a thousand times, Rustam-i-Dastān; and the other hero was Din-dār Muḥammad, the Amīr-i-Ākhur [of Lohor], who, along with his sons and dependents—May the Almighty reward them!—on that day, waged holy-warfare, as by the tenets of the faith enjoined, and fought against the unbelievers in such manner as if the purified soul of 'Alī-i-Murtazā—May God be gracious to him!—in concert with the whole of the prophets and apostles, were showering blessings upon him from the garden of paradise.

When the Mughal forces captured the city; they martyred all the inhabitants or made captives of them; but such a number of Mughals went to hell as cannot be computed or numbered—about 30,000 or 40,000 Mughal horsemen, with 80,000 horses, indeed more than they. There was not a person among the infidel army that did not bear the wound of arrow, sword, or nāwak. The greater number of the Mughal Nū-ins and Bahādurs also departed to hell, and among them was the Bahādur, Tā-īr. He had encountered Āk-Sunkar, lance to lance, and they had wounded each other with those weapons Tā-īr, the Bahādur, went to hell, and Āk-Sunkar, the lion-hearted,

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3 See note 1, page 422.
4 The Mughals obtained possession of the city on Monday, the 16th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhīr, 639 H.

The Tarīkh-i-Alīf says this happened in 628 of the Riblat = 638 H. Quoting Pro-Mughal Histories, it says, an army of Mughals and Tattārs crossed the river Sind, and invested Luhāwūr—soon captured it, and made the younger part of the inhabitants, and the children, captive. Kutb-ud-Dīn, Hasan, the Ghūrī, was sent with an army from Dihlī against them, but he was too late. By the time he reached these parts the invaders had gone off. This is a specimen how history is falsified to suit certain purposes. No notice of the resistance made, nor of the losses sustained by the invaders, is ever hinted at.
4 An arrow discharged through a tube—probably a cross-bow or balista, or something similar.
5 It is scarcely probable that our author is correct as to Tā-īr having been killed on this occasion, for the Pro-Mughal writers mention him after this affair, and state that when, in 65 g. H., Kubīrī, brother of Mangū Kaān, was despatched into Karā Jāng, Tā-īr was sent with an army into Kaḥmir and Hindūstān, and that, when he dird, the Nū-yīn, Sālīf, referred to at pages 711 and 862, got the command. Sālīf, Sārī, or Sālīn, as it is also written, was of one of the Tattār tribes.
passed into paradise—"One company to heaven: one to the flaming fire."\(^6\)

After the Mughal forces had destroyed Lohor, and retired, Malik Karā-Kush turned back again towards the city from the vicinity of the river Biāh, for, on the night of his flight from thence, his Jāmah-dārs [wardrobe keepers] had abandoned property of great value, consisting of pure gold, and other valuables; and, they having marked the spot, he returned to search for and recover the property. On reaching the city of Lohor he recovered it, for it had not fallen into the hands of the Mughals.

On the departure of the Mughal infidels, the Hindū Khokhars and Gabr\(^7\) wretches had come to Lohor, and were committing destruction. Malik Karā-Kush discovered them, despatched the whole of them to hell,\(^8\) and afterwards reached the Court of Dihli in safety.

May Almighty God accord victory to the lords and chiefs of the government of the Sulṭān of the Sulṭāns of Islam, and overthrow the foes of his kingdom! Amin!

ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF Uktāe,\(^9\) SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN.

A tradition to this effect had been handed down from the ancients—May God reward them!—that, when the

\(^6\) Kurān: Chap. XLII., verse 5.

\(^7\) Not mentioned under the events of Sulṭān Mu’izz-ud-Dīn, Bahārām Shāh’s reign. Khokhars are not Gakhars, I beg leave to say, although the latter are constantly confounded with them by writers who do not know of the former. See note at page 484.

\(^8\) If so, what prevented him from taking possession of Lāhor again?

\(^9\) The Āltān Khān, Shūādī-Shū-o-sū—шуди-шуо-су—the "Ninkiassu" of some European writers, had withdrawn, as previously narrated under the reign of the Chingiz Khān, from his capital, Chūng-du, Ching-du, or Chingtū, to Taiming, or, as the Fanākatī writes it, Tāyāng fi, the "Pian-kin" of Europeans, said to be "the present Fai-fong-fu;" and the Mughals had become predominant over a great part of the territory of Khitā, or northern empire of the Kin, as they are termed by the Chinese. The other dynasty of the Song, as the Chinese style them, ruled what the Muḥammadan Historians and Hindūs call Mahā-Chin, or Southern China. See note on the Karā-Khīta-īs, page 912, and what our author states respecting the fall of the Āltān Khāns at pages 963 to 966, which differs considerably.
outbreak of the Turks should arise, and the narrow-eyed should seize upon the universe, and they should devastate

This was but a very partial conquest however on the part of the Mughals, for, during the absence of the Chingiz Khan in Mawarā-un-Nahr and Mādūn-un-Nair, the Mughals had been exceedingly hard pressed, and he hastened his return on that account. Soon after his death, during the two and a half years’ interregnum, the Aḥtān Khan’s forces had twice defeated the Mughals towards the end of 625 H. and in 627 H. It has been already mentioned in note 8, page 1115, that Tūlī, during the interregnum which arose after his father’s death, and before Üktāe was raised to the throne, despatched troops into the territory of Kolghān or Kulkān, under the Nū-yīn, Ilijdāe or Iṭīkāde [of Hirāt atrocities], and that it was reduced, and a Tingkūt Amir left to hold it.

Üktāe Kā’ān, therefore, as soon as he had settled the government of the empire, provided for making other conquests in the west, securing what had already been partially acquired, and prepared for the final conquest of Khīṭāe. Some writers say he set out in 629 H.—this seems merely to be an error, which is confirmed by several others, of seven nine for seven—but he set out in Rabī‘-ul-Awwal, 627 H. [about March, 1230 A.D.], accompanied by his brother Tūlī, and some say Chaghatāe also went, but this, apparently, is a mistake—the Raṣṣat-us-Safā says Kyūk was present as well as Chaghatāe. Having reached the N.W. parts of the Khīṭāe empire, several strong cities, and a large tract of country were subdued.

These successes, however, were not so great as expected, and, in the autumn following, Tūlī Khan, accompanied by the Juzbī, Tūkūlkū or Türkūlkūchī, as it is also written, was despatched with an army, consisting of two tumāns, to enter Khīṭāe by the southern route through Tibbat, and near the northern frontier of the empire of Mahā-Chin, while Üktāe Kā’ān took the more direct route from the spot where he had passed the summer, north of the Great Barrier or Wall. On his way he had reached the territory of the Holāk and Kulfān [مرلی و کلفان]—that is to say, a people whose garments and caps were all red—and reduced it to subjection. Tūlī’s force, on the other hand, was nearly perishing of famine, so that his men were reduced to eating human flesh and dry grass; and his further progress was stopped until aid was sent him. This was in 628 H. He subsequently renewed operations, and advanced over mountains and through plains like the ocean until he reached a city styled Jūjāhū Kāskān [جویاجو قاسکن]—the Raṣṣat-us-Safā has Sīning—سینین—on the banks of the Kārā-Mūr-ān. After an investiment of forty days the city surrendered, but 12,000 men of the troops stationed there succeeded in getting on board vessels and escaping down the river, and, on this account, the inhabitants were massacred, and their women and children were made captives. Tūlī, after this, proceeded onwards, with the object of reaching the Aḥtān Khan’s capital, Ching-dū or Tāyţāng-fū, when he reached the Kahlukhā [قبلد] or Pass called Kongkahan [کرگکهان], which was a most difficult Pass, between two lofty mountains, and the only route in that direction. Tūlī was in hopes of finding it open, but he beheld it occupied by a host of Khīṭā-ī troops, under two generals named Kādīāe Ranko or Rango and Kāmar Tākoqī or Tagodor, occupying fortifications within, and drawn up in the plain [without or in front?]. To enable him to get out of this insurmountable difficulty, and prevent pursuit, tradition says he had recourse to a Ḫanqūfī conjurer, who, by
the countries of 'Ajam and kingdoms of I-rān, whenever an army of them should reach Lohor, the dominion of that

means of the Yadah-Tāsh or Rain Stone, mentioned in my account of the descent of the Turks, raised such a storm of wind, rain, and snow, and thick mist, that, while its effects completely impeded the Khīṭā-Iṣ, it enabled Tūf and his army, under its cover, to escape without being pursued, with the intention of pushing northwards, in order to effect a junction with the main army under Üktāe Kā'ān. When he reached the banks of the Karā-Mūr-ān [again? The map shows the locality, where the Hoang-ho, after making a bend of several hundred miles nearly due S., turns to the E. again, in about Lat. 34° N., and Long. 110° 21' E.] he sent out the Nū-ŷin, Jīsān, the Tingkūt, the adopted son of the Chingiz Khān, by some called Jīsā Būkā Khān, with a party, along its banks to search for a place practicable for crossing. It so happened that the river had been greatly flooded some time before, and vast quantities of stones and sand had been brought down, which had accumulated at a certain point not far from the place where Tūf then was, and had caused the river to separate into a number of channels, and the water, being thereby greatly spread out, more than a league in breadth, became much less in depth. The identical place, after some search, was found, and Tūf and his whole army passed over without much difficulty. The Rauqat-us-Ṣafa says no one had ever crossed the Karā-Mūr-ān before this occasion—by fording; probably, he means.

Üktāe had received alarming news of Tūf's situation, and was in a state of great anxiety respecting him. When he arrived, therefore, his delight was great, and he received him with much affection and great honour. This was in 628 Ḥ., according to Alī, but the Fanākatf says it was in 629 Ḥ. Some successes are said to have followed after this, but the Āltān Khān's capital still remained to be reduced. The Kā'ān now determined to return to his own royal place of residence, the Uluğh Yūrat, taking Tūf along with him, and to leave the Jubbī, Tūkūlī or Tūkūlūkī, with several great Amirs, and a numerous army, to remain in Khīṭāe to carry out the conquest of the Āltān Khān's dominions, leisurely and deliberately, and the 'Azzīz, Yalwāj, was left to administer the civil and revenue affairs of the conquered territory, and such as might be subdued. Tūf asked permission to be allowed to return in advance, which was granted; but the Kā'ān passed the following hot season at a place in Khīṭāe, which is known as Alī-kara, and only reached the Uluğh Yūrat in the beginning of the following winter [628—629 Ḥ.]. Tūf died on the way homewards. This was the same year that Ālāmghūn crossed the Āmulah.

In the following year, the Jubbī, Tūkūlī, fought a great battle with the Khīṭā-Iṣ, before the capital of the Āltān Khān, and, after making great efforts to overcome them, was totally defeated and routed, and had to fall back some distance. He despatched swift messengers, and asked for aid from the Kā'ān, who directed that a large army should forthwith march to his assistance; and, as there was enmity of long standing between the sovereign of Mahā-Chīn and the Āltān Khān of Khīṭāe, Üktāe Kā'ān sent to ask the former to join him in attacking the Khīṭā-Iṣ at this juncture, and to send his troops to operate from the south, while the Mughals, from the opposite direction, should again march on Tarakīng [ترکینگ], the Taiming of others. The Būdahā of Mahā-Chīn agreed to this, and despatched an army for the pur-
race would begin to decline, and the power of the infidels to diminish.

pose. Such being the case, when the reinforcements despatched by the Kā‘ān joined him, the Juzbīf, Tūkūlī, was enabled to resume the offensive; and the Khīṭā-īs, having been beaten in the open field, took shelter within the walls of the capital, which was soon after closely invested, by the Mughals on one side, and the Mahā-Chínfs on the other.

