quantity of provision, and to eke it out with qamis and the milk of their mares;* and, placing herds of horses in front of them, so numerous that their numbers cannot be computed, they turned their faces towards the land of Islâm.

Towards the end of the year 616 H., they emerged on the frontier of Utrār,† at which place the violence had been hatched; and, although they were jaded from their journey and destitute, yet such was the energy, constancy, and intrepidity, which Almighty God had implanted in the nature of the Chingiz Khān and the Mughal army, that,
in a short time, they took Utrār* and put both small and
number were slain by the Mughals, and Utrār [Utrār] their chief—Urūs
Infāl—bent his neck to the yoke. After this Jūjī returned and joined his
father.
* It seems strange to me that the route taken by the Chingiz Khān and his
host on the way to Utrār, after what has just been stated respecting Bīsh-
Balīgh and Kāīllīk, as related in the histories of the Mughals, is not clearly
understood. It was much the same line of route—and, doubtless, that in
general use by travellers, and kārwāns of merchants—as shown in Col.
Walker’s map, to Šarā-Kol or Almatū, skirting the northern slopes of the
Ulugh or Ur-Tāgh range, that he was pursuing, after detaching Jūjī to the south-
ward in pursuit of Tūk-Tughān, the Makrīt, on which occasion, he [Jūjī], when
returning to re-join his father, was fallen in with by the Khwārazm Shāh, near
the rivers Kāmaj and Kābal, and compelled to fight against his will. It must
be sufficiently plain, to any one who will consult the map in question, that the
great river Irīfsh is not referred to. Ardīgh, under the name of “Artush,”
the “Artush Pass,” and “Artush, which was the principal town of that
region,” at “the foot of the Kakshāl mountains,” is mentioned by Shaw in
his work, “High Tartary,” and refers to the same tract of country, which, in
former times, extended much farther every way, as I have here pointed out.
The Ardīgh Pass is about seven or eight days’ journey, according to the author
just quoted, from “the plains of Issik-kūl” [Issīgh-Kol], only the “plains”
there are mostly hills.
After this, the Chingiz Khān continued his westerly course from the vicinity
of the Issīgh-Kol, by the present Almatū, in all probability—and, undoubtedly,
it was an ancient route—through the territory of Taraz or Bānkī, as it is also
called, along the skirts of what is at present known as the Karā-Tāgh; and,
from the route he subsequently took to Bukhārā, when he detached his two
sons to invest Utrār, he must have passed the Sirr or Shiin, a considerable
distance W. of Utrār, at the Jūlik, or Aḵ-Masjid ferry possibly. Strange to
say, however, not a single author mentions his passage of that river. Having
crossed, he took the direct route to Bukhārā. He had, by the way, previously
detached—by the Sairām or Ardīgh route southwards, in all probability—an
army, which was marching southwards against Tāshkand and Khujand, while
Jūjī was marching through Farghānāh to join him before Bukhārā or Sam-
ākand. With “Yengigent,” Jūjī had no more to do than I had, unless he
could, along with his troops to it. Where are Saḵnāk, Uzbekand and Ardīgh in
Kāshghar? where Yangi-kant “on the Jaxartes, at two days’ journey from
its outlet into the sea of Aral”? [“Mongols Proper,” pp. 76-7]. Why only
about nine degrees of Long., and four of Lat. distant from each other?
The Chingiz Khān reached the frontier of the Utrār territory, not the city and
fortress of that name, for he was never at Utrār himself, towards the end of
autumn, 616 H. [in September, 1219, A.D.] Finding that the Sultan of
Khwārazm had dispersed his forces, and sent them to guard the great cities
and fortresses, instead of concentrating them, and that there was no army left
in the field to oppose him, he detached his sons Chaghatāe and Uktāe, the
Ydāl-Kūt of the I-Ighūr, and other vassals, with several tomāns of troops, to
invest Utrār, and, with his son Tulī, and the main army, moved towards
Bukhārā. Ḥtrār, the chief place, and seat of government, which contained
50,000 troops—Alī has 15,000, a more likely number, but some copies have
5000 only—was defended with great gallantry for five months, until the
great—young and old—to the sword, and left not a soul alive: they martyred the whole of them.

defenders were reduced to great straits, at which time the Khāṣ Hājib, Karāchah, who had been sent thither with 10,000 more troops to support the Ghā-īr Khān, was for capitulating to the enemy, but the Ghā-īr Khān, who was well aware that he could expect no mercy from the Mughals, scouted the very idea of surrender, and being guilty of such base ingratitude to his sovereign. Karāchah, however, entered into secret understanding with the Mughals [how history has repeated itself within the past year or two!], and, one night, left the place with his contingent, by the Şuft-Khānah gate, and submitted to the enemy, who, without delay, rushed in by that same gate, and captured the city. As soon as morning arrived, Karāchah, and his followers, after being reproached and reviled for their ingratitude to their sovereign, were all put to the sword, and the inhabitants of the place were removed outside into the plain and butchered—"the lives of the inhabitants were spared," says Mr. H. H. Howorth in his "Mongols Proper." The Ghā-īr Khān threw himself into the citadel, with 20,000 men—some say 8000, and some, 6000—all resolved to fight to the last, and held out for another month, during which they made several sallies, and slew a vast number of the Mughal army. At last, the Ghā-īr Khān was left with but two of his followers; and no shelter remained to them but the flat roof of his dwelling. These two soldiers fell at his side, and then the Ghā-īr Khān, whom the Mughals were expressly commanded to capture alive if possible, was made prisoner, and on the neck of Anfāl Jūk they placed a yoke—a play on the word Jūk, which signifies a yoke for oxen, a collar. The citadel of Utrār was levelled with the dust, and of the few people of the place, and master artificers, who had escaped the massacre, some were imprisoned, and some were driven along with the army to exercise their trades in the Mughal camp, together with the Ghā-īr Khān in chains. As the Chingiz Khān was then before Samrākand, his sons set out to join him there, and to the Ghā-īr Khān the cup of death was administered at Kiwak Sarā♯[3], a sarā♯[3] near Samrākand. This place is the Chenevrat of Petis de la Croix.

I must now endeavour to give a short account of the different operations of the Mughal hordes, in order to bring up events to the siege of Samrākand.

I have already mentioned in my previous notes, page 268, and page 664, how Jūj fell in with the Khvārazmī army in the northern part of the present Kāshghar territory, and, after a severe handling, his marching away, leaving his camp fires burning, so as to avoid pursuit. He subsequently, by command of his father, marched towards Jand, and, when he arrived near Saḵnāk on the way thither, he despatched the Hājī, Hasan, who was a native of that place, and then with his army, as an envoy, to endeavour to induce the inhabitants to submit. The populace, however, put him to death for advising them to submit to infidels and Mughals, and Jūj, filled with rage at the treatment of his emissary, attacked the place, and, in two days, captured it. The inhabitants were massacred and the place ruined [this is a mode of treating them "with tenderness," certainly, after the Muscov fashion. "Mongols Proper," page 76], and a son of the Hājī, Hasan, who was dwelling there, was made its governor—the governor of a desolated place! Jūj then advanced to Yūskand, also written Uskand, and, to quote the expressive words of the History in verse which I have elsewhere referred to: "In one night he took it, and in one day demolished it." After that he marched to Ashnās [I think this is an error, although contained in so many works, for the 'Arab Ush-Shāsh—the
An astonishing relation [is here given] which was heard by the author from one of the merchants whom they were
ancient name of Tashkand, but, if not, it is now unknown and its site also. Jujj was sent against it, and no mention is made of it after. Abū-l-Ghāf Bāḫādur calls it Astāh], “a city full of vagabonds and rascals,” and, as they showed hostility, they were speedily annihilated. No particulars are given.

When the news reached Kutluk—also written Kutlugh—Khān, the Ḥākim of Jand, he became fearful, evacuated the city, and fled by way of the steppe in order to reach Khwārazm. Jujj on this despatched thither, as his agent, Jai-Timūr—but who he was is not mentioned [see note page 933], save that he had been long in the Chiniz Khān’s service—to advise the inhabitants to submit. There was no leader or authority with sufficient power there, and the populace raised a tumult and sought to take the agent’s life, but he managed to escape by stratagem. On being made aware of the state of affairs, Jujj pushed on, and came in sight of Jand; and the people had merely time to close the gates and mount the walls, but they showed no other opposition. The Mughals placed scaling ladders, mounted the walls, and the city was theirs. As no active opposition had been shown, the people, with the exception of a few evil doers, who had spoken fiercely to Jai-Timūr, escaped from the Mughal talons; but they were all thrust out into the open country, and their dwellings were abandoned to be sacked for a period of two weeks, and the walls and defences were levelled with the dust. The Khwājah, ‘Alī, who was one of the great men of Bukhārā, was located there in charge of the city. A Mughal Amīr likewise having been detached with one tomān [10,000 men], the city or town of Mārnīn [Mārnīn] was taken possession of, and an intendant was left there. After this Jujj set out to join the camp of his father.