For some time the Khīṭā-ī commanders concealed the position of affairs from the Āltān Khān; but, at length, the true state of the case having reached him through some of the ladies of his haram, as it appeared certain that the place must soon fall, he determined to go out on the walls and see for himself. He found that the report was too true, and resolved to fly; and, having embarked, with his wives and other females of his family, his personal attendants and household slaves, on board vessels, by means of the canal which had been cut from the Karā-Mūrān, and brought into the midst of the capital, Tamkīn, he made his escape. He was again pursued by the Mughals, upon which he fled to another city, and was again followed. At length he reached a third city, but the Mughals, like fate, still pursued him. At last, when they had succeeded in investing the third city, which is called Baltāe —qāni— in the Tārāb-i-Jahān-gīr, and had set it on fire on all sides, the Āltān Khān summoned his chief men around him, and, telling them that he could not bear the idea of falling into the hands of the enemy, placed the diadem on the brow of one of his Khūṭīs, or guards, caused him to don the royal robes, and seated him in his own seat upon the throne. He then went out from among them, and hung himself to a tree. He was found in this position, taken down, and buried.

There is considerable discrepancy respecting the fate of the last Āltān Khān. Some say that he donned the dress of an ascetic, and was never heard of more; others again assert, that, when the city of Baltāe was taken, he fled and disappeared; and some say that he fled to a fortress on the frontiers of his territory, and, having caused a funeral pyre to be prepared, when the Mughals attacked the place, mounted it with his wife and child, fired it, and perished. The Khīṭā-īs, however, affirm that, when the Mughals set fire to the city of Baltāe in all directions, the Āltān Khān perished in the flames; but the previous statement is notorious that he hung himself to a tree, and, two days after he left the Khūṭī disguised in his robes, the Mughals captured the city. This event happened in Jamāḍ-ul-Awwal, the fifth month of 631 H., about March, 1233 A.D. Thus fell the empire of the Āltān Khāns, and thus perished the last ruler of the thirty-six dynasties which had reigned over Khīṭāe.

From the time of the investment of his capital, and his flight from city to city, two years passed away; and, after the Āltān Khān's death, the whole of his dominions, by degrees, were reduced under the sway of the Mughals.

Uktāe Kā‘ān, after reaching his own würdī, on his return from the campaign in Khīṭāe, founded a kāfr or castellated palace [see note 3, page 337, where kāfr is described] near Karā-Kurām, and "they style it Karshī." It was not called "Ordu Balık," neither was it "the great city," nor "a celebrated city," nor "had he fixed his court there. It was a kāfr [whatever it might subsequently have become], and it was surrounded by tents of felt, for the Mughals, be it remembered, did not dwell in houses. In course of time some of the Princes and great Afirs began to erect dwellings for themselves; and, as I
At the time that the writer of these words, Minhâj-i-Sarâj—May God direct him aright!—was about seven

have before mentioned, on the authority of authors who were servants of the Mughal sovereigns, the Ulugh Yûrat, also styled the Aşāl Yûrat, or original Yûrat of the Chingiz Khân, where he had fixed his dwelling, refers to Kâfir-ân and Karâ-Kuram, which, subsequently, became known as the Urđû-Bâlîgh. Alî, on the contrary, says it was styled Tarğû-Bâlîgh. The latter word is the same precisely as contained in Bshâ-Bâlîgh. This kâfîr is said to have been two leagues distant from Karâ-Kuram.

His kîshâh was enclosed on four sides with a wall or fence of wood and mud mortar, two days' journey in length; and there were entrances at various points. When Úktâc was desirous of following the chase, his Towâghûfs were despatched into the countries within the distance of a month's journey, to drive the game before them into this enclosure. After the Kân had hunted the game, and killed as much as he felt disposed to kill, he would take rest in a place erected for him within the enclosure. I have already referred to the I-qhûr country in the note at page 889, as lying between two ranges of mountains, and shown that the Koh or mountain of Karâ-Kuram is in the midst. It is stated that this place, where the urdû was, was called Karâ-Kuram after this Koh.

The felt 'tents, or portable houses, as they may be called, of the Mughals, from the Great Khân down to the lowest of his subjects, which were mounted on carts, appear to have given rise to the idea that the Mughals and other descendants of Turk dwell in cities and towns, and that Karâ-Kuram was a city in its fullest sense. Rubruquis tells us what one of the great urdûs was like. He was astonished at the sight of Bâli's, the houses or tents, [khargahs] of which appeared like a vast city, and the people were ranging about for leagues. The Court was always in the middle, and was, therefore, he says, called "curisorda," and the houses [khargahs], when taken off the carts, were ranged on all sides except the south facing the Court entrance.

The friar also describes Surtâk's urdû as being very great, and says that the women of his family had each a great house [khargah] and 200 waggons; and, from his description of the first interview with Mangû Kân, the Court, so called, was an extensive range of khargahs or portable houses, some of large size, and ornamented within. These, and those of other people of the camp, were ranged in streets. The probability is, that, in time, as the great camp near Karâ-Kuram was the seat of government, as being near the original yûrat of the Chingiz Khân, mud walls were thrown up around it for greater comfort and security, and around the Kân's urdû, and, the camp thus assuming a more permanent appearance, it was magnified into a city by Polo and others.

Kircher, in after times, writing of the Kîl-i-makkî, says, that in certain seasons they settle on the banks of the rivers with their 'portable cities.'

It may be mentioned here that the Mughal sovereign, Abûl-Ghâzî, Bahâdur Khân, never mentions the words Karâ-Kuram in his History, but always refers to the great yûrat as being at Karâ-Kûm—îfîr ış— but the probability is that they is an error for .

The country all round Karâ-Kuram was not sufficiently cultivated to furnish provisions and drinkables for the Kân's use, and that of his urdû, and 500 cart-loads used to arrive daily from other parts of the empire nearest to it, particularly from Karâ-bâsh in Tingkût.
years old, he used to come to the presence of the eminent teacher and Imām, 'Ali, the Ghaznawi—on whom be

Under the reign of Mangū Kā‘ān, according to Chinese accounts, Kārā-Kuram ceased to be the seat of government, and a city was founded, east of Whan-chew, styled Kay-ping-fū, afterwards called Shang-tū. Perhaps this city has been mixed up with Kārā-Kuram.

With respect to the country around Kārā-Kuram it is related that, “on account of the excessive cold, there used to be no cultivation there whatever in the olden time” [at the period when our author wrote]. When Üktāe took up his residence there, people began to erect buildings or dwellings, and to cultivate. A certain person planted some mulishes, and, when they were ready to be drawn, he brought a few and presented them to the Kā‘ān, who was much pleased therewith. He commanded that the leaves should be counted, and they were found to number 100: the Kā‘ān directed that the man should be presented with 100 būlič [of silver?]. When the Kā‘ān built the kushk [the same meaning as kār before referred to] in the vicinity of Kārā-Kuram—his work was carried out by Khitā-i workmen—a person planted some willows and almond trees, but, on account of the extreme cold, trees absolutely would not grow there. These young trees, however, did sprout, and become green; and the Kā‘ān was so pleased—trees never having been seen there before—that he ordered the person a reward of one būlič for every young tree planted. The absurd idea of “hunting parks,” “fish ponds,” “flower gardens,” “music halls,” and “a palace which covered several square miles of surface,” is merely derived from a misunderstood passage in the Rauṣat-us-Safā, the translator of which made up his want of knowledge by adding his own exaggerations out of the mud wall enclosures I have mentioned.

In the year 633 H., Üktāe Kā‘ān despatched, from the Šahr or Steppe of Asjānk [اصنفا] or Sajāŋ [ساجن], his son, Kochū, along with the Shāh-zadah, Kūtkū, with an army, towards Mahā-Chīn, which they also call Tingnākh [تینگناخ], which is written in various ways. See note at pages 1086 and 1087. Of the cities of that country they took Sindlim-yū [سندلمی], or Sindlim-yū [سندلمی], and Karim-yū [کریمی], and plundered the country on the routes bordering on the territory of Tibbat.

The civil and revenue administration of the whole of the conquered parts of Khitāe was in the hands of the ’Azīz and Šahib-i-A’zam, Mahmūd, Yalwāj, the Bukhār, while his son, Mas’ūd Bak, was in similar charge of all the countries and territories from Bīsh-Balīgh and Kārā-Khwājaft [this is the place where the Yīdī-Kūt of the I-ghūrās slew the Intendant of the Gūr Khān. See note at page 952], that is to say, the territories depending on them, constituting the country of I-ghūristān, and the territories of Khutan, Kāshghar, Ālmālīgh, Kāiālīgh or Kāiālīk, Samarkand, and Bukhārā, as far as the Jihūn or Amūlah. From Khurāsān to the frontiers of Rūm and the Diyār-i-Bakr, all was under the administration of Amfr Kūrkūz [after Chīn-Tūmūr’s death, as the Deputy of Tūsāl or Üsāl?], and the revenues of all these countries were collected by these three persons, and transmitted to the Kā‘ān’s treasury.

Üktāe Kā‘ān had four Khāṭūns, and sixty concubines. The Khāṭūns were:
1. Būrā Kuchīn, who was his first, and therefore held in great respect.
2. Tūrā-Kina, a Ühāt—or Ührār, as it is also written—Makrit, said to have been the widow of Tā-īr Asūn, the head of the Ühāts. When he was slain,
peace!—for the purpose of acquiring the Kurān by heart; and, from him, he heard the tradition, namely, that "A number of trustworthy persons have related, on this wise, from the Imām, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the Bustājī¹—on whom be peace!—that, whilst he filled the seat in the pulpit [of the masjid-i-jāmi'] in the city of Bukhārā, during the reign of Uktāe, he would often say in the sermon 'Oh God! speedily transport a Mughal army to Lohor that they may reach it;' and the sense of this became manifest when the Mughal army took Lohor in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, in the year 639 H. A number of narrators among the merchants and traders of Khurāsān and Māwarā-un-Nahr [subsequently] stated, that Uktāe died, and was removed from the world, on the second day after the capture of Lohor.;

she was carried off, and brought to Ūktāe, who kept her for himself, and married her. Previous to this, Tā-ir Asūn had given his daughter, Kūlān Khātūn, o the Chingiz Khān. Some say Tūrā-Kinah was not Tā-ir Asūn's widow, but merely one of his tribe. She was not possessed of beauty, but in her disposition there was greatness and talent for command, and she ruled for some time after Ūktāe's death; but, through not respecting the precepts of the Chingiz Khān, she caused sedition and discord among his descendants, as will be mentioned farther on. She was the mother of five out of Ūktāe's seven sons—Kyūk, Kūtān, also called Kūtā Mangū, Kochū, or Kochū, Karāchār, and Kāshi, so called because Kāshī or Kāshīn, "subsequently," it is said, "styled Tingān," was subdued at the time of his birth. 3. Mūkā or Mūkās, of the Katrin' [Katrin'] tribe ["who are neither I-chūrs nor Mughals"], who, at first, was a wife of his father; and the son married her after his decease! 4. The fourth wife was named Já'ūr, of the Kungkūr-āt tribe.

The other two sons of Ūktāe were by a Kūmāf concubine named Arkanah or Irkanah, or Azkanah or Izkahan—Abū-l-Ghāzi, Bahādur, calls her Kamīsh. They were named Kādān Aghūl, and Malik.

¹ This name is doubtful, but in the best copies it is as above. In others it is Bastākhī, Bastākī, Astājī, and Satākī.

² Our author does not appear to have known, or was not inclined to state, that Ūktāe killed himself by drunkenness. All the expostulations of his friends and confidants were of no avail to break him of his excess, but rather tended to make him drink the more. At last, his brother, Chaghatāe, sent one of his Amirs, in accord with the Princes of the family of the Chingiz Khān, under the name of a Shahnah or Intendant, to look after Ūktāe, who was now unable to take care of himself; and he was only permitted to have a certain quantity of intoxicating liquor by Chaghatāe's command. Ūktāe, however, succeeded in making his Intendant his boon companion, who, unable, or afraid, to allow of his exceeding the number of cups, permitted him to increase their sise, and therefore the Intendant's continuance with him was useless.

In the thirteenth year of his reign, however, Anīkah Bīgī, sister of Sūr-
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After the death of Uktāē, the Mughal tribes drew the sword upon each other several times, and the accursed chief men [among them] generally, and for the most part, went to hell; and division arose among their tribes. The brother's sons of the Chingiz Khān, who are the sons of Kūftī Biγf, Tūfī Khān's chief Khātūn, whom the Chingiz Khān gave [in marriage] to the Nū-yīn, Ghaft, or Mīrghaft, the Ūrā-ūt, after his dream referred to in the account of his wives and concubines, used to come every year from Khītāē to see her sister, and banquets used to be given in her honour, and the cups to circulate. In the thirteenth year of Ūktāē's reign, according to her usual custom, Anīkah [often written Abīkah] Biγf arrived, and the usual entertainments were given, a 1 she, with her son, who held the high office of Bāwarchī—that is to say, a Comptroller of the Royal Kitchen, and one of the Intendants of the Purveyor's Department [in India, bāwarchī now signifies a cook], supplied the Khān with his favourite beverage, and he drank deeply. He soon went off to sleep, and never woke again; consequently, some of the Amīrs and Khātūns began to reproach Anīkah Biγf and her son, and vowed they had administered poison to the Khān. The Nū-yīn Iljīdāē [Iljīkīdāē, nephew of the Chingiz Khān, of Hirāt atrocities], who held the office of Kokal-tāsh, and was an Amīr held in great veneration among the Jālār tribe, when he heard these words, scouted the idea of such a thing, and said: "What insensate words are these? when ye all know to what excess the Khān used to drink, and when ye know, too, that his fate only has overtaken him. It behoveth that no such words as these should be again uttered."

The bones of Ūktāē Khān, and his kūrūk, or kūrūk, signifying a place enclosed and prohibited from access, lie in a mountain range exceedingly lofty, called Būldān Kā-īr, which is always covered with snow, two days' journey from Ardīg, and which, in more recent times, they style Yakā Wandūr; and from those mountains issue the rivers Yasūn Murān, Tarkān, and Usūn, which fall into the river of Ardīg, in the vicinity of which river the Chāpār tribe take up their kīshkāks or winter stations.

The author of the "Mongols Proper," p. 725, quoting some foreign translation of Persian writers, evidently derived from a source similar to that whence I draw information, but probably misunderstood in the original, says "Abika had been married to a dyer on the borders of China," after the Chingiz Khān's death—an exceeding high position truly for Ūktāē's chief Khātūn to "envy" because the other "had married so well—and went every year with her son, who was dressed as a cupbearer, to pay her respects at the court," etc. The errors here are plainly disclosed from the above account. The same writer, quoting some other foreign translation of Persian histories, says, "Ogotai Khan was buried in the valley of Kinien, i.e. another name for the Imperial cemetery, whose site we have already described sub voce, Jinigis Khan;" but it so happens that they were totally different places.

Ūktāē promulgated a code of his own, which, under the name of tūrakh—a Turkish word signifying, institute, system, code, etc.—was, like the yādā of his father, observed among the Mughal people. In 633 H. new regulations were promulgated respecting taxes on cattle, and on grain for the poor, and other matters for which I have no space here.
Ü-Tigín, went to the presence of the Altūn Khān of Chīn; and Chaghatāē, and his sons, commenced acting in a refractory manner; and a great number were killed by the hands of each other—God's curse upon them!

The reign of Uktāē, son of the Chingiz Khān, extended over a period of nine years; and, after his decease, for a period of one year and a half, no one of that cursed seed ascended the throne. It is the custom among the Mughals that when a sovereign among them dies another should not mount the throne for one year and a half; and this period they call three years—one year and half of days and one year and half of nights.

When the reign of Uktāē came to an end, his wife, Turakinah Khātūn, ruled over the Mughal empire for a period of four years, and during this time she displayed woman's ways, such as proceed from deficiency of intellect, and excess of sensuality. The Mughal grandees took cognizance of that conduct, and sought a firm ruler. They sent Turakinah Khātūn to join Uktāē, and raised his son [Kyuk] to the throne of sovereignty; but God knows the truth.

IV. CHAGHATĀĒ, SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN—MAY GOD'S CURSE BE UPON HIM!

Chaghataē, the accursed, was the second son of the Chingiz Khān, the Mughal. He was a tyrannical man,

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3 Or Ùitchkīn. See page 899. This circumstance is not mentioned by the Pro-Mughal writers, but there is truth in it, as may be seen from the conduct of Ü-Tigín himself during the troubles which ushered in Kyük's reign, mentioned farther on [in note 7, p. 1149, para. 3].

4 Previously, the Āltān Khān is generally styled "of Tamghā" by our author.

5 This is incorrect. Uktāē Kāłān reigned from the third month of 626 H., to the 5th of the sixth [Guzīdah says Jamādī-ul-Awwal, the fifth, and the Fanākātī says in the year 638 H.] month of 639 H., exactly thirteen years, two months, and a few days, although authors, in round numbers, say thirteen years, and some fourteen.

6 Not in our author's time; but Kālđū, the grandson of Uktāē, ruled nearly fifty years over the territory of Haytāl, and Kābul, and some parts of Hind [east of the Indus—the western parts of the present Panjāb], and his descendants continued to rule therein for a long period after.

7 Chaghataē or Chaghadāē—the name is written both ways, but Jagates is
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... cruel, sanguinary, and an evil-doer; and among the Mughal rulers there was not one who was a greater enemy as incorrect as it is impossible from the letters in which it is written—قابض or غرابي—the second son of the Chingiz Khān, is said to have been a monarch of great dignity, pomp, and magnificence, open-hearted, valiant, and hospitable; and, according to the wishes of his father, did not object to pay obedience to his younger brother, Ūktāe, as his sovereign. At the time that his father divided his empire among his sons, he assigned Tūrān-Zamān, from the Nāemān country to the banks of the Jhūn to Chaghata'ē. Another author describes his territory as including the I-ghūr country and Māwarā-un-Nahr, and part of Mādun-un-Nahr, viz., Kāshgar, Khwārazm, Samrākand, Bukhārā, Bada chāhan, Balkh, and Ghaznī, as far as the banks of the Sind or Indus. His minister and counsellor was his kinsman, the Nū-yīn, Karāchār, the famous counsellor and deputy of the Chingiz Khān, and who is constantly mentioned in connexion with him from his earliest youth onwards. Karāchār is also the ancestor of the Gurgān or Son-in-law, Amīr Tīmūr, and, from the benefit derived from that veteran statesman’s counsels, Chaghata’ē Khān became one of the wisest, manliest, and most energetic rulers of his time.

The capital, or seat of government, of his dominions was Bīsh-Bālgh; and, in carrying out the provisions contained in the yāsā or code promulgated by his father, he passed not over the slightest thing, but carried them out to the letter, and hence arose the circumstance related in the anecdote at page 1107. Such was the efficiency of his administration, that the routes, in every part of his territory, were safe, and neither guards nor escorts were required.

During the time of their father, the sons of the Chingiz Khān did not get on well together, as was but too apparent during the investment of Ürganj of Khwārazm; but now, through the wise measures of Karāchār, Chaghata’ē got on with his younger brother Ūktāe better than previously. Chaghata’ē was passionately fond of the chase, and in following that pastime, and in jollity, he passed most of his time, while Karāchār carried on the government.

During Chaghata’ē’s reign occurred the outbreak of Māhmūd, the Tārānī, so called from his native place, Tārān, a village within three farsakhs of Bukhārā, who, in 630 H., broke out into rebellion, whereby many thousands of persons perished.

Among other fictions related by Marco Polo is that respecting “Zagatay,” as he styles Chaghata’ē, whom he makes to reign about one hundred years before his own time—1272 A.D. [671 H.]. According to the same traveller’s statements, “Zagatay” was persuaded to allow himself to be baptized, and the Christians built a church at Bukhārā, whose roof was supported by one pillar, that stood on a square stone, taken by “Zagatay’s” favour, from a building of the Muhammadans!

The Mughal dynasty founded at Dīhāf, by Bābar Bādghāhū, is constantly styled the Chaghata’ē dynasty, and its Princes, the Chaghata’ē Princes, but these designations are not correct; for the only connexion between Bābar and the descendants of the Chingiz Khān was that his mother was the sister of a descendant of Chaghata’ē, the head of that branch of his house; but this is not a valid reason for styling the house of Bābar, Chaghata’ē, but it would be, and is, correct to style it the Tīmūrlah dynasty. Although Bābar was a Mughal, both on the father’s and mother’s side, he was himself not much attached to the Mughals of the Chingiz family.
of the Musalmāns. He used to require that no created being should, in his presence, take the name of Musalmān on his tongue, except with evil intent; and, throughout the whole of his tribes [of which he was the head] it used not to be possible even to slaughter a sheep according to the ordinances of Islām, and all [sheep] used to be rendered [thereby] unclean. To say one's prayers [publicly] used to be impossible for any Musalmān. Chaghatāe used constantly to urge upon Uktāe that it was necessary to massacre all Musalmāns and not let any of them remain; and no Musalmān used to dare to put himself in his sight.

He was older than Uktāe; and, as the Chingiz Khān was aware that his nature was excessively sanguinary,* malevolent, and tyrannical, he did not bequeath the sovereignty to him, and assigned it to his younger brother, Uktāe. Chaghatāe's place of residence likewise used to be the original Mughal locality, and that portion of the dominions of the Chingiz Khān which he held possession of [at his father's death] was assigned to him as his portion. His troops were [located] in different parts of Māwarā-un-Nahr, Farghānah, and Turkistān. For this reason, that he had impeached the elder of his brothers, Tūshī, before his father, [asserting] that Tūshī, in his mind, meditated killing the Chingiz Khān in some chase, when this reached the father's hearing, the Chingiz Khān gave poison to his son Tūshī, and destroyed him.

This Chaghatāe, the accursed, for some years, was at the head of his tribes and forces; and, when the decree of his death arrived, Almighty God made a holy man among His eminent saints the instrument of his death so that he went to hell: and it was on this wise. There was a pious Darwesh, of pure heart, from the confines of Khurāsān, whom they used to call Shaikh Mahmūd-i-Ātash-Khār [the Fire-eater], a Shaikh of much eminence,

The four tribes which are called Chaghatāes—that is to say, Chaghatāe's tribes—have been already mentioned in the note at page 1093, last paragraph. See also notes at pages 874, 875, and note 9, page 1100.

* More sanguinary than his own? The Pro-Mughal writers say that he was "the light of his father's eye," but they, too, do not seem to recollect his conduct, and that of his other brothers, before the capital of Khwārnazm.
and a Darwesh of great repute, who, having cast off earthly wishes and desires, and, impressed with the aspiration after Truth, had devoted his body to pain and affliction, and had gone out into the world, and used to wander about in different countries. He reached, during his wanderings, a place between two mountains [ranges?] through which lay the route between the country of Turkistan and the territory of Chin, and between these two mountains strong barriers were placed, and guards were there posted and overseers stationed, in order that they might examine every person who proceeded towards Chin, or who entered the territory of Turkistan from Chin, and have information respecting his condition.  