The Nū-yīns, Alāk also written Alāk, Saktur, and Būkā, according to their orders proceeded towards Khujand and Fanākāt, or Banākāt—afterwards known as Shāh-Rūkhīyah—and, on reaching the latter place, the governor there, I-yai-takū or I-yal-taqū by name, shut himself up in the citadel with a body of Kan-kufig, and defended it vigorously for three days. On the fourth they called for quarter, and came out of the city, and “were overwhelmed in the wave of blood.” Destruction befell the people of Fanākāt. Whether stranger or friend, not one remained, and but few escaped with their lives, with the exception of the young men of Tājīk race who were incorporated with the enemy’s forces, and compelled to serve against their own people. Alāk then turned his face towards Khujand, the governor of which was Timūr Malik, “to whom Rustam, were he alive, would have acted as groom, and Sām, were he living in his day, would, on his own body, have inscribed his name.” This Timūr Malik had constructed a lofty fortress at the point, near the city, where the river separates into two branches [at the junction, probably, of the tributary of the Sūhān which joins that river from the South just below the city], and, with 1000 men, took post therein, determined to hold out as long as he had the power and means of doing so. The Mughal forces enclosed the city and fortress as in a ring, but, as the missiles from their catapults took no effect upon the fortress, the young men of the city [which, from this remark, must have fallen, although no further mention is made of it] were collected in crowds; and assistance was also brought from other places, near by, which had been subdued, until 50,000 men were assembled together to help the investing force consisting of 20,000 Mughals. The former were divided into gangs of tens
wont to style Khwājah Ahmad, the Wakhshi, a man of veracity, who related after this manner: "It is narrated by
and hundreds, and one Mughal was placed over every ten Tājās, and, from the hills three farangs distant, they were compelled to convey stones on foot to the river side [in order to construct a causeway apparently, although this is not specified], and the Mughals horsemen cast them into the river. Tīmūr Malik, who was fertile in expedients, had caused twelve vessels to be constructed, which were covered with felts plastered over with a mixture of fresh clay and vinegar, in such wise that arrows and fire [such things as "stinkpots" in the accounts of this affair are purely ideal: a composition of naptha is here referred to] took no effect upon them, but windows [lit. but loop or port-holes are meant] were left, so that arrows and other missiles could be discharged from them against the Mughals. Every day, at daylight, Tīmūr Malik used to despatch six of these vessels on either side, and keep up a desperate defence; but, when matters became serious, and he found his efforts unavailing, seventy boats which had been got ready to provide means of escape, one night, loaded with his effects, placed his family therein, embarked with his warriors, and like lightning launched into the river. The Mughals forces, becoming aware of it, set out along both banks to oppose his progress; and, in every place where they could offer most opposition, he would draw near with his own vessel, and with his arrows, which like the arrow of destiny never missed their mark, would drive the Mughals off, and would push on again with his vessel. On reaching Fanākat, he found the Mughals had drawn a chain across the river, thinking to stop the little fleet, but, with one blow of an axe, Tīmūr Malik made the chain two, and pushed on again. I find no mention, in any author, of a "bridge of boats built at Jend," because Tīmūr Malik did not proceed to Jand at all, but, some distance below Fanākat, where the mountains approach the river, he landed on the western bank, entered the steppe, and made for the city of Khwārazm, because Juji Khān, on being informed of his heroic conduct, had made preparations to bar his progress farther down the river, which he would have been enabled to do from his position in the vicinity of Tāshkand or Ush-Shāsh. The Mughals however followed in his track, and when they drew near he would face about and withstand them until his family and effects made some progress in advance, and then he would follow. After some days, when most of Tīmūr Malik's men had fallen, the baggage was captured, and, with a few men remaining, he pushed on with rapidity, giving the Mughals no opportunity of taking him, and keeping them at bay. At last his few remaining followers were killed, and Tīmūr Malik was left alone—some say his family at this time had attained a distance which placed them out of danger—and with no means of defence left but three arrows, one of which was broken and its head gone. Three Mughals were still in pursuit of him, so he drew the broken and headless arrow—for he did not wish to have to use the others—and sent it through the eye of the foremost pursuer, and blinded him. He then said to the other two: "Two arrows still remain according to your number, and so it is advisable that ye return from whence ye came." They did retire; and the Iron Malik—Tīmūr signifies iron—proceeded on his way without further molestation to Khwārazm. There he again prepared for war, and with a small force surprised and captured the town of Kāt [کات] on the Ḫūn, in the district of Ḥāzār-asp, and from thence he proceeded to join Sultān Muḥammad, not considering it advisable to remain in Khwārazm. He pushed on until he came up with him, and told
reliable persons that the Chingiz Khan, after that he had possessed himself of Tamghaj, and had brought it under his sway, and, for a period of four years, had caused great sedition and shedding of blood, saw one night, in a dream, that he was binding a turban of immense length about his head, so much so, that, from the vast length of the turban, and the labour of binding it, he began to grow fatigued after, in his interminable task, he had become like unto a great corn stack. When he awoke from his sleep, he was relating his dream to every one of his confidants, and the men of wisdom who were about him, but not one among them could interpret it in a manner to satisfy his mind, until one of his confidants said: 'The turban is part of the costume of the merchants who are in the habit of coming into this part from different directions of the west, and a party of them has arrived from 'Arabia. It is necessary to summon them in order that the interpretation may be obtained from these persons.' In accordance with that advice, they were called in order to interpret it.

"Among the merchants they found a few persons from the west, 'Arabian Musalmans, turban-wearers, and him all he had experienced at the hands of the Mughals, and that they were like unto a flood. This made the Sultan still more apprehensive and perplexed, and, though he was himself young his fortune was grown old—a play upon words in the original which is lost in translation.

The Nu-yân Alâk, after having obtained possession of Khujand, the next day, set out to rejoin the great army, and reached the camp of the Chingiz Khan after the capture of Samkand.

A few words more may not be out of place respecting Timur Malik. He subsequently retired—disguised as a Darweh, some say—into 'Irâk-i-'Ajam, proceeded to Shiraz and Jirâft, and, finally, into Shân, until the Mughal troubles had somewhat subsided. He remained there some years; and in the time of Bâtu Khan, son of Jûf Khan, he, impelled by a desire of revisiting his native land once more, and by that monarch's leave, reached Khujand, where he found that his only remaining son had gained favour with the Mughal ruler, and had been put in possession of some of his father's property. He was recognized by an old slave, and proposed to proceed to the court of Úktân Khan, whose name was celebrated for magnanimity, but, on the way, he fell in with one of the Mughal royal family, Kadkâ-an Ughân, who put him in chains, for the old Turk Malik's haughty bearing displeased him. Soon after, the very Mughal, into whose eye he had lodged the headless arrow, happened to come in, and began to question him as to his battles, in an insolent tone which provoked Timur Malik to answer him in such a manner as awakened the wrath of the Mughal savage against his former adversary, and he discharged an arrow, in return for his arrow, as he exclaimed, right through the body of Timur Malik, who fell dead on the spot.
they were sent for; and to the person who was the chief, and the most intelligent among the party, the Chingiz Khān related his dream. The Tā'ī [Arabic]-speaking merchant said: 'The turban is the crown and diadem of the 'Arab, for head dresses of that description are the tiaras of the 'Arab; and the Prophet of the Musalmāns—Muḥammad, the chosen one—the blessing of God be upon him!—was a turban-wearer, and the Khālīfahs of Islām are turban-wearers. The interpretation is this, that the kingdoms of Islām will come into thy possession, and the countries in which the Muḥammadan faith prevails thou wilt reduce under thy sway.' This signification chimed in with the opinion of the Chingiz Khān; and, for this reason, his design of appropriating the territory of Islām was resolved upon.

We return to the subject of [this] history.

After capturing Utrar & and martyring its inhabitants,

8 The word used is ḫumām, the plural of ḫumām, which more particularly refers to the large turbans of Muḥammadan ecclesiastics.

I have several times mentioned the variation of idiom in different copies of the text, and here it varies considerably: in fact, there is greater difference, in this respect, in this Section than in any of the preceding ones.