When Shaikh Mahmūd-i-Ātash-Khār arrived at that place, the guards beheld a person, a stranger to the usages of the world, and, in outward appearance, like a maniac; and they seized him [saying]: “Thou art a fidā-i.” Shaikh Mahmūd replied: “Aye! I am a fidā-i;” and, notwithstanding they importuned him, saying: “Who art thou? Say!” his reply was: “I am what ye have said: a fidā-i.” As he had confessed this thing, they brought him before Chaghatāe. Mas'ūd Bak, who was the Jumlatul-Mulk [Minister of State] of Chaghatāe, recognized Shaikh Mahmūd, but, through fear of Chaghatāe, was unable to say anything, or mention Shaikh Mahmūd’s condition, or his eminence. Chaghatāe demanded of Shaikh Mahmūd: “Who art thou?” He replied: “That same fidā-i I am.” Chaghatāe said: “What shall I do with thee? What doth it behave to do unto thee?” Shaikh Mahmūd answered: “Command that they rain arrows upon me; that I may be freed [from life].” Chaghatāe commanded so that they killed him with volleys of arrows.

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1 This is the Iron Gate Pass, mentioned in the journey of the envoys of Mirā Śah Rukh Sultan, sent into China in 822 H.

Fidā-i means one who devotes his life as a sacrifice for a special object, or who consecrates himself to a cause. The Darwesh was right, literally, in what he said, but they appear to have mistaken him for, or suspected him of being, a fidā-i, or disciple of the chief of the Multāhidah sect.

Yet Mas'ūd Bak must have often come before him in his official capacity, and he was a Musalmān.
Some days after Shaikh Mahmud was received into the Almighty’s mercy, Chaghatae was in the act of discharging a recoiling arrow, in a hunting-ground, at the prey, when, verily, it entered the back of that accursed one, and he went to hell; and God’s people, particularly the people of Islam, were delivered from his malevolence.

V. KYUK, SON OF UKTAE, SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHAN.

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that Uktae had two sons, one named Kutin, and the other

4 The original is tir-i-bas-gashkash, as literally translated above. What it may have been I cannot say; probably some sort of rebounding missile.

I wonder whether this statement was mistaken by other writers, who followed our author, or whether he, before he wrote this passage, heard some vague or confused account of the cause of Chaghatae’s death; because it is stated on very good authority in Alfi, that Hulaku Khan, when he overturned the Mulahidah dynasty, made over several of the children and kinsmen of Ruknud-Din, Khur Shah, the last ruler of that dynasty and head of that sect, to Salghun Khattin, a daughter of Chaghatae Khan, in order “that she might avenge, on them, the blood of her father, who had been killed by Fidai-Isa.”

I find no particulars respecting Chaghatae’s death, how he died, or what he died of—save that he died among his own ulis, and that great mourning was made for him; but our author’s version of his death is evidently fabulous. He died six months before his brother Uktae, in the month of Zi-Kadah, 638 H. Raasat-us-Safi says he died in 640 H.; but this is contrary to the statements of others, and seems to be a mistake for the date of the Nuyin Karachar’s death, which took place in that year. He was succeeded in his dominions by his grandson, Karah Hulaku, or Hulakue, as it is also written, son of Mitukhe [\text{mult}], according to the express wish of the Chingiz Khan before his death, that Karah Hulaku should succeed Chaghatae Khan as head of his ulis.

The Tarih-i-Jahan-gir states that, after the death of Chaghatae, and Uktae Kasan’s dying very soon after, up to the time of Kyuk’s ascending the throne, some four years intervened; and, after the ulis of Chaghatae had been for some time without a head, Karachar set up Karah-Hulaku or Karah Aghul, as he is also called, but Kyuk, on coming to the throne, deposed him, and set up another of Chaghatae’s sons, Yassu or Yassuake Mungah, instead. Kyuk observed—and he spoke feelingly, no doubt, since he had himself been nearly excluded from the throne by a brother’s son—“How is it possible, when there is a son living, that a brother’s son can be his grandfather’s heir?”

6 The name is generally written \text{mult}-Kyuk—but our author always has the shortened form—\text{mult}. The Calcutta Printed Text is invariably incorrect, and has \text{mult} and \text{mult} instead. He was styled simply Khan, and not Kasan like his father.

6 Uktae had seven sons, of whom Kyuk, the later historians say, was his oldest son. Our author may have mistaken Kitan for Kyuk, for the latter was subject to some disease from his childhood, though it is not improbable that
Kyuk; but Kutān, who was the eldest, had become afflicted with palsy and did not possess eligibility for the sovereignty, to rule over the empire, and administer its affairs, and he [therefore] made over the throne to his brother Kyuk.  

his statement respecting Kutān is the correct one, for he had been nominated to succeed Üktāe by his grandfather. But the Pro-Mughal historians state that Üktāe had nominated his third son Kōghū or Koğtū as his successor, as will be found detailed below. See next to last para. of note 6, page 1142.  

7 Kyūk, son of Üktāe, at the time of his father’s death, had not yet arrived from the army then engaged in the campaigns west of Kisāk, from which he and other Shāh-zādahs were returning, as before stated; and Mūkā Khabūn, the most beloved of Üktāe’s wives, also soon after died. Tūr-Kīnah  

Khabūn—there was no such title as “empress,” I beg to say, among the Mughals, nor will Khabūn bear any such translation, whatever there might have been among “Mongols”—mother of the five eldest sons, by her stratagems and cunning, and the liberal use of gold, had gained over a party, including some of the Chingiz Khān’s family, and the Wazīrs, to her side; and, without consulting the whole of the Shāh-zādahs and Amīrs, as was customary, she assumed the direction of affairs. During the reign of the late Kā’ān she was sorely displeased with a number of persons, and now she resolved to take revenge upon them. She had a Tājīk handmaid, named Fāṭimah, who had been made captive at the time of the invasion of Khūrāsān, and sent into Mughalistan by the Amīrs after the capture of the Maḥhad of Tūs. This damsel was talented, and exceedingly clever and sagacious, and soon became the trusted servant and confidant of the Khabūn in all matters. Amīrs and Ministers sought her good offices, even in the Kā’ān’s reign, he being in a state of half inebriety all his time, and ignorant and unfit persons were often entrusted, through her interest, with offices of which they were wholly incapable or undeserving. 

At this time, these two women, the mistress and handmaid, sought to seize Chīnka, the Grand Wazīr, but he made his escape to the surdū of Kutān, son of Üktāe. Fāṭimah bore enmity of old towards Maḥmūd, Yalwāj; and, by her power, she now caused his removal, and a person named ‘Abd-ur-Raḥmān was sent to administer the [financial] affairs of Khatāe, and endeavours were made to seize Maḥmūd and his servants, but he made his escape to Kūtān’s surdū also. The son of Maḥmūd, Yalwāj, who administered the revenue affairs of Turkistan [but not the appanage of Chaghatāe and his family, which the Nū-yin, Kāchār, is said to have been in charge of], on becoming aware of these matters, fled to the Court of Bātū Khān. Kārā Hušakū, or Kārā Aḡūlū, as he is also called, and the Khātūns of Chaghatāe, Urghanah Khatān, and others, had despatched Kūr-Būkā, along with Arghūn Aḵā, into Khurā- 

sān, for the purpose of seizing the governor, Amīr Kūrkūz, the Iḵš̄; and they put him to death, and Arghūn Aḵā, the Üfr-āt, was installed in his place. 

During this period of sedition, the different Shāh-zādahs were plotting, and sent agents into different parts to endeavour to get support in their ambitious proceedings; and, the field being vacant, and Kyūk Khān not yet arrived in his father’s surdū, the Chingiz Khān’s younger brother, the Nū-yin, Ü-Tīghān [Ūtichkīn, i.e., Younger Brother. See page 899], sought to usurp possession of the throne, and, with a numerous force, set out for the late Kā’ān’s surdū.
When Kyük assumed the sovereignty, all the refractory Mughals made their obeisance to him; and he nominated

This movement caused great disquietude in the urdu of Üktäe. Türa-Kínah Khátün, to gain time, despatched an agent to Ü-Tigfn, telling him that Kyük was shortly expected to reach the urdu, and asking him why he was coming thither with such a large following, as it was a source of great disquietude. Ü-Tigfn, finding that his design was suspected, became ashamed of what he had done—perhaps the near approach of Kyük added to it—and he pretended that his only object in coming was to offer condolence. At this juncture he received news that Kyük had reached the banks of the river I-malı. On this his repentance became still greater; and he turned his steps, without delay, back towards his own urdu again.

In short, for a period of nearly four years, the throne remained vacant, and the empire was ruled by Türa-Kínah Khátün, because there was want of accord in the assembling of a kuriltä for the purpose of choosing a sovereign.

Some writers, on the contrary, affirm that Türa-Kínah did consult with the heads of the family, and the chief men, when she assumed the chief power, in the same way as the wife of the Chingiz Khán, the mother of Üktäe, had done, on a previous occasion, and such was undoubtedly the custom, as our author also states farther on; and they also say that it was usual for three years to expire before the kuriltä was held in order to choose a sovereign from among the heirs; and the mother of the eldest son, in the meantime, used to exercise the supreme authority.

Üktäe Kaän had, during his lifetime, nominated his third son, Kočhü, his successor, and, after his death, having been greatly attached to him, Üktäe named the latter's youngest son, Shirmūn, who was a promising and intelligent youth, whom he had brought up in his own ığaram, as his heir. When Üktäe felt that the hand of death was on him—but another version of his death has been already recorded; still, he may have been ill when he overdrank himself the last time—he sent to summon his eldest son, Kyük, to him, in order to assign the sovereignty to Shirmūn in his presence, so that there might not be any mistake about it, but before he arrived Üktäe was dead. At this time, it is said, after reaching his father’s urdu, the desire of obtaining the sovereignty overcame him. At this juncture the different Şäh-zädahs, who had been previously summoned to a kuriltä, by the late Kaän, arrived from different parts, at the place called Kokü or Kok Nāwar—the Kokonor of European translators, who always make Nor of Nāwar—and a kuriltä was held; and they began to consult on the choice of a successor to the late Kaän. Bätü Khán, however, who, as the eldest son of Jüf, eldest son of the Chingiz Khán, was the head of the family, did not come from the Daşht-i-Kisäh, and excused himself on account of illness; but, according to some accounts, he nourished displeasure in his heart against Kyük, and did not desire to come. It is certain, however, that illness was the cause; for, about this time, Bätü had been stricken with paralysis. His "horse's feet" appear to have been quite well, although his own feet "were bad," but we are told differently in the "Mongols Proper," p. 162, whose author appears to have taken, or to have mistaken, it from some foreign version of one of those "muddy streams," some "Persian History." The original from whence this statement came, as well as other works, use the words dard-i-pās—ache or pain of the foot—with respect to Bätü, in reference to the disease in question;
armies to [march into] the different countries of Chın, I-rán, Hindūstān, Khurāsān, and 'Irāk. The Nū-līn, hence the very amusing error. There was nothing the matter with his horses. Although unable to be present himself, Bātū sent his brothers and sons.

With respect, however, to the summoning of a ḫurūlās by Īkāe for another purpose, and the members of it consulting on his successor, and naming one, there is certainly some error in a part of the statement above, because nearly four years elapsed from the death of Īkāe to the accession of Kyūk, and the ḫurūlās was assembled by direction of Türk-Kinah Khāṭūn.