9 I doubt very much an 'Arab's saying so, even if he thought it; and, if the merchant told the Mughal this, and it made him determine upon invading Islām, the Musalmāns had not very great reason to be grateful to the 'Arab interpreter.

8 This is a great mistake. The Chingiz Khān, as shown in the previous notes 8, page 273, and 2, page 970, para. four, had nothing to do with Utrar personally. He reached the frontier of that territory towards the close of autumn 616 H. [September, 1219 A.D.]. He left his two sons, Uktā and Chaghatāe, with a great army to invest Utrar, as already stated, and, detaching another and smaller force, under the Nū-yīns, Alāk, Saktūr, and Būkāe, to Fanākāt and Khujand, with the bulk of his mighty host, and accompanied by his son Tūlī, marched towards Bukhārā.

The name of this celebrated city is said to signify, "in the language of the Mughān—Fire-worshippers—an assembling place, or rendezvous of science, and this word, in the dialect of the idol-worshipping Ḥīrūs and Khītā-is, is nearly similar, for their places of worship, which are places of idols, they term Bukhārā."

On the way thither, the Mughuls reached Zarmūk [there is no doubt respecting its name], and the inhabitants, having issued forth to receive them with due ceremony, were granted security for life and goods. The Chingiz Khān changed the name of the place to Kutlīkh Bālīgh, that is, the Auspicious or Fortunate City, but he took away all the young men of the place to incorporate with his army. But Tāshkand did not receive the name of "Kutluk balīgh," as in the recently published work so often referred to. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says that the people first shut the gates, but, afterwards, were
they [the Mughals] marched, from thence, towards Bukhārā; and, on the first of the month of Zl-Ḥijjah, 616 H.,

induced to open them and submit, while another statement is, that the city was surprised. However this may be, its walls were razed to the ground, to make it "the Fortunate City" perhaps. The Bahādur, Ẓāfr, whose name will frequently appear in the text, farther on, was sent, in advance, to summon Nūr [see page 118]. The place submitted, it and its dependencies were bestowed as an appanage upon the Bahādur, Suhūdah or Swīdās, as he is also called, the inhabitants paid a year’s tribute in advance, and received security for life and property, and were not further molested.

At the end of the year 616 H. [February, 1220 A.D.—not the 19th of June, 1219 A.D., as we are told in "Mongols Proper," for the year, 617 H., began on the 7th March, 1220], the Mughal hosts appeared before Bukhārā, and the felt tent of the Chingiz Khaṇ was pitched facing the citadel. There was no "several days’ siege" whatever. When night set in, the Amīrs commanding the troops there, Kīwak Khān, son of Ḥamīd-i-Būr [an elder brother of the Ḥājīh, Burāk, the Ḫara-Ḵhīṭā-i, who subsequently usurped the sovereignty of Kirmān, subordinate to the Mughals, after that ingrate had compassed the murder of Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, the Sultān’s son, and ruler of that territory. See note 8, page 283], Kīwak Khān, Sūnj Khān, Bughrā Khān, and Ḵašhī [by some Ḵašhī, which is merely another form of the title Khān, with 20,000—but some writers of Mughal proclivities make the number 30,000, in the same manner as they always exaggerate the numbers of the Mūsalmāns—came out, by one of the gates, in order to make a night attack upon the invaders, but, the enemy having got word of it, they were encountered and defeated by the Mughal advance. The great men of Bukhārā, consisting of ecclesiastics, doctors of the law, and distinguished persons, issued forth from the city next day [the 10th of Zl-Ḥijjah], at dawn, and strove, by the manifestation of submission and eloquent appeals, to make terms whereby the inhabitants might be saved from the violent blast of the invader’s wrath. The Chingiz Khān entered the city in order to view it; and, when he reached the Masjid-i-Jāmī’, or Friday’s Masjid, beheld a great and lofty building, towards which he urged forward his horse, and rode into it, with his son, even up to the most sacred place within it—the Ṣaffah-i-Maḵṣūrah: the place where the Imām stands when officiating—and inquired: “Is this the Sultān’s palace?” They replied: “This is the house of God.” He then dismounted from his horse, certainly not out of respect, mounted two or three steps of the pulpit, and sat down [Alī says, Tūf ascended to the pulpit and [according to Ṣharaf-ud-Dīn, ‘Alī,] commanded his troops, saying: “There is no forage in the plain by means of which they [the people] may satiate the horses, [see ye to it].” The Fānākāṭi, Faṣīḥ-ī, Alī, and others, however, relate more circumstantially, that he said to those present: “The plain [for open country outside] is destitute of grass: it behoveth that ye fill the bellies of my horses,” and, on this, they opened the granaries [of the city], and brought forth grain. The Mughals then drew their horses into the Māṣjīd, and made the chests, in which the sections of the Kūrān—which is generally in thirty sections of sixteen pages each—and other religious books were kept, troughs for their horses to feed out of, while the books were trodden under foot; and they handed the head-stalls of their horses to the Ulāmā to hold, while they themselves betook themselves to the cup [neither the wine, nor the “loving cup,” but the fermented mares’ milk cup—ṣumīṣ] and began to sing their Mughal songs.
pitched their camp before the gate of that city. Kāshlū Khān, the Amir-i-Ākhūr of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwā-

Most European authors who relate this anecdote take it from Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Allī's work, but neither that work, nor any other that I have met with, will bear translating "The hay is cut, give your horses fodder," as quoted by Mr. H. H. Howorth from VAMBÉRY's "Bokharah," page 28, and which he or his authority mistakes for "a cynical invitation to plunder." The original words in Sharaf-ud-Dīn, are "dar zakrā 'ala 'ula nisī ḥik aspān rā šer aswānd;" [Erdmann's rendering of the same sentence is perfectly correct] and "the floor strewn with wine skins" and "the singing women [the word is مهان] introduced" are likewise not to be found in his work: the words are: "ba ayyāgh dāštīn masghāl šudand, ba dhāng-i-Mughūlī bar kashīdand;" there is not a word about women.

From the Jāmī" Masjid mounting again, the Chingiz Khān rode to the Muṣallā-e-‘Id—the place of Prayer, where the prayers appointed for Festivals are said—and, mounting the pulpit, having first caused the people to be assembled, harangued them about the killing of his envoys, and, telling them that he had been sent against them as the instrument of the Divine wrath, on account of their sovereign's and their own misdeeds—he too was a "divine figure" also "from the north," and, after holding forth in a similar blasphemous strain, which address was interpreted from the Mughal language into Persian by an interpreter who stood by his side, he continued: "Such property as is visible in this city need not be referred to—he had an eye to plunder notwithstanding his divine mission—but all that is concealed it behoveth ye to give up." Much wealth was given up in consequence. As commands had been already issued that the adherents of the Khwārazmī Sulṭān should be expelled the city, and none should be sheltered or concealed therein, on finding that several of them had been sheltered by the people of Bukhārā, he—merely desiring an excuse—gave orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants, and to set fire to the city, which was mostly built of wood; and, in the space of one day, the whole, with the exception of the great Masjid, and a few brick buildings, was consumed, in such wise that the city became the haunt of wild beasts. The suburbs were then given to the flames, and the ditch of the citadel was filled up with whatever could be obtained—dead bodies of men and beasts, stones, timber, rubbish, and the like—and, in a few days, the Mughals captured it. Its governor, Kiwak Khān, with all found within the place, were put to the sword—more than 30,000 in all—including grandees and great men, the servants of the Sulṭān, who were treated in the most contemptuous manner, and their females and children were carried away into slavery, but babes were not spitted on lances as in these days of civilization and Christianity. After this the citadel was levelled with the ground, and not a vestige of gate, wall, or rampart, of either city or citadel remained. Kiwak Mazār, or the Tomb of Kiwak, lies a few miles to the N.E. of the present city.

The young men of Bukhārā, who had been spared for another purpose, were driven off with the troops towards Samrḳand and Dabūsah [also called Dabūs and Dabūsī]. It was a fortified town about midway between Bukhārā and Samrḳand], and from Bukhārā the Chingiz Khān turned his face towards Samrḳand.