Among those who were present on this occasion was Uṭīghīn, or Unchę-Tigīn, or Uṭ-Tigīn, or Ī-Tigīn, for the name is written in these several ways, youngest brother of the Chingiz Khān, with his eighty sons, and a great number of other persons from all parts, including Amīr Ṭarghū from Khurāsān, the chiefs and rulers of 'Irāk, Āsarāfīn, and Khurāsān; Rūknud-Dīn, brother [and envoy] of Sulṭān Kal-Kaūs, of Rūm [The Saljuq Sulṭān, Kal-Khusrau, in 641 H., had 'submitted to the yoke of the Mughals, and had agreed to stamp the coin with the name of the Kān, to insert his name in the Khūshbāh—for an infidel!—to pay tribute at the rate of 1000 dinārs daily, and yearly a male and female slave, and a sporting dog.” See pages 162—164], the two Dā'ūds, claimants to the sovereignty of Gurjistān; the brother of the ruler of Ḥalab; the son of the ruler of the Diyr-ṣīr-Bakr, Sulṭān Badr-ul-Dīn, Lūlū; the ambassador from the Dār-ul-Khulafa [], the Kāf-ul-Kuṣāf, Fākhr-ul-Dīn; the ambassadors of the Farang; the rulers of Fārs and Kirmān; the Muḥtashīms, Shihāb-ul-Dīn and Shams-ul-Dīn, on the part of 'Alī-ul-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Muḥīb dah of Alamūt; the Malik of the Rūṣ [Russians], who was, however, left to stand outside the great tent; and others, all bringing presents and offerings befitting the occasion. About 2000 great khargaks, or felt tents, used by the Turks, Tātārs, and Mughals, were pitched for their use; and, on account of the vast number of persons who had assembled there, no vacant place remained available near the urdī—which certainly was neither a “city” nor a “town,” but, as its name shows, a camp—and provisions rose to an excessive price.

After much consultation, it was agreed by a majority in the assembly, that, as Kūṭān, son of Īkāe, whom the Chingiz Khān had himself nominated to succeed after his father, was not alive, and his son, Shīrāmūn, who had been nominated by Īkāe, had not yet reached manhood, Kyūk, the eldest son of the late Kān, who was conspicuous for his spirit and talent for governing, should succeed to the sovereignty; and he was, accordingly, raised to the throne, which decision was chiefly brought about by the stratagems and efforts of his mother, Türk-Kinah Khāṭūn, and her party in the state, in the month of Rabī-ul-Awwal, 643 H.—September, 1245 A.D. Bātū Khān’s objection was, that Īkāe had bequeathed the sovereignty to his grandson, Shīrāmūn.

Kyūk, whose constitution, from his childhood, had been weak, was not desirous of succeeding, but his mother’s exhortations overcame him, and, after some time, he said: “I will accept the sovereignty on the condition that, after me, the supreme sovereignty shall continue in my family, and to my descendants, and not to others.” This was agreed to by those present, and Kyūk was placed on the throne according to the usual ceremonies.

Carpini, who describes the khargaks or pavilions of Kyūk Khān and his mother, which some recent writers will turn into cities and palaces, was pre-
Mangūtah, who was at the head of the forces of [the Mughal troops occupying] Ṭukhrāistān, Khatlān, and Ghaznīn, was, another time, made leader of an army. He was an aged man, very tall, with dog-like eyes, and one sent on this occasion. He says: “The emperor seemed then to be about forty, or forty-five. He was of a middle stature, and behaved with exceeding gravity. He was a very wise Prince, and seldom laughed.”

During the long interregnum, many of the Shāh-zādahs had been guilty of certain ambitious proceedings, misconducting themselves, acting contrary to the ordinances of the Chingis Khān, stretching out their hands in acts of oppression, and appropriating the property of the state; and none were free of these acts but the sons of Tūl Khān. In consequence of this, Mangū and Ürdah, sons of Tūl, were appointed to inquire into these matters. I have not space here for the details, but several persons were put to death in consequence, among whom were several of the followers of Kyūk’s great uncle, Ü-Tiglīn, and Fātimah Khātūn, his mother’s favourite handmaid.

After disposing of these matters, Kyūk despatched armies into different parts of the empire. Siwīdāē [Sahūdah], the Bahādūr, and the Nū-yīn, Chaghān, with a force consisting of Karýats, were sent to the frontiers of Khiṭṭā and the territories of Manṣūr [†], and the Nū-yīn Iljadāē or Ilğhībdāē, with a large army, was sent into Ī-rān-Zamīn, with the object of reducing Rūm, Shām, Ḥalab, and Misr under the yoke. [See page 164, where our author mentions Ilğībdāē under the name of Aljaktā or Iljaktā; but he confuses Mangū Khān with Kyūk Khān.] ʿAbd-ur-Raḥmān, who had been sent to administer the financial affairs—civil affairs were administered according to the yāsā—for Khiṭṭā by Kyūk’s mother, was now removed, and put to death; the financial administration of the annexed territory of Khiṭṭā was again confirmed to the ʿArūb, Maḥmūd, Yalwāj; that of Turkistān and Māwār-un-Nahr, in which Chaghātāē’s sons ruled, was restored to Masʿūd Bak, Maḥmūd’s son; and the Amir Arghūn Ākā was nominated to the direction of the finances and civil administration of Khurāsān, ’Irāk, Aṣḡārlājān, Shirwān, Kirmān, Gūrjistān, and that side of Hindūstān [the Panjāb as far as the Blāh] under the Mughal yoke. The Maliks and Amirs from different countries, who had presented themselves, were made the recipients of the royal favour, and permitted to return; and, on Rukn-ud-Dīn of Rūm, Kyūk bestowed his brother’s sovereignty [See page 164], but, as numerous complaints had been received from Jūrmāghūn from ’Irāk, the Khulfāf’s ambassador was dismissed with admonitions and threats for his sovereign. Dātūd, son of Ḳabar [†] Malik, was made ruler of Gūrjistān, and the other claimant was made subordinate to him.

During the period that Tūrā-Kūn Khātūn exercised the chief authority, the Mughal troops had entered the territories of the Diyar-i-Bakr and Harrān, taken Rammā, and Nārdīn surrendered. Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāf, the Wālī thereof, retired into Misr, and there obtained support, and attained authority.

In the same year in which Kyūk was elevated to the sovereignty, and shortly after that event, his mother died; and, during her administration of the affairs of the empire, in 640 H., the Nū-yīn, Karāchār, the kinsman [cousin, in fact], friend, and counsellor of the Chingiz Khān, died.

* Two of the best copies have red-eyd, and another copy has on-eyd, but
of the Chingiz Khan's favourites. On Mangüta's entering the land of I-ran, he made Taē-kān of Kunduz, and Walāwīl, his head quarters; and, in the year 643 H., he determined upon entering the states of Sind, and, from that territory, brought an army towards Uchchah and Multān.

At this period, the throne of Hindūstān was adorned with the splendour and elegance of Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh; and the city of Lohor had become ruined. Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Hasan, the Karūgh, held possession of Multān; and Hindū Khān, Mihtar-i-Mubārak, the Khāzīn [Treasurer], was ruler and governor of the city and fortress of Uchchah, and he had, on his own part, placed a trusty person of his own as his Deputy within the fort of Uchchah—the Khwājah, Shāhī, the Kot-wāl [Seneschal].

On Mangüta's reaching the banks of the river Sind, with the Mughal army, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Hasan, the

the majority are as above. "Sheep-eyed" is a very common expression, and "dog-eyed" may be used after the same fashion.

The-kān of Kunduz, or, more correctly, Kuhandujā, also called or known as The-kān of Tekhāristān. A few modern copies have ʿāfā without any points to the ʿ which, in manuscript, might be read in error for ʿal-kān—ʿafā—hence the mistakes which have arisen regarding these two places through people not knowing the difference. These are places which we shall probably know better before long. See page 1008.

Mangüta is the person whom Mr. Dowson, the Editor of Elliot's Muham- madan Historians, in the extracts from our author's work therein contained, and which extracts I have already referred to, straightforwardly turns into Mangū Khān, without authority, either from our author or any other, for so doing. At page 344, vol. ii., of that work, he has: "This army was under the command of the accursed Mankūta (Mangū Khān)," and yet, in a footnote, adds var. "Mankuna." At page 363, of the same vol., he has again: "In this year the accursed Mankūtī (Mangū Khān), who was one of the generals of the Mughals," etc. Mangū Khān was never south of the Hindū Kush in his life, but there are some persons who would prevent such errors being spoken about, much less corrected, for fear of "injuring the susceptibilities" of people, and would allow them to stand, and continue to mislead!

He held it nominally only, and was not present. In the account of this Malik our author says he was placed in charge of Uchchah and its dependencies in Raśiyar's reign, and that he returned to the Court when Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahram Shāh, came to the throne, subsequent to which Jalālchah was assigned to him.

The text is somewhat imperfect here; and this attempt on Uchchah is evidently the first one, when the Khwājah, Shāhī, was there, but, at this time, Muhālī-ud-Dīn was the Kotwāl-Bak. See pages 810—813.
Karlugh, abandoned the fortress and city of Multān,\(^1\) and embarked on board a vessel, and proceeded to Dīwāl and Sindūstān [Sewastān]. Mangūtah advanced to the foot of the walls of the fortress of Ḫuchāh,\(^3\) invested it, and the attack commenced; and he destroyed the environs and neighbourhood round about that city. The people of the fortress put forth the utmost exertions and diligence, and used immense endeavours in defending the place, and despatched great numbers of the Mughals to hell.

Notwithstanding all the efforts the Mughal troops and the infidel Nū-Ins and the Bahādurs were using, the holy-warriors of the fortress continued to defend the head of the breach\(^4\) until one of the famous Bahādurs of the Mughals, who had gone away in some direction, when he returned to Mangūtah, began to reproach him, saying: "What stronghold and fortification is this in the taking of which thou makest so much delay and hesitation? I would take it in a single assault." The following night he made preparations, and put a great number of Mughals under arms; and, suddenly and unexpectedly, in the third watch, which was the time the guards on the walls took repose, and the men of the fortress had gone to sleep, he appeared on the top of the breach. The grace of Almighty God was such, however, that the people of the fortress had mixed up a vast quantity of water and clay in rear of the breach, and had [thus] prepared a great pit and deep quagmire,\(^5\) more than a spear's length in depth.

\(^1\) If Multān had then a broad river immediately on its west side, as the river near it flows at this time, he would scarcely have needed to evacuate Multān, and, probably, would not have done so. At the period in question, however, no river intervened between the Sind or Indus and Multān, and Malik Ḥasan's retreat might have been cut off. He, consequently, embarked on the combined rivers Jihlam, Chin-āb, and Ṭawf, which then ran east of Multān, and so, placing a river between himself and the Mughals, was enabled to get down into Sind without danger or molestation. See page 1119, and page 1129, note 1.

\(^3\) Ḫuchāh seems to have generally been the first point of attack by invaders of India from the west, especially by the Mughals. It was the key and bulwark of India at this period, like as Hirât has ever been that of Khurāsān.

\(^4\) We must presume that a breach had been already made.

\(^5\) The "time of repose for the guards," etc. They must have been very efficient "guards," truly, and must have taken their duty very easily.
When that Mughal Bahadur planted his foot within the breach, under the supposition that it was firm ground, he fell into the quagmire, and sank in it. The people of the fortress raised a shout; and they brought out torches, and armed themselves, and the Mughals retired.*

The next day they [the Mughals] deputed persons,

* No details of this kind are to be found in any other writer, and the Pro-Mughal historians, including the "great Raschid," are silent on this subject. They do not chronicle defeats generally, unless they cannot possibly help it; victories alone are necessary for their pages.

This is the investment referred to at pages 667 and 809. The question naturally arises, how it was that Uchchah, and sometimes Multan, was always the first point of attack by invaders from the north-west, for the Kurlughis and Mughals attacked Uchchah first, as did Mu'izz-ud-Din, the Ghuri, before them, and Fir Muhammad, grandson of Timur, after them. It seems the more strange when we look at the map of the Panjab, and notice the present position of the rivers; for the invaders all came the same way, through the Sind-Sagar Do-abah, and with scarcely an exception, from the direction of the Koh-i-Jud, immediately south of which lay the great road from Ghazmfn into India.