Having heard accounts of the great strength of Samrḳand, which had lately been added to, the Chingiz Khān had been led to despatch bodies of troops under Jūjī and the Nū-yān, Alāḵ, to subdue other places in Turkistān
razm Shāh, was there, on the part of that monarch, with a force of 12,000 horse; and the Mughals invested the city. On the day of the festival of the kūrbān [10th of Zī-Ḥijjah—15th February, 1220] of that same year, they took the city and fortress of Bukhārā, and expelled the whole of the inhabitants—gentle and simple, the learned and the noble, both male and female—and martyred them, and burnt and destroyed the whole of the city, and all the libraries of books; and a few persons [only] were made captive. They then turned their faces towards Samrānd. The leader of the van of the Chingiz Khān’s army, which issued from the wilds, and captured Utrār, and advanced to the

before he advanced into Māwarā-un-Nahr, in order to clear his rear of enemies, and to have the whole of his forces at his disposal before he attacked Samrānd. The resistance at Utrār however disappointed him with regard to the troops investing that place, and the movements of the others have been already narrated. Having made a vast levy of the country people, as stated above, to aid his troops, he left small detachments behind to invest Sar-i-Pūl and Dabūsah, while he hastened forward with his great host, which, numerous as ants or locusts, suddenly appeared before Samrānd, at the end of Zī-Ḥijjah, 616 h. [the latter part of February, 1220, a.d.], and the tent of the Chingiz Khān was pitched in sight of the place, at Kiwak-Sarāē. The next day—some say the third day—he reconnoitred the ramparts, bastions, ditch, gateways, and other defences; and, on the second day, as soon as morning dawned, I-yal-Taź Khān—the Shams Khān of Alfī—Sarsīf Khān, Taḡhāe Khān, Ulāk Khān, and several other leaders, with the troops within the citadel and city, with great intrepidity and boldness poured out of the place, and attacked the Mughals in their quarters. The number, in all, is said to have been 110,000, namely 60,000 Turks, and 50,000 Tājīgīs of the country, and twenty elephants. On that day, the Khwārazmīs displayed immense valour, and a great number were killed on either side, but chiefly, on the part of the Mughals, who also lost a great number of prisoners who were carried off triumphantly into the city. This statement does not agree with what our author states above as to the ambuscade, and the number of the troops has been just doubled.

Next day the Chingiz Khān mounted, and, in person, directed the operations, completely invested the place, prevented the troops within from making a sally, had the catapults placed in position, and began to batter the walls, and pour in volleys of stones and arrows. The walls were however defended with vigour until the day closed, but the defenders were disheartened; and, to make matters worse, there was treason within. One party of the inhabitants—the selfish part—‘‘the peace at any price party’’—were for going out and seeking quarter from the Mughal, while the other party was for defending the place to the utmost. This very division of opinion—without reckoning the traitors—caused great mischief: the leaders of the troops were discouraged, and at a loss what to do, and did not fight as they otherwise would have done, for the place was strong enough to have held out a considerable time. On the fifth day—but from our author’s statement above it must have been the ninth—early in the morning, while fighting was going on, the Kāfī of the city, the Shaikh-ul-Īslām,
gate of Bukhārā and took it likewise, was a Turk whose name was Tamur-chi, the Jazbi, a man of great energy; and, in the Mughal dialect, jazbi signifies a Ḥājib [Chamberlain].

On first reaching the gate of Samrānd, the Mughal forces laid an ambuscade; and the troops in Samrānd, and the people, moved out to give battle. On the ambuscade being drawn, defeat befell the troops of Islām and the people of Samrānd, and nearly 50,000 Musalmāns became martyrs. Subsequently to that, for a period of ten days or a little over, the Mughals took up a position round about Samrānd. Within the walls of that city, on the part of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, was a force of 60,000 and a body of other ecclesiastics [old officials of 'Uṯmān, the Afrāsiyāb], and, doubtless, true to the hostile Khalifah, who incited the infidels], unexpectedly went out, and presented themselves before the Chingiz Khān, who received them with much encouragement and favour. Without any security, and with the mere promise of safety for themselves and dependents—these barbarians rarely, if ever, kept their word—they were allowed to return; and, at the time of prayer, when the rest of the people were off their guard, these traitors opened the gate known as the Gate [some say Gates] of the Namāz-gāh—Alī says—the 'Id-gāh—and admitted the Mughals within the walls! During that day and night the infidels completely destroyed the walls and defences of the city, and drove out into the open plain the inhabitants, both males and females, with the exception of the dependents of the Kāši, the Shaikh-ul-Islām, and other traitors, who are said to have amounted to 50,000 [5000 probably] persons, and then, as was their wont, proceeded to sack the place, and all whom they found within, with the exception of those mentioned, they slew. The Mughals continued within the city until the night of the next day, when they were withdrawn.

The garrison in the citadel was now completely hemmed in, and had no means of escape, but one resolute leader, Karā Alb, the Arsalān Khān, with 1000 men, charged through the Mughal force, cut his way out, and succeeded in joining the Sulṭān, to whom he conveyed the dismal news. Next day the Mughals attacked the citadel, and, having destroyed the defences, during the time of the two prayers, which are wont to be said every Friday about mid-day, succeeded in gaining possession of one of the gateways, and poured in. The Kanghul or Kanḵul Turks, the chief of whom was Bar-Sipās [in one MS. Bar-Samās, and, in Alī, Shams] Khān, Taghāe Khān, Sarlīghi [Sarlīghi?] Khān, U-lāy Khān, the U-lāgh Khān of the Jahan-Kushāe, together with about twenty other Amīrs and Sardārs of Sulṭān Muḥammad, with the whole of his troops that were therein, were butchered, to the number of 30,000 men, which is a small number in comparison with the 110,000 men said to have been the number stationed at Samrānd. Of the remaining people of the city, 33,000 artificers, mechanics, and the like, were selected and divided among the sons and kinsmen of the Chingiz Khān; and the residue of the unharmed inhabitants were ransomed and spared for the sum of 200,000 dinārs. These events took place in the beginning of the summer of 617 H. [April 4, A.D. 1220]. A Mughal Shāhnāh was left at Samrānd, and a native of the place, a Musalmān official, was placed in charge of the city under him.
horse, consisting of Turks, Ghūrīs, Tājūlks, Khālj, and Kariughs, and all the Maliks of Ghūr, such as Khar-zor Malikf [Malik ?], and Zangī-i-Khar-Jam [Cham ?], and other Maliks of Ghūr, were there. On the day of 'Ashūrā, the 10th of the month of Muḥarram, 617 H., the Mughals took Samrākand, and burnt that city and destroyed it, and made captives of some [of the inhabitants, and put the rest to the sword]. Bodies of troops were nominated to various parts of Māwarā-un-Nahr, Farghānah, and Bilāsā-ghūn, and destroyed all the cities, and martyred all their inhabitants. Mughal armies were also despatched to take possession of different parts of the dominions [of the Khwārazmī Sulṭān], and forces were sent from Upper Turkistān to pursue KashlūKhān, the Tatār, who was a king, and the son of a king, of the Tatār tribes, who had seized and brought [away] the Gūr Khān of Kārā-Khitā; and they captured him [Kashlū Khān] on the boundaries of Jāb and Kikrab, which is Ghuzzistān, and the hill tracts of Samrākand; and they slew him.  

6 The leader referred to at page 926—probably Khar-Chām—Ass-energy—This, as well as Khar-Zor—Ass-power or force—is doubtless a nick-name.

As I have noticed elsewhere, several of the Ghūrī Maliks have such like names, in which Khar, Ass, occurs, such as Khar-post—Ass-skinned, Khar-nak[nag ?]—Ass-palate or lipped, and the like. Malikf is contained in all the copies of the text, but Malik must be the more correct.

7 The most modern copies of the text collated have, “as far as the gate of Bilāsā-ghūn.”

It is not to be wondered at that this celebrated city is not mentioned subsequently, considering it was destroyed. The name Ghū-Balīgh must have been applied to it by the Mughals in times prior to this period.

8 Troops had been despatched against Koshlūk before entering the dominions of the Sulṭān of Khwārazm; and most of the strong places, in Māwarā-un-Nahr and Western Turkistān, had been captured or taken possession of before the investment of Samrākand was undertaken.

9 In some few copies the first word is بابحاب—apparently—hubāb or habāb, but باب—Jāb—seems to be the correct name. These names are not to be found on modern maps. The following note further indicates their position. See also note 4, page 374.

1 I have already, in my previous notes to the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, given some details respecting Kojlak, Koshlūk, Koshlūk, Kashlū, or Kahlīf, as he is variously styled by different authors, the last four forms of writing being mere variations of the same name, his intrigues with the Sulṭān, and his seizure of his father-in-law and benefactor, the Gūr Khān, but, to make this account clear and connective, I must go back a little to refer to the chief of the Makrits and his proceedings.