To attack either Uchchah or Multan at the present day from the west, or north-west, coming by the same route, what is called the Chin-ab—three of the five rivers of the Panjab, which join some distance above the latter city, and which is unfordable, would have to be crossed—an impossible matter at any time without a bridge of boats or inflated skins, or the tedious operation of ferrying across—while, to attack Uchchah, the Panj-Nad or Panj-Ab—the five rivers combined—would have to be passed.

Uchchah, from the present appearance of the country, could have been relieved from Dihlf without crossing any of the Panjab rivers, but to relieve Multan, the Sutljaj or Ghaira must now be crossed. At the same time, an enemy beaten off from either place, or, in case of an army advancing to the relief of either from the east, the enemy would stand a chance of being hard pressed while retreating across the Chin-ab, unless he effected the passage in good time, and also of being cut off from his line of retreat by the advance of an army from the east towards Lahor.

From the facts mentioned in this History, as well as in others, together with what is stated by the old Musalm'an geographers, the traces of the former beds of four of these five rivers—that is, with the exception of the Jihlam—and also of the former bed of the Indus, and the traditions current in those parts, it is evident that very great physical changes have taken place during the 654 years since this investment of Uchchah took place; and, indeed, even during the last hundred years. From all these facts which I have mentioned, it is certain that, when this attack upon Uchchah took place, that place lay, as it had previously lain, on the right or west, not on the east or left, side of the Panj-Nad. Multan also lay west of the united Jihlam, Chin-ab, and Rawi, at that period also, for we know, for certain, that those streams passed on the east side of Multan in those days, and therefore Uchchah and Multan both lay in the same Do-abah, no river intervening between them. I have prepared a paper on this special subject, and hope very shortly to see it in print.
requesting the defenders to give up the Bahādur who had been taken prisoner the previous night, in order that the army might raise the investment and depart. As that accursed one had gone to hell, and had sunk into the black water and slimy mud, to give him up was impossible; so the people of the fortress denied having taken him prisoner. In short, through the grace of the Most High God, causes were brought about, by means of which the Musalmāns of Úchchah might continue safe and secure from the tyrannical hand of the infidel Mughals. One of those causes was this, that, when the Mughal army appeared before the fort of Úchchah, the Musalmāns of that fortress sent an account of it to the Court, the capital city, Dihlī—God defend it from calamity!—imploring assistance in repelling them, and Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, animated and inspired, through the efforts and exertions of Ulugh Khân-i-A'zam, assembled the hosts of Hindūstān, and moved towards the upper provinces for the purpose of driving off the Mughal invaders. The writer of these words, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, during that holy expedition against the infidels, was in attendance at the august stirrup [of the Sultān].

When the sublime standards reached the banks of the river Bāhā, the army moved along its banks towards Úchchah,7 as has been previously related and recorded. On the Mughal forces becoming aware of the advance of the forces of Islām, and the vanguard of the warriors of the faith having reached within a short distance of the territory [of Úchchah and Mūltān], they did not possess the power of withstanding them. They retired disappointed from before the fortress of Úchchah, and went away; and that fortress, through the power of the sovereign of Islām,8 and the Divine aid, remained safe from the wickedness of those accursed ones. Thanks be unto God, the Lord of the universe, for the same!

7 This refers to the river when it flowed in its old bed—not as it runs now—between its west bank and the Rāwī, which also fell into the Bāhā, on the east side of Mūltān. Úchchah and Mūltān lay in the same Do-ahāh, no river intervening between them, and no river had to be crossed after passing the Rāwī, or Rāwah, as our author calls it.

8 Some copies have, "the potency of the army of Islām."
ACCOUNT OF A MUSALMĀN MIRACLE.

Trustworthy persons have stated on this wise, that, when Kyuk acquired stability in his sovereignty, and had put to death his cousins, who were the sons of Chaghatae, and the Mughal Nū-īns and Bahādurs had submitted to his authority, he, upon several occasions, despatched immense armies towards Chīn; and, in that country, victories were gained. A fraternity of recluses and devotees of the infidels of Chīn, and idol-worshippers of Tingit and Tamghāj, whom they style by the name of Tūnīān [Tūnis], acquired ascendancy over Kyuk. That faction constantly used to study persecuting the Musalmāns, and were wont to promote means of afflicting the people of Islām continually, in order that, mayhap, they might entirely uproot them, extirpate them completely, and eradicate both name and sign of the true believers from the pages of that country.

One of those Tūnīān, who had a name and reputation in Chīn and Turkistān, presented himself before Kyuk and said: "If thou desirest that the sovereignty and throne of the Mughals should remain unto thee, of two things do one—either massacre the whole of the Musalmāns, or put a stop to their generating and propagating." 1 For a long

9 In some copies of the text Tūnīān, as in Rubruquis, before referred to. Kyuk was a Christian, and his mother also.

1 Our author appears quite demented on this subject. See also in his account of Chaghatae, which is much the same.

He probably refers here to an event which happened in Mangū Kūṭān's reign, in 649 H., or it may be quite a different event. At Bihār-Bulgh, the Yīddī-Kūt of the Ighūrs, who was the head of the Idolaters—Bat-Parastān—of Khiṭā, entered into a compact with a number of his religionists to put all the Musalmāns to death on a Friday—their Sabbath—when they should be assembled together for prayer in their Jāmī' Masjīds, so that, throughout all Khiṭā [sic in MSS.], not one should be left alive. It so happened, however, that, previous to the identical Friday fixed upon for carrying out this diabolical plot, a slave among them became a convert to the Musalmān faith, and acquainted the Muḥammadans with the whole affair. A number of the chief men of that faith, taking the slave along with them, hastened to the presence of Mangū Kūṭān, and stated their case. He issued commands that the Yīddī-Kūt should be seized, and brought before him, and inquiry instituted. The truth of the slave's account having been proved, the Yīddī-Kūt confessed his guilt. Mangū Kūṭān commanded that he should be re-conducted to Bihār-Bulgh, and, on a Friday, after the Musalmāns had finished their religious
time they were wont, in this manner, to importune and instigate Kyuk to this wickedness, and continued to devise insidious snares and artifices. On account of the numerous-ness of the Musalmāns in the countries of Chīn, Turkistān, and Tingit, to massacre them would not be feasible, they therefore [the Tūnis] came to this conclusion that it would be right that a mandate should be issued by Kyuk, that all Musalmāns should be emasculated and made eunuchs of, in order that their race might become extinct, and the empire of the Mughals be safe from their rebellion and sedition.

When such [like] tyranny and barbarity took root in the mind of Kyuk, and his decision in this course was come to, he commanded that a mandate should be issued, to this effect, throughout all parts of the Mughal dominions, from the extreme limits of Chīn and Turkistān to the farthest parts of 'Ajam, 'Irāk, Rūm, and Shām,3 and the whole of the Mughal rulers, who were located in different parts, were directed to obey it, and hold it necessary to be carried out.

On this mandate having been written out, they brought it to Kyuk, and he impressed it with vermilion, which [impression], in the Turkī language, they call Āl-i-Tamghāj.4 Accordingly he delivered this mandate to [one of] those Mughal Tūnīsān,4 saying: “Do ye transmit this mandate into all parts of the empire, and use the utmost efforts in so doing.”

services in the Jāmī Masjid, he should be brought out, and, in their presence, and in the presence of the rest of the people of the city, be torn to pieces, in order that others might take warning against entertaining such-like futile ideas as the Yīdī-Kūt had conceived.

3 Over which two latter states their power was but small.

3 Āl here signifies a fiery red colour, carnation, vermilion [?], and the compound word signifies the red or vermilion stamp or signet of the sovereign. In the Dictionaries, generally, the compound word is written ألمحأ—Altamghā, instead of ألمحأ as above. Tamghā, also written Tamghah, is said, in such works, to signify a stamp or brand, but, from the way our author uses these Turkish words here, with ț and long ā in the first syllable, and j as the final letter of the last word, it evidently refers to the country of Tamghāj, so often mentioned; and the word is also said to be the title of the sovereigns of Tibbat and Yughmī, and would thus signify, literally, the crimson or vermilion signet of Tamghāj, and that is clearly the meaning of the words.

4 In the Printed Calcutta Text this word is invariably turned into Nūnān and Nūlnān, the difference apparently not being understood.
IRRUPTION OF THE INFIDELS INTO ISLĀM.

When that accursed base one, who held that tyrannical mandate in his hand, was issuing from the place of audience in great glee and confidence, there was a dog which they used constantly to keep there, and which was wont to be near the throne, at the sides, and in the precincts of the dais, and the sovereign's exclusive seat; and on the animal's golden collar, studded with precious stones, was impressed a brand denoting its being the royal property. It was a dog, which, in courage and fierceness, greatly exceeded and far surpassed a thousand roaring lions and howling tigers [I]. This dog was in Kyuk's place of audience, and, like unto a wolf upon a sheep, or fire among wild rue seeds, it seized hold of that impious Tūīn, flung him to the ground, and then, with its teeth, tore out that base creature's genitals from the roots; and, by the Heavenly power and Divine help, at once, killed him, and the imprecation, according to the ḥadīṣ, which Muṣṭafā—on whom be peace!—had pronounced upon the son of Abū Lahb: "O God! let one of thy dogs defile him!" was fulfilled upon that accursed wretch of a priest.

Such a miracle as this was vouchsafed in order that, under the shadow of the protection of the Most High God, the faith of Islām, the felicity of the Ḥanafī creed, the happiness of the Aḥmādī belief, the prestige of the followers of the orthodox Muḥammādī institutes, might continue safe from the malevolence of these accursed ones. When Kyuk, the Tūnlān, and those present of the Mughals and infidels of Chīn, beheld such an awful and condign punishment, they abandoned that vicious meditation, and withheld the hand of tyranny from off the Musalmāns; and they tore that Ṭamghāj [vermilion-sealed document] to pieces. Praise be unto God for the triumph of Islām and the overthrow of idolatry!

When a period of one year and a half of the reign of Kyuk had passed away, the decree of death arrived, and at the board of destiny placed the morsel of death in the

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8 The Ro. As. Soc. MS., I. O. L. MS. 1952, and the Printed Calcutta Text, are exceedingly defective here.

* The Rausat-us-Ṣaḥḥ states that it was the Christians who did this, and that it was a Christian whom the dog worried.

7 The Pro-Mughal writers say just one year; some, less than a year.
mouth of Kyuk's existence; and the cause of his death, likewise, is thus related.

THE DECEASE OF KYUK, THE ACCURSED.

Trustworthy persons related that Kyuk was constantly being incited by the Tūnīān fraternity to acts of oppression towards the Musalmāns, and that they used to instigate him to persecute the true believers. There was an Imām, in that country, one of the theologians of the Musalmāns, adorned with manifold erudition in theological knowledge, and proficient in the rules and canons of the ecclesiastical law, and the subtile doctrines of the Truth. His exterior [mind] being illuminated with the jewel of knowledge and excellence, and his interior [soul] with the splendour of the attributes of purity, he had become distinguished among the followers of the faith of Islām, and a pole of indication in the orthodox religion of Muṣṭafā—on whom be peace! His surname was Imām Nūr-ud-Dīn, the Khwārizmī—the Almighty's mercy be upon him! A number of Christian laymen and priests,9 and the fraternity of idol-worshipping Tūnīān, made a request to Kyuk, saying: “Be pleased to summon that Imām of the Musalmāns that we may carry on a discussion with him, and make him prove the superiority of the religion of Muḥammad, and his apostle-ship, or otherwise it behoveth that you should have him put to death.”