The Chingis Khān having returned, in 611 H., from the campaign against the Altān Khān, and gone to his yūrat or encamping ground on the river Kalūr-ān
When the news of the taking of Samarkand, and of the
or Lukah, soon after found that the Makrits were again preparing for war.
There is considerable discrepancy with regard to these events, and some
oriental writers have, through the carelessness of copyists, apparently, turned
two events into one, with respect to Ködū [گود] and the sons of the late Bīgī
Tūktā, and his nephews, and Tūk-Tughān, the Makrit.
At the period in question, Ködū and his nephews were residing in the
Nāemān country, and were regaining strength, which they were using in
support of Köshīlūk, the Nāemān sovereign, who, at this time, had seized the
last of the Gūr Khāns, and his dominions. The Makrits had likewise incited
other tribes of Mughals, who were quite ready to do so, to throw off the yoke
of the Chingiz Khān, under which they had fallen. Among the tribes in-
stigated to war by them were the Tūm-āt or Tūm-ād Mughals [turned into
"Comátt," in the Kāshghār Mission History, a different tribe from the
Burāghūs or Burūkīs], who were dwelling in the tracts towards the south-
east from Kāshghār—now part of the great sandy desert—towards the frontier of
Khītā, about the Kok Nāwar, incorrectly written Kokonor in our maps.
In the year 612 H., therefore, the Chingiz Khān despatched the Nū-yīn,
Sahūdah, or Swādē, the Ürfāngkūt Kūngūrāt, with a considerable army
against the Makrits, and he was provided with carts or wagons, specially
made and strengthened with iron, so that they might not easily break down,
as the Makrits had taken shelter in a very mountainous tract of country.
This tract was called Kum-Kunjāk—[گومکنک] which, through the careless
copying of some scribe, or an imperfect MS., has been mistaken for Kibchāk
[کبچاک] by many oriental authors with ridiculous results, and European writers
generally have followed them.
Sahūdah set out in the beginning of 612 H. (it commenced on the 1st May,
1215 A.D.), and was joined, on the way, by the Bahādūr, Taghāshir, with
another force [this leader, probably, is Gusildah's Tūmār-i-Chūbān, but Abū-l-
Ghāzi, Bahādūr Khān, calls him Toṣāshār]. The two leaders, after great
exertions, reached the whereabouts of the Makrits, brought them to action near
the banks of the river Jam—the Jam Murān [جام مرب] but, in some Histories,
the letter  has a dot over it instead of under, which makes it Kham, while
in others again it is not pointed, and therefore stands for — with which
no Turkish word begins [Chinese, and Europeans, however, vitiate  and
turn it into 'Arabic  as in Ḥānum for Khānum, Topānakh, for Top-khānah,
Hatti-Humāyūn for Khatt-i-Humāyūn, Hodjak for Khwājah, Hāji for
Khālij, Hān for Khān, Hāmil for Khāmil, and the like]. Bentinck says the
Jam Murān rises in the mountains crossing the Gobf—the Altān, not Altyr
mountains—of which but little had been previously known, if the existence
of such a range has not been altogether ignored until the recent discoveries
by the Russians, and that the river runs S.S.W., and falls into the Karā-
Murān or Hoang-ho, on the borders of Tibbat. See the map to Col. Preje-
valsky's explorations in the Geographical Magazine for May, 1878, which
confirm the existence of this range, which has been distinctly mentioned by
Oriental writers and old travellers, and which is clearly laid down, although
not quite exactly, in the maps of the Jesuits. A Chinese envoy told Gerbillon
that he had crossed a river of Kok Nāwar, "called in the Mongol ['Turk?']
tongue Altān Kol, or Golden River," which falls into the Lakes of Tsing-fū-
hay, and has abundance of gold mixed with its sands.
The Makrits stood their ground against the Mughals, and the consequence
was they were defeated with immense loss. Some say the tribe was almost
massacre and captivity of its inhabitants, and of the troops

destroyed, together with Kudü and all his nephews but one, a mere child, who was taken to the presence of the Chingiz Khan, who ordered him "to be sent to join his brothers and uncle," notwithstanding Jüji Khan would have taken charge of him, and have brought him up.

It has been asserted that the Mackrits were entirely annihilated on this occasion, but such is not correct, as I shall presently show, and Kudü, brother of the late Big, Tuktä, and Tük-Tughän, who is also called the brother of the same chief, have been mistaken for one and the same person, of which there is no probability, for Tük-Tughän, and the remnant of the Mackrit tribe were encountered by Jüji Khan, in the northern part of the present territory of Kashgahr in 615 H., after the death of Koshlük, and when the Chingiz Khan was on his way westward to invade the territory of Suljian Muhammed, Khwarazm Shah, and when Jüji, against his will, sustained the attack of the Suljian's army in which his own was roughly handled. To demonstrate this clearly, it is necessary to go back a little, and refer to what is said about it elsewhere.

When Koshlük, the Nämän, left the presence of the Gür Khan, his father-in-law, to call around him his dispersed Nämänis, and proceeded towards Kajillük, when he reached its confines and that of I-mil, Tük-Tughän, the Amir of the Mackrits, who had fled—from whence is not mentioned—on hearing the rumour of the Chingiz Khan's fury, joined him, together with many of the Gür Khan's chiefs. During the time that Koshlük exercised dominion over the state of the Gür Khan, however, after the latter's seizure by him, Tük-Tughän, with the remainder of the tribe of Mackrit, had separated from Koshlük, and returned to Kum-Kunjak again.

The next information we obtain is, that the Chingiz Khan, having determined to invade the dominions of the Khwârazm Shah, when making his preparations for the march, considered it advisable, before setting out, to leave no enemies in his rear; and, as Koshlük, the Nämän, and Tük-Tughän, the Mackrit, still remained, and their whereabouts was in the vicinity of his route towards the west, he deemed it necessary to reduce them first, and so the Nû-yûn, Jabah [Yamah], was sent with a large army against Koshlük and Jüji Ughlân, the Chingiz Khan's son, at the head of another army, against the Mackrits under Tük-Tughän.

It would seem, therefore, that Tük-Tughän, hearing of the movements of the two Mughal armies, and finding Jüji was coming upon him, moved from Kum-Kunjak, with the remains of the Mackrit tribe, and endeavoured to reach Karâ-Kum [which, in some imperfectly or carelessly copied MSS., has been turned into Karâ-Kuram], which was the daht or steppe inhabited by the Khân-kûli Turks, and which tribe had been assigned, by the Sultan of Khwârazm, to his mother, Turkân Khâtûn, as part of her appanage.

At page 267, it is stated that, in 615 H., the Sultan had moved from Samrâk to Jand because a body of those remaining of the supporters of Kâdir Khan [Kâdir Khan of others], respecting whom more will be found in the account of Jüji Khan farther on, had broken out into revolt on the confines of Jand, for the purpose of suppressing it, and that, after he had annihilated that faction, he returned towards Samrâk again. Some other writers, however [See note 1, page 262], say that this took place earlier, before the total downfall of the last Gür Khan, and that, after quelling this revolt, the Sultan heard that an army of the Gür Khan had appeared before Samrâk,
of Islam which were there stationed, reached Sultan

and was preparing to march to its relief, when the Karakhitai army was withdrawn to operate against Koshluk, but our author twice distinctly states that this revolt, or its suppression, happened in 615 H., and immediately after says that "the calamity of the infidels of Chin—i.e. the Mughals—arose."

The Sultan being at Samarkand, whither he had returned from Jand, hearing of the movements of Tuk-Tughan and the Mughals in the direction of Karakum, moved towards Jand to guard his own territory, and to seize or stop Tuk-Tughan, if practicable, and marched beyond it as far as the frontier of the Turks. In the meantime Tuk-Tughan and his people, marching westward towards the Kankul steppe, had been intercepted by Juri Khan near the great mountain range forming the northern boundary of the present Kashgar state, as previously related.

I think I have here shown that Kodu, brother of the Big, Tuktai, the Makrit, and Tuk-Tughan, the Makrit, are different persons, and that the Makrits were not wholly destroyed when defeated by Sahudah.

The author of the "Mongols Proper," on the authority of M. Wolff, states at page 73, that the destruction of the "Merkits" took place "near Lake Kossagol, between the Selenga and the Upper Jennessai" [sic], but I notice that he had some doubts about it, and, at page 712, he places "the Merkits," as "living probably in the valley of the Chu, and perhaps at Balasaghun," after stating that, according to Erdmann, the "Merkit chiefs" were "met and defeated on the banks of the river Jem (not the Kem or Yenissei [sic], as Wolff seems to read it)," but without perceiving that, at page 73, he had given, from the same writer, apparently, a much more correct version of the affair, and had even named some of the places tolerably correctly, but under vitiated orthography!

I must, as briefly as possible, give some account of Koshluk's subsequent acts, after his seizure of the Gur Khun, his father-in-law, and benefactor, and his own fate, which immediately preceded the irruption of the Mughal barbarians into the countries of Islam.

After the seizure of the last Karakhitai ruler, his dominions east of the Sinhun devolved upon Koshluk, but he did not thereby "become himself Gur Khan," as we are informed in the "Mongols Proper." Had Koshluk known how to have managed the Gur Khan, after he became his son-in-law, he might have got up a formidable, and, perhaps, successful, combination against the Mughal ruler, to whom also he was related on the mother's side. Koshluk was an idol-worshipper—but-parast—a Buddhist, and his wife [or one of his wives?] was a follower of 'I-sa—Jesus Christ; hence they were both intolerant to the Musalmans, continually exhorting them to turn idolators—the Raqsat-us-Suba says, to embrace Christianity—and those who would not were massacred. The Tarih-i-Afii, however, says that Koshluk, "for the sake of an idol-worshipping damsel, became himself an idol-worshipper too," but without mentioning what faith he previously followed, which we must presume was the Christian.

Koshluk, for a period of four years, from 610 to 614 H. [May, 1213, to April, 1217, A.D.], continued to send forces against Kashgar, and they used to commit great ravages, and burn the crops, in such wise, that famine began to show itself in that tract of country. The inhabitants could do no other than give up the city of Kashgar and its defences to him, and the fort surrendered. Koshluk's troops took up their quarters in the peoples' houses,
Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, who was then [encamped
leaving them to shift for themselves, and violence, wickedness, and sedition, reigned supreme.

Petis de la Croix, who quotes "Mirconde," that is to say, Mîr Khāwind, the author of the Rauṣat-us-Safâ, makes the astonishing statement in his "Genghiscan the Great," that the Gūr Khān used to reside at Kashghar, which was the capital of their Turkistān possessions, and sometimes called Urdūkand. That the Musalmān religion prevailed there is, undoubtedly, correct—and had prevailed for centuries, it may be added—and the Nestorians had churches there, but that, "at this time the capital is "Hyurcan, which is the same place as Cashgar was," shows that De la Croix's geography was a little at fault. Yarkand is just 100 miles S.E. of Kashghar. He moreover states, quoting, apparently, the same work, that the people of Cashgar refused to acknowledge any other sovereign than the Gūr Khān's son, and that "the siege lasted long," and "the city was at last taken."

In the last para. of the account of the Gūr Khāns, I have noticed what has been said respecting the survivors of that family, but, although it is very probable that the last Gūr Khān, and the former ones too, may have had descendants, they are not specified, nor is a son mentioned in any author that I am aware of. The statement as to "Gushluk" having killed "the sovereign" of "Kashgar," contained in the "Mongols Proper," is without any real authority, I fancy, and would be difficult to verify.

After obtaining possession of Kashghar, Koshlūk moved towards Khutan, which 'Abū-l-Fidā and some others say was of the I-ghūrs, or "I-ghūrfā," lying in the 42° of Lat., while Kashghar is said to be in the 44°, but correctly, according to the most recent observations, 39° 24' 26", and 37° 6' 58", respectively, which shows the correct direction of the I-ghūr country at the period in question, and which extended much farther to the S.W. than shown in the map in "Mongols Proper," and as the events mentioned clearly show. Koshlūk took possession of Khutan, and acted towards its people in the same tyrannical manner, as at Kashghar, to compel Musalmāns to recant. He commanded that all the learned men of the place should come out and hold a disputation with him on the subject, and more than 3000 'Ulamā and men of learning appeared. One of them was the Shaikh 'Alā ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Khutanī, and he got the best of the argument, by the Musalmān account, upon which Koshlūk began to mock him, and the Shaikh, losing all patience, cried out, "Dust on thy mouth, O Koshlūk! thou accursed enemy of the faith!" For this the Shaikh was seized and nailed up before the gate of the college he had founded. He lingered for several days, during which he continued to exhort the people to be staunch in the faith; and, at length, he was put to death, and thus attained the felicity of martyrdom. After this, Musalmāns were forbidden to exercise their religion, and the call to prayer and public worship were prohibited.

At that period, there was a person dwelling on the confines of Ālmālīgh, of great valour and intrepidity, and a champion—a pahlavān, but not "a herald with red arrows" [see "Mongols Proper," page 130], and his name was Üzār [jirjir], and he also belonged to the Kankuli or Kanghuli tribe. He was a freebooter, and did nothing better than steal horses from all parts, and carry on other wickedness, until vagabonds and bold spirits like himself gathered round him, and he began to acquire strength, and to ravage the parts around Ālmālīgh, until, at last, he obtained possession of that place and parts around.
before] Balkh, as has been already related, he became a

He was not "investing" his own city, as some writers, who probably did not know that Balkh belonged to him, have made out.

Who held possession immediately before is not stated, but, probably, a governor on the part of the late Gür Khan did.

This upstart is Mr. H. H. Howorth's "Prince of Almaligh;" and he says [page 20] that Erdmann says he was known as Merdi Shudsha (i.e. lion heart, or lion man), and adds, "This latter statement is probably well founded, for the Khans of Almaligh are doubtless to be identified with the Lion Khans of Kashgar mentioned by Visdelou;" and yet, only on the preceding page, on the authority of Abu-l-Ghazi, Bahadur Khan, he at once identifies this adventurer, who had only just obtained possession, as one and the same as "Arslan Khan of the Kariaks, who was also Prince of Kayalik or Kabalik." What a jumble of errors have we here! Now, what Erdmann, in his innocence, supposes to be a title is merely the simple Persian words vitiated, namely, mard-i-shuhjud—a bold or intrepid man; and it is utterly impossible that he could be a Kankaful and a Karlugh—two totally different tribes—at the same time, or, that he was ruler or prince of Kayalik, previously referred to in another note, who had submitted to the Mughal's years before, and had again presented himself and joined them, on their way to Utrar. Mr. Howorth appears to have also forgotten that, at page 66 of his book, he states that, in 1209 [A.D. = 606-7 H.], when "Jingis" returned to his "yurt," he found there "the Idikut of the Uighurs, Arslan Khan, chief of the Karlugs (i.e. Turks of Kayalik), and Ozar, Prince of Almaligh, who had come to do him homage."

Arsalan Khan will appear on the scene in several places of our author's narrative, but that he and this upstart were totally different persons is beyond a doubt, as may be seen farther on.

I have already noticed that, because some of the Afrasiyab rulers of Kāshghar were styled Arsalan, it did not follow that they were all styled "the Lion Khans." Such an impossible statement will not be found in any of the historians of the Mughals, not even in the work of that Persian—"the great Raschid."

Now it is very evident that, if Almaligh had belonged to Arsalan Khan, the Karlugh, and the Kankaful, Üzär, had taken it from him, they would not have both appeared together in the yūrat of the Chingiz Khan.

The Chinese historians state, with respect to these very events, that Ko-pau-yu, a Chinese general in the Mughal army, on recovering from a dangerous wound received in a previous battle, was sent to invest Bish-balagh, N. of Turfan, the capital of the Yiddi-Kut of the Ighūrs of the Muhammadan writers [why this should be, seeing that the Yiddi-Kut was a vassal of the Mughals at this time, is not said] but, on the other hand, the Chinese say Ho-chew, E. of Turfan, was the capital of the I-ghūrs; and that, at this time, Gon-chor, chief of the tribe of Yong-khu, in W. Tartary, subdued the city and country of Almaligh—O-li-ma-lu. Further, that Kosmeli, one of the great chiefs of the last of the Kitan dynasty, on becoming aware that the Mughals were come to make war on Koghlük, persuaded the chief of the city of Asan (supposed to be near to Kāshghar) to submit to Jabah, that Koghlük had raised up all the country N. W. of Turfan, on the E. and W., as far as the Sinhun, leagued with the prince of Kichah, or Kinhah, and the Kengils N. E. of Simerind, and, after slaying Koghlük, the Næmæns, and Kangi [Kanghumis, or Kankafuls], acknowledged the Chingiz Khan's supremacy.