In conformity with this request, Kyuk had this godly Imām brought into his presence, and he, trusting in [the promise] “and God will protect thee from [wicked] men,” in the defence of his religion, was strengthening and

9 Kyūk Khān, from childhood, had been brought up in the Christian—Naṣīrī—faith—respecting which there is no doubt whatever—and was much attached to it; and his mother also was of that religion. At this time, from Shīm and Rūm, presbyters and monks of that religion turned their faces towards his Court, and received great consideration from him, and, consequently, the affairs of the Christians prospered. His chief minister, Chinkāk, and the Atā-bak, Kā∬āk, were also Christians. Indeed, during his reign, no Musalmān dared to speak arrogantly to the Christians, while the Fānākāf states that the monks treated the Musalmāns with great oppression.
supporting himself with [the rest of the promise]: "for God directeth not the unbelieving people." When he sat down in that assemblage, they asked him: "What person was Muḥammad? explain." That godly Imām answered: "The last of the prophets, the head of the apostles, and the messenger of the God of the universe, whose head is adorned with the diadem of 'By thy life I swear,' and his body with the mantle of 'Have we not opened?' Musā was enamoured of his excellence—Make me, O God! one of the people of Muḥammad!—and 'Īsā the herald of his mission 'bringing good tidings of an apostle, who shall come after me, whose name shall be Aḥmad.' That assemblage of infidels said: "He will be a prophet who will be purely spiritual, and not entertain appetite for women, and not be inclined to it like as 'Īsā was. Muḥammad had nine chambers [women] and a number of children: How was that?" That godly Imām replied: "The prophet Dāʻūd—on whom be peace!—had ninety-nine women—'This my brother hath ninety and nine ewes'; and Sulīmān, the Lord of Potentiality, had three hundred and sixty women to wife, and a thousand handmaids." That assemblage of infidels, by way of annoying, negation, contention, and obstinacy, denied the prophet-ship of Dāʻūd and Sulīmān—on whom be peace! and said: "They were kings merely."

9 Kūr'ān, chap. v., verse 71.

1 This is the passage which the Muḥammadan theologists contend is proved by the passage in St. John, xvi. 7, foretelling, as they say, the coming of Muḥammad, who is referred to as the Paraclete, or, as they read it, the Pericoyle, or Illustrious. See Kūr'ān, chap. lxi., verse 6.

2 Kūr'ān, chap. xciv., verse 1.

3 Kūr'ān, chap. xxxviii., verse 22. Some authorities translate it with "lambs" instead of ewes.

4 Rubruquis relates an anecdote something similar to the above, concerning an event which happened in the following reign. Repairing to the Palace [the Kā'ān's Khargah] a few days after Ascension Day, 1254 A.D., "Aribuga [Iṛtuq Būkā], near whom sat two Muḥammadan lords of the Court, being apprised of the animosity that reigned between the Christians and the followers of Muḥammad, asked the monk Sergius [who officiated in a little Armenian chapel in the surdū], if he was acquainted with the latter? Sergius answered, 'I know they are dogs: why have you them so near you?' They called out, 'Why do you treat us in so injurious a manner, who give you no cause of offence?' The monk justified himself by saying he spoke the truth, adding, 'Both you, and your Muḥammad, are vile dogs.' Provoked at such
At length, as the proofs and arguments of those accursed ones were weak, and destitute of the force of truth, they drew back the hand of contradiction, and drew the mark of oppression and outrage upon the pages of the subject, and made a request to Kyuk, saying: “Say unto the Imām that, in accordance with the rites and ordinances of the Muḥammadan law, he should perform two genuflexions language (if such he durst utter), they began to blaspheme Christ; but Aribuga, it seems, forbade them, saying, ‘We know that the Messias is God.’ Some time after, certain Muḥammadans, meeting the monk on the road, urged him to dispute; and, as they laughed at him, because he could not defend his religion by reason, he was going to confute them with his whip. These things coming to the Khan’s [Kāʾān’s] ears, he commanded Sergius, and the other priests, to remove to a greater distance from the Court.”

Rubruquis had, himself, a disputation with a Musalmān, as he states, in Mangū Kāʾān’s presence. He says, Mangū sent to acquaint him that, as there were Christians, Muḥammadans, and Twīn at his Court, and each of them pretended his Law was the best, and his Scriptures truest, he would be glad to have the matters argued, that he might judge whose cause was best. On the day appointed, the parties met before a numerous audience. Three of the Kāʾān’s secretaries, one of each persuasion, were arbitrators.

Rubruquis says he confuted the Twīn, who affirmed that “there was one supreme deity, and ten or eleven inferior gods; that none of them was omnipotent; that one half of things are good, the other bad; and that the souls of men passed from one body to another. The good friar also says that the Musalmāns confessed they believed everything contained in the Bible, and always prayed to God that they might die the death of Christians, but, with respect to this, we must needs be sceptical.”

Mangū Kāʾān, having been told that Rubruquis had called him a Twīn or idolator, sent for him on Whitsun Day, and asked him the question in the presence of his late Twīn adversary. Rubruquis having answered in the negative, Mangū told him that such had been his opinion all along. He then declared what his faith was. He said: “The Mughals believe there is but one God, and have an upright heart towards Him; that, as He hath given to the hand many fingers, so He hath infused into the minds of men various opinions. God hath,” he continued, “given the Scriptures to you Christians, but you observe them not: you find it not there that one of you should revile another, or that for money a man ought to deviate from justice.” The friar confessed all this; but, as he was going to make apology for himself, the Kāʾān replied, that he did not apply what he had said to him, repeating, “God has given you the Scriptures, and you keep them not; but He hath given us soothsayers, whose injunctions we observe, and we live in peace.”

If we are to credit the Armenian monk, Hayton, however, who was related to the King of Armenia, he, in his Oriental History, says the King sent his brother to the Kāʾān, in 1253 [Rubruquis refers to his having passed him on his road back], who returned after four years’ stay, and that after that the King himself went, and found Mangū at Almālīgh, where the Kāʾān was baptized, with all his Court, among whom were many of the chief men of the empire, at the Armenian King’s request.
in prayer, in order that, to us and to thee, in the performance of this adoration, his unbecoming actions may be manifested." Kyuk commanded him, saying: "Arise, and perform two genuflexions in prayer, as with the congregation, according to the rites of thy religion." That godly Imām—God reward him!—called unto him one of the Musalmāns who was in the vicinity of the place, and arose, went through the form of pronouncing the call to prayer, and genuflexions, in accordance with the orthodox Sunni rule, and standing up, Khalīl-like, repeating, from his heart and mind, the verse: "Verily I have turned my face unto Him who hath created heaven and earth, being a true believer, and not one of the polytheists," began pronouncing "God is great." Then he commenced the form of prayer, and went through, as prescribed and enjoined, with due pause and ceremony, the standing, sitting, bowing, and prostration.

When, in the act of prostration, he placed his forehead to the ground, some individuals among the infidels, whom Kyuk had introduced and prompted, greatly annoyed that godly Imām, and the other Musalmān who had followed him [in the prayers], knocked their heads with force against the ground, and committed other unbecoming actions towards them, in order that, thereby, the prayers might perhaps be rendered ineffectual. But that godly Imām and holy sage continued to bear the whole of this annoyance and tyranny, performed all the required forms and ceremonies, and made no mistake whatever, and the prayers were in no way rendered ineffectual. Having delivered the salutation, he raised his face upwards towards the heavens, observed the form of "Invoke your Lord in humility and secrery," arose, with permission, and returned to his dwelling again. Almighty God of His perfect power and foe-consuming vengeance, that same night inflicted a disease upon Kyuk which, with the knife of death, severed the artery of his existence, so that verily that same night he went to hell, and the Musalmāns were delivered from his tyranny and oppression.1

1 Like Ibrahim. Khalīl 'Ullah—the Friend of God—is one of his titles.
2 Kūr'ān, chap. vi., verse 79.
3 Having arranged the affairs of the empire to his satisfaction, Kyūk resolved
When the sons of Kyük beheld that awful vengeance, the next day they asked pardon of that Imām, and sought his good opinion. May God reward him and all true believers!

VI. BĀTU, SON OF TŪSHĪ, SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN.

When Tūshi, the eldest son of the Chingiz Khān, as has been previously stated, was removed from the world for conspiring against his father, several sons survived him, and the eldest of them all was Bātu. The Chingiz Khān to turn his face towards I-rān-Zamīn, and complete the subjugation of the territories therein. He passed the winter of 643 H.—A.D. 1245-46—at the seat of sovereignty; and, when spring came round, with an immense host, he set out towards I-rān-Zamīn. On reaching the limits of Samrḵand, a week's journey from Bīsh-Bālqgh, death suddenly overtook him. The widow of Tūli Khān, Sūr Khanīfī Bīgt, who cultivated good terms with Bātu Khān for a particular purpose, as will presently appear, suspected this movement on the part of Kyük was against Bātu, and she sent him information at once.

Faṣḥīf and some others say that he was stricken with palsy—not gout: Bātu was gouty, however—and that he proceeded towards Samrḵand for change of climate.

The Fanākatf says he reigned “nearly a year,” but does not give the date of his decease.

Bātu Khān and other princes, who were on the way to join him with their troops, on receiving intimation of Kyük's death, turned each back from the point he had reached, and returned to their own ulūses again.

Kyük is said to have been merciful, liberal, and munificent, like his father, Ükāe.

It is strange that our author, although so detailed in his account of the oppression of the Musalmāns, does not seem to know when and where Kyük died.

* See page 110i.

* On the decease of Jūjū Khān, the Chingiz Khān, his father, despatched his younger brother, Ütghīkhīn, otherwise Ü-Tīgīn, to the urdū [see note *, page 110i] of Jūjū—some say, into the Dasht-i-Kīshāk—to instat his son, Bātu or Bātūe, as it is also written, as successor to the appanage of his late father. The Bāhr-ul-Aṣrār says, however, that Ürūah, Bātu's elder brother, resigned his right to succeed in favour of Bātu, but it is probable that the Chingiz Khān nominated the one most capable of ruling over the Dasht-i-Kīshāk and its dependencies. Bātu and others of the sons of Jūjū held territories under their father; and one of them, the fifth son, Tūghāe Tīmūr Khān, whose mother was a Kungkur-āt, is said to have had assigned to him the territory of As and the Meng-Kīshāk, or “The Winter Station of the Meng” [Mangīshlak of the maps], and the “ulūs-i-Chār-gānah,” or four tribes so styled—the Tarkhān, Übān, Meng., and Üfr-āt—by his grandfather, and which Bātu, subsequently, confirmed him in. Tūghāe Tīmūr's chief Khātūn was
installed him in the place of his father, and all the states

Kürak-Lük Bigt, daughter of the Bäddkhah of the Næmâns [Koğhlük]; and he was the founder, in time, of a separate dynasty. Bâtû Khan, with several of his brothers, set out for the yûrat of the Chingiz Khan, when the news of his grandfather’s decease reached him, leaving Tügâhâe Timûr his representative in Kîfchâk, and was present at the installation of Üktâe Kâân.

Tügâhâe Timûr, like his elder brother, Barkah, became a convert to Islam, and, it is said, Barkah converted him to that faith.

Bâtû is known by the title of the Sâ-In, or Sâ-In Khan, which title continued to be applied to his descendants down to modern times, and even after they became subject to the 'Ugmânîl Turks.

Rubruquis, who had an interview with Bâtû, says he was seated on a couch gilt all over, and his wife beside him. He had a fresh, ruddy, complexion, and, looking earnestly at the party, at length ordered them to speak. Then their guide bid them kneel on both knees, which they did, and Rubruquis began to pray for Bâtû’s conversion, at which he modestly smiled, but the others present jeered him.