To return to the upstart, Üzär. After he had obtained possession of Almā-
filled with despondency, and retired precipitately towards

Iğlu—the "Turkish Prince" of which is said, by Abül-Fidâ, to have been absent at this time, and which city is said by him to lie in the same degree of Lat. as Kâshgâr—he set out for Fûtâd-Sum [فوتاد سم], which was one of the greater cities in that part [afterwards buried in the sands, like several other cities], and gained possession of it likewise. Kâshlûk used continually to lead troops against him, defeat him, and ravage and lay waste his recently acquired territory. When Üzâr's position became dangerous, he despatched an agent to the Chingiz Khân, and complained of Kâshlûk's tyranny! The Chingiz Khân sent him a friendly answer—his being hostile to Kâshlûk was enough to ensure that—and Üzâr proceeded to his presence and was well received, a dress of honour and other favours were bestowed upon him, and Jûjî sought his daughter in marriage. The Chingiz Khân advised him to abstain from hunting excursions [the mode of hunting of the Mughals and other peoples of Asia, often referred to in our author's, as in other histories, is very different from our ideas of hunting, but I have not space to describe it here], lest he might fall a prey into the hands of a hunter foe, referring to Kâshlûk, and presented him with a thousand sheep in order that he might not have occasion to go forth in search of game. However, when Üzâr returned to Almâlîg, he again went out, when suddenly and unexpectedly the forces of Kâshlûk came upon him in a hunting-ground, captured him, and brought him before the gate of Almâlîg. The inhabitants, however, shut the gates of the city, and resolved to defend it. Fighting commenced, when, at this crisis, news arrived of the coming of the hosts of the Chingiz Khân, for he began to grow alarmed at Kâshlûk's continued success. On this Kâshlûk's troops retired from before Almâlîg, and, on the way back to their own territory, put Üzâr, the Kankulî, to death. The Chingiz Khân showed favour to his son, Safînâ-Tîgin [In the account of those who presented themselves to the Chingiz Khân on his way to Utrâr, which occurred very shortly after, the chief of Almâlîg is styled Tûkî-Tîgin. See note 1, page 969] gave him one of Jûjî's daughters to wife, and sent him back to Almâlîg [from this it would seem that he had been kept in the Mughal camp as security for his father's behaviour], where he took up his residence; and Arsalân Khân, the Kârîgh, who, at this period, was a vassal of the Mughal ruler, who had betrothed one of his daughters to him, was, by him, permitted to go back to Kâisîlîgh or Kâisîlîk.

In the meantime the Chingiz Khân's envoys and the merchants had been put to death and plundered through the perfidy of Añal-Jûk, the Kankulî, whose title was Ghâîr Khân, and whose title, in the MSS. of our author's work, by mistake, is written Kadr Khân. The Chingiz Khân, before undertaking the war against the Sultan of Khwârazm to avenge that outrage, determined not to leave behind him any one likely to contemplate sedition in his territories during his absence; and, as his chief enemies, Kâshlûk, the Nâemân, and Tûk-Tughân, the Makrî, were committing disturbances and sedition in the vicinity of his line of route, he determined to finish Kâshlûk first, and, accordingly, the Nû-yîn, Jabah, was sent "to the westward" against him, with a large army of several tomâns, from the frontier of Kârâ-Khijîâs, as already stated.

Kâshlûk, having committed violence and tyranny beyond measure in Khutan and Kâshgâr, and endeavoured to extinguish Islam therein, had nothing to expect but hostility from its people, and therefore, on hearing of the approach of a Mughal army to that frontier, he fled from Kâshgâr, and Jabah was allowed to take possession of it. He at once issued a proclamation that every one might follow his own faith unmolested. Every Nâemân that
Nishāpūr. On the Chingiz Khān receiving information of the Sultān’s departure from the environs of Balkh, and of the sedition in, and dispersion of, the army which was along with him, he ordered 60,000 Mughal horse, from his own camp, to cross the Jihān, and despatched this army, under the standard of two notable Mughals, one of whom was the Bahādur, Sahūdah by name, and the other the Nū-īn, Yamah, in pursuit of the Sultān.

fell into his hands was slaughtered, and he sent out bodies of troops in all directions in pursuit of Koshlūk. He, out of fear for his life, expecting no mercy from his relentless foes, threw himself into the mountain fastnesses of Badakhshān, and, in the agitated and perturbed state of mind he was in, entered a darah [a valley between hills, with a river running through it, also a pass] which had no way out of it. Some call it the Darah of the Sarīgh-Kol—the Sarīgh Lake, or Lake of the Sarīgh—or Sarīk-kul—or Sarīk-kul. Here we can easily find our ground. The word Sarīgh occurs in Sarīgh-īghūr, and in Sarīgh Fāmīr, which appears in Col. Walker’s map under the incorrect form of “Sarīs Pamir.” A party of hunters, natives of Badakhshān, were pursuing game in those hills when the Mughals suddenly pounced upon them. They told the Badakhshīs that they would spare their lives if they would seize and make over to them some fugitives who had lately fled from them. So some of the hunters, who had noticed some strangers, surrounded Koshlūk and his few dependents, captured them, and delivered them to the Mughals, who slew the whole of them; and Koshlūk’s head was forthwith cut off and taken away along with them. In that affair much booty, and precious jewels, fell into the hands of the Badakhshī hunters. Through the death of Koshlūk, sovereign of the Nāemāns, the countries of Khorst and Kāshgar, to the Ab-i-Fanākat, which is also called the Sīfūn, were added to the empire of the Chingiz Khān.

* This name is written in several ways. Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur, in the Kazān ed. of his History, makes it Ābū Chanah, which is, apparently, a misprint for Ābū. Our author, and Faṣiḥ-ī, and some others, write it Yamah— but it is for the most part written Jabah—in other works. Faṣiḥ-ī too has Suntāe for Swīdāe.

I must give a few details here, in addition to my notes at page 276 to 278, respecting the movements of these three Nū-yāns, which may be considered generally correct, and they are chiefly taken from the Tārīkh-i-Alfi, Jahān Kūshāe, Tārīkh-i-Jahān-grī, Rauza-t-as-Safā, and Ḥabib-us-Siyar, but it must be borne in mind that the authors of the four last, particularly, wrote under Mughal rule and Mughal patronage, and from one to three centuries after our author, who was contemporary with the Chingiz Khān, his sons, and grandsons, and knew persons who had taken part in the actions he relates, and therefore—although his accounts are meagre—he is entitled to full credit here. The authors who wrote under Mughal influence appear inclined to lessen the number of the Mughal forces on most occasions, while our author, who was very hostile to them, perhaps inclines to exaggerate a little on the other side. However, that a force of 30,000 horse only was engaged in this expedition of over three years, through half of Asia, containing great and strong fortresses, mighty cities, difficult passes, and tortuous defiles, is not worthy of credit, for, had
That host, in the month of Rabî’-ul-Awwal, 617 H.,
such a small number been sent they would have been liable to be cut off when
separated, in a country too where there were men who only wanted leaders to
make them fight. Even a force of 60,000, as our author states, allowing for
those killed, disabled, or carried off by disease, was small enough; but, it is
certain, that the Mughals, as was their custom, compelled men of the places
they captured or passed through to join them, and incorporated them in their
armies; and, by this means, they managed to save their own men at the cost of
their recruits. We must also remember that they had to depend on the
parts they overran for supplies. That they could be resisted in far greater
numbers than 30,000 or even 60,000 by resolute men, the defence of Utrār,
Khujand, Tirmid, Sīstān, and Khwārazm, abundantly shows, as well as the
determined resistance of other places mentioned by our author farther on, but
which no other writers have even named, much less described.