After his return from the campaign in Khitââ, as previously mentioned, Üktâe Kâân held a great kürûtâr, in 633 H., at a place named Tâlân Washr, at which his sons, kinsmen, and the old Amûrs of the Chingiz Khan were present. After a month devoted to feasting and jollity, the laws and regulations of the Chingiz Khan were read out once more; and various rewards were given. It was then resolved that, as various parts of the empire had not been completely subdued, and some were in a disturbed and disaffected state, each of his sons and kinsmen should be despatched at the head of armies into different parts, in order to arrange and settle their affairs, while the Kâân himself would proceed into the Dasht-i Kîfchâk at the head of another army. Mangû, son of Tûlê, although young in years at the time, gave very sound advice on this occasion. He urged that it was not advisable that the Kâân should go thither when he had so many sons and kinsmen whom he could send instead. This was approved by all present; and arrangements were made in conformity therewith.

The Shâh-zâdahs appointed for this service were Mangû, Tûlê Khan’s eldest son, and his brother Bûchak [Kubilîs is subsequently mentioned as being present, at least for part of the time, in the Dasht-i Kîfchâk]; of the family of Üktâe, his eldest son, Kyûk, and his brother, Kâdân Aghûl, and Bûrî, Bâidâr, and Kolkân, sons of Chaghîtae; and among the great Amûrs was the Bâhadûr, Swîdâe, also written Swîdan [Sahûdah]. Having set out in the spring, in Jamâdî-ul-'Âkhîr, 633 H. [March, 1235 A.D.], they passed the hot season of that year by the way, and towards its end—in the latter part of it—within the confines of Bulghâr [Bulghar, its capital, was about fifty miles from Kâsân, and near the river Kâmâ] joined the urûk of Bâtû Khan, son of Jûjî, who had succeeded to his father’s appanage, and he was to hold the chief command. His brothers, Ürđâh, Shâbûn, and Tînkût, were likewise directed to proceed from the parts in which they were located, and join him, in order to accompany him on this expedition, which is famous as the Yûrîsh-i Haft Sâlah, or “Seven Years’ Campaign.” They were to invade the territories of Kîfchâk [not yet subdued], the Ursû [Rûs], Bûlo [Poland?], Majár [Magyar], Bâshchîrd, âs [Ossete of Europeans], Südâk [Aşdâk or Azof], Krim, and Charkas [the territory of the Cheremis, I believe, not the Circassians], and
of the tribes of Turkistān, from Khwārazm, Bulghār,
clear them of foreigners and enemies. They penetrated, as will be mentioned
farther on, as far west as Poland and Silesia, as well as Russia.
All things being prepared, Bātū Khān, with Shāibān, and Boroldā, with
an army, commenced his march to subdue the Bulō [the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr
says the Kalār] and the Bashghird; and, having arrived in those parts, they,
in a short time, subdued those territories, slew a great number of people, and
carried off great booty. The Bulō were a mighty people of Christian faith,
and the frontier of their country was adjoining that of the Farangs. Hearing
of Bātū Khān's advance, they, arrogant because of their grandeur, and the
number of their troops, moved forward to oppose him with an army of 40
tomans—400,000—composed of chosen warriors, who considered it an eternal
disgrace to fly from the battle-field. Bātū Khān detached his brother, Shāibān
[the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr says Saḵnāk], with 10,000 horse as a vanguard, in
order to reconnoitre the enemy and obtain information as to the number and
position of their army. In the course of a week he returned, bringing informa-
tion that the Būlān [Poles?] were, like the Mughals, all able and efficient men,
and ten times more numerous than themselves.
The two armies soon came in sight of each other. They were separated by
a morass—the Fanākāṭī and Alff say a river or water, but it would seem to
refer to a morass containing a considerable body of water. Bātū requested the
Musalmāns in his army to assemble together in prayer, and call upon Almighty
God to give them the victory, while he, himself, as was his wont on such occa-
sions, like his grandfather before him, retired to a hill or rising ground; and,
during a night and day, without speaking word to any one, occupied himself in
prayer and supplication to the Most High to accord the victory to his army.
During the next night he sent Boroldā [the Fanākāṭī says, his brother Shāibān]
and some Amirs, with their troops, to cross the water during the night, which
they accomplished. Next morning early Bātū passed over and attacked the
Būlān in person. By what means he crossed with his army, whether by a bridge
or otherwise, is not stated, but it must have been a hazardous proceeding.
Repeated charges were made upon the enemy, but they, being so strong in
point of numbers, did not move from their position; and Shāibān greatly
distinguished himself, in such wise that his prowess called forth praises from
both sides. The force which, under Boroldā, had passed over during the
night, now attacked the enemy in the rear. The Mughal troops penetrated
into their camp. and began cutting the ropes of the tents. They made
towards the tent of Kālar [Kā], their Bādshah [Bela IV., king of Hungary of
European writers?], and cut the ropes with their swords, and overturned it.
Seeing this, his soldiers lost heart, and the main body of the Mughal army
under Bātū, having pushed forward at the same time, the Būlān gave way and
took to flight. The Mughals pursued, and made such slaughter among them
"as cannot be computed."
The first place attacked, according to the Fanākāṭī, and the Tārīkh-i-
Jahān-gīr, but which works enter into no details, was the city of Mankas—
which, on account of the denseness of the forests among which it lay,
was difficult to approach, even on foot. The trees were, however, felled on
either side, and around it, sufficient to enable four carts to move abreast, which
enabled Bātū to invest it. The city was, in due time, captured, and the
inhabitants massacred; and it is stated that the left ears of all those slain were
Barţas, Saḵlāb, as far as the boundaries of Rūm, came cut off in order to obtain the number of them, and that the total amounted to 270,000. Its capture, in 636 H., is mentioned farther on.

Such was not unusual, even in comparatively modern times. Gerbillon [1699] mentions that, in the battle which took place between “Bosto or Bostugo Khān, Prince of the Kalmucks,” and “Zuzi [Juj?] Khān” Prince of the Mughals, the latter were defeated with great slaughter, and that nine camel-loads of ears and locks of hair were brought to him.

When the spring of the following year came round, Bātū Khān, having disposed of the affairs of Kitchīk, Rūs, and Ālān, resolved to turn his arms against the territory of Kalār—,[(Būlo of Alf) and Bāshghird or Bāshkīr.

Wolf, in his History of the Mughals, refers to nine sacks full of ears having been collected after the battle near Sīgnitz, fought on the 9th April, 1240 A.D. [15th Ramašān, 638 H.], but this appears much too late a date for the capture of the city in question, as that took place early in the campaign, in the year 633 H. [1235-36 A.D.], under which year also it is recorded in Alf; and, from what follows, the inhabitants do not appear to have been Christians.

After this victory, the territories previously named are said to have fallen under the sway of the Mughals, “and a portion of Farang likewise.”

This disastrous battle is that which took place, according to Von Hammer, on the banks of the Sayo, a tributary of the Theiss, in which Bela IV., King of Hungary, was overthrown in the spring of 1241 A.D., which accord with the last quarter of 638 H., but Alf records it under the events of the year 623 of the Rīḥlat, equivalent to 633 H.; but this can scarcely be correct, for the other princes only set out to join Bātū in that year, and, as it is mentioned soon after the capture of the city of Mankas, the correct date would be 634 H., which commenced on September 3rd, 1236 A.D. In the accounts given by European writers generally, Bātū Khān’s troops are incorrectly styled an army of “Tartars” [there were certainly some Tārţār among these forces, as well as Turks and Tājīks, who were subject to the Mughal yoke], by some called “Thatturi,” and, by others, “Mangali,” and these were under the command of “Bathus and Pēta, sons of Hocotum Cham, son of Genzis Cham”! “Bathus, with his forces, had ravaged Great Russia, Lithuania, Poland, and Bohemia. The Cumanii, a Sarmatian nation [the Kūmāns of Oriental authors], whose territory had been previously ravaged by the Mughal troops, brought intimidation to the king of Hungary of the invasion of the countries of Rūs, Ālān, and Kitchīk, by the Mughals, and sought permission themselves to take shelter in Hungary, promising, in return, to turn Christians, and to be loyal subjects. Permission was granted; and some 40,000 Kūmāns, with their slaves, came into Hungary. The subjects of Bela IV., king of that country, were disaffected towards him; and, as the advance of Bathus took place within a year of the Kūmāns’ arrival in their country, the Hungarians accused them of having instigated the Mughals to come, and slew their chief, and his attendants, on his way to join King Bela. This act caused the Kūmāns to join the invaders, who had ravaged Russia and sent part of their forces into Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia, while Bathus with an army of 300,000 men was advancing towards the frontiers of Hungary. Meanwhile, King Bela, with an army nearly as numerous, moved to encounter them; and, as he advanced, they retreated leisurely towards Agria, both leaders seeking a favourable opportunity to give battle; but Bela’s troops, as I have said before, were
under his sway; and, in that region, he subjugated all the
disaffected, and rather wished that Bela might be defeated. At length the two
armies drew so near each other that their respective camps were only separated
by a marsh [this, no doubt, is the river or water of the Musalmān writers],
which the Mughals finding passable crossed over by stealth in some places,
and surrounded the camp of the Hungarians. One morning at daybreak the
Mughals began the attack by volleys of arrows. The Hungarians, confounded
at this unexpected attack, could not be persuaded to leave their camp. The
upshot was that they were totally defeated, and the greater number perished:
some say from 100,000 to 65,000 men. Pesth is said to have fallen imme-
diately after.

"The Mughals then proceeded to ravage Upper Hungary, and King Bela
had to fly into Austria. Then the invaders passed the Danube on the ice,
entered and subdued Strigonia, while detached bands pursued Bela into Dal-
matia. Unable to take him, they turned aside into Croatia, Bosnia, and Bul-
garia, pillaging and destroying. At this time news reached Bathus of the
decease of Hocotam Cham [his father I], on which he set out on his return
homewards through Cumania and Ruthenia." This latter is a specimen of
history writing; Jūjī Khān, Bātū's father, had been dead ten years before the
campaign began.

Rubruquis, who passed through the Dašt-i-Kīchak about sixteen or seven
years after these events, says the whole country between the Danube and
the Atil was possessed by the Koman Kapchak, "who are," he says, "called
Valani by the Germans, and their country Valania."

It will be seen from this that there is some discrepancy between the two
accounts of eastern and western writers, and that the latter have made terrible
havoc with the names, wrongly imagined that Bātū was the son of Üktāe
Kā'ān, instead of being his nephew, and turned all the Mughals into "Tattars."
There is little doubt but that the Kūmāns were of Turkish descent, and that,
as before stated, there were some Turks, Tāttārs, and Īzaliks in Bātū's army.
Kadān Aghul, and Malik, sons of Üktāe, were by a Kūman concubine. Other
blunders committed by most European writers are with regard to the dates, and
the supposition that Üktāe's death was the cause of the return of the Mughal
princes and their armies, whereas, as has been, and will be presently, related,
these wars were over, and they returned to their respective territories before the
death of Üktāe, which took place on the 5th day of the sixth month of 639 H.—
10th December, 1241 A.D.; and yet, according to the European writers, the
battle of Lignitz was only fought in April of that very year, and the "Mon-
gole" only crossed the Danube on the ice, after the great battle in which Bela,
king of Hungary, was overthrown, to attack Gran, on the 25th December,
1241, or, according to this theory, twenty days after "Hocotam's" death.

After overrunning the country of Bolo [بَلُو], the Shāh-zādahs, and Amīrs,
during the [following] winter, assembled on the banks of the river Jānān
[یان]=; and the Bahādur, Swīdār [Sahūdah], with a large force, was
despachte into the country of Urūs [also styled Rūs], and the frontiers of
Būghār. He penetrated as far as the city of Komak [کومک], and overthrew
the armies of that state, after much fighting, and brought it under subjection;
and, the capital thereof having been reduced to wreckedness and desolation,
the Amīrs of that place came out, proceeded to the presence of the Shāh-
zādahs, and made their submission. They were well treated, received favours