When the Chingiz Khān had reached Samrākand, in Zī-Ḥijjah, 616 H., [end
of February, A.D. 1220], and had completely invested that place, news, it is said,
reached him that the Sulṭān had crossed the Jīḥun by the Tirmid ferry [See
note 3, page 275. Perhaps his informant was Badr-ud-Dīn], that the greater
part of his troops were stationed in different fortresses, and the remainder
dispersed [see the note previously referred to] in various parts. The Chingiz
Khān consequently held counsel with his Nū-yāns, saying, that, as but very
few troops remained with the Sulṭān, and his son, Jalāl-ud-Dīn’s advice to
concentrate his forces was not complied with, it was now possible to complete
his downfall before his nobles and great men, and the armies of the different
parts of his empire, should have time to rally round him. It was therefore
determined that three Mughal Amīrs of tomāns, who were among the greatest
of the Mughal leaders, namely, the Nū-yān, Jahab, of the tribe of Bāsūt, the
Yamah of our author [Life and the might be mistaken one for the other in MSS.
Our author is distinct in his statement in several places], Yāfī-š, Faṣīh-š, and
some others, with one tomān [10,000 horse] as the van division, and the Ba-
ḥādur, Swīdān—[the] Sahūdah of our author and others—of the Mughal tribe of
Kungkur-āt, and the Nū-yān [the Bahādur ?], Tūkchār, also written Tūjkchār
and Taghchār, with their respective tomāns, should be directed to follow Jabah
[Yamah] in succession in pursuit of the Sulṭān. They were to pursue him
throughout his empire, and not to rest until they had captured him. If they
came up with, and found themselves not strong enough to cope with him, they
were to make it known to him, the Chingiz Khān, and not to turn aside; to
spare those who submitted, and leave Shāhnahs or Intendants with them, but
to annihilate all that showed hostility. They were likewise to understand that
three years were sufficient to accomplish this task, and turn the Sulṭān’s
empire upside down; that he himself did not intend to remain in the countries
west of the Sīhūn more than three years; and that they were to rejoin him, at
his native yūrat, or encamping ground, in Mughalīstān, by way of the Dašt
or Steppe of Kibchāk [along the north side of the Caspian]. They were
further instructed to acquaint him in case of their being in danger, that his son,
Ṭūlt, would be at once sent after them, at the head of an army, into Khurāsān,
and another army against Khwārazm, under his other sons.

These three leaders at once set out, and Jabah [Yamah], with his tomān,
formed the van, while the others were directed to follow him in succession [at
an interval of some few days probably]. They crossed the Āmūlah, or Jīḥun,
by the Panj-āb ford, at the end of Rabî’-ul-Ākhir—some say in the previous
crossed the river Jihün; and, in conformity with the
month—617 H. [about the latter part of June, A.D. 1220], and pushed on to Bâlkh, where they arrived together. They were waited on by a deputation of the chief men, received supplies, left an Intendant there, and then, according to their instructions, proceeded towards Hirât.

On the arrival of Jabah [Yamah] and Swîdâe [Sahûdah] at Hirât, they did not molest it because, when they entered that territory, the Malik of Hirât [Amin Malik, according to the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, whose title was Yamîn-ul-Mulk] sent an emissary to meet them, and to signify his submission and obedience, he, from their unexpected arrival, being in no condition to resist them; but such proceedings, on that Malik's part, are contrary to the statements of our author and the tenour of that Malik's life. See the account of Sultân Jalâl-ud-Dîn's coming to Ghaznîn farther on. They were allowed to receive supplies, but were not admitted within the walls. The two leaders continued to follow each other towards Zawah; and, when Tûkachâr reached Hirât, he must needs refuse to believe the statement of the Malik's submission to Jabah [Yamah] and Swîdâe [Sahûdah], and commence hostilities. The Malik therefore, of necessity, had to defend himself [See note 5, page 1014], and, in a conflict which ensued between the Mughals and Hirâtîs, Tûkachâr was killed, along with a great many of his force. This is a totally different person from the son-in-law of the Chingiz Khân killed before Nişâbûr.

In the meantime, the Malik of Hirât having sent messengers to the two Nû-yân in advance, complaining of Tûkachâr's conduct, agents from them to the Malik arrived merely in time to conduct his defeated troops to join the other two leaders. From this, it will be perceived, that it was only want of spirit, or rather want of union and concerted action, that prevented the Musalmân from exterminating this Mughal force entirely.

From what has been already narrated by our author above, it will have been seen that he knew more of the actual facts of this affair than the pro-Mughal writers I have taken this from. Tûkachâr was killed near Fushanîj, a dependency of Hirât, and not at or before Hirât itself.

These forces under these three leaders were not the only troops despatched from the Chingiz Khân's camp into Khurâsân in 617 H. Arsalân Khân of Kâcall, and the Juzbî, Tûlân, the Talangüt [?] [see note 6, page 1061], were despatched across the Jihün, about the same time, to invest Walkh of Tûkhâristân, which was bravely defended, and defied all the efforts of the invaders for eight months. See pages 1004—1006.

When Jabah [Yamah] and Swîdâe [Sahûdah] reached Zawah, they were in want of supplies [according to Rashîd-ud-Dîn], and all their solicitations and threats did not induce the people to open their gates or give them any, so, being in want, they stormed it vigorously. Others, however, state, that, the gates being shut upon them, and as the Sultân was their object, they would have left Zawah unmolested, but those within began to beat their drums, and sound their clarions, and from the walls greeted their departure with shouts, jeers, and obscene language, which so exasperated the Mughals that they turned back, and attacked the place. In the space of three days they carried it by storm, massacred all the inhabitants, young and old, and levelled Zawah with the dust, after which feat they turned their faces towards Nişâbûr, without delay, pushing on day and night, "like the autumn blast or clouds of spring, slaughtering all who came across them, and destroying and burning all they possibly could."
Chingiz Khān's commands, they did not inflict any injury on any of the cities and towns of Khurāsān, and had

The Sultān had reached Nishābūr in the month of Safar, 617 H. [See note 2, page 275], and left it precipitately in the following Rabī-ul-Ākhir; and this shows that the Mughals could not have crossed the Jīhūn in the latter month, but must have done so in the preceding one, as mentioned in the note referred to. The Sultān who had lost all heart—indeed some fatality seems to have overcome him—probably, the prophecy of the astrologers, already mentioned, may have influenced his superstition—could not be induced to make any stand, and seemed only to seek a place of safety. The females of his family he sent to the strong fortress of Kāran-dujzig, to the care of Tāj-ud-Dīn, Tughān. The Fakhr-ul-Mulk, Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Ma'ālī, the Kātib, a native of Jām, the Ziyā-ul-Mulk, the 'Ārīq, the Zawzanī, and the Majīr [by some, Majd]-ul-Mulk, 'Umr-i-Rajī, the Kāfī, who were of the Šadrs of Khurāsān and Wazīrs of the Sultān, were left to administer the affairs of Nishābūr and its dependencies; and the Sultān left it, taking the route of Isfārān and Rai, which he passed without making any stay, and made for Kāzwīn, at the foot of the citadel of which his son, Rukn-ud-Dīn, the ruler of 'Irākī, was encamped with 30,000 'Irākīs. Others again say, that the Sultān did stay at Rai, and that he there heard of a Mughal army having entered Khurāsān. On the way to Kāzwīn, the veteran, Nuṣr-ud-Dīn, Hazār-Aṣr, also styled Hazār-Ṣaf, one of the greatest of the ancient Malikīs, and father-in-law of Ghāyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Pīr Shāh, the Sultān's son, joined him from Lār; and the Sultān went along with him to inspect Shīrān-koh, with the object of staying there.

When Jabah [Yamah] and Swīlāe [Sahūdah] reached Nishābūr, they tortured every one they could meet with in order to extort information respecting the Sultān's movements, and sent, and called upon the Fakhr-ul-Mulk, and his colleagues, to submit to the Chingiz Khān's authority. They supplied the wants of the Mughals, and sent out three agents, with offerers, to express their submission, and to state that he, the Fakhr-ul-Mulk, was an old man of the class of people of the pen, that they were in search of the Sultān, and, in case they should overcome him in battle, the country would naturally be theirs—not, "Speed after him," etc., as a late writer, using some imperfect translation, says—"and that he and his colleagues would be their slaves."

Jabah [Yamah] gave them encouragement, and conciliated them; and, taking into consideration what had happened at Hirāt, left a Shābnah, or Intendant, with them for their security, and issued a proclamation, in the name of the Chingiz Khān, written in the I-ghūrī character, in the following words, or words to the same effect: "Be it known to every one, far and near, high and low, great and small, of Ī-rān and Tūr [i.e. Tūrān], that the Pure God [How history repeats itself! Here also the Pure God—the God of Peace—is invoked, but not under the veil of Christianity] hath given unto me the sovereignty of the east and of the west. Whoso shows hostility to me shall see no more safety in this world: his kinsmen and connexions shall perish, together with his women and children; but they, who place their heads upon the line of obedience unto me, shall, instead of the cap, place a diadem on their heads." He also advised them to submit when the Mughal army, which was following, should arrive, and not to trust to the strength of their walls.

The Mughal leaders made no stay at Nishābūr, but pushed onwards. Jabah [Yamah] made towards Māzandarān by way of Juwain; and, on
nothing to do with them, except in the territory of Hirāt, at
a place which they call the To-i of Būshanj [Fūshanj]

arriving therein, committed great outrages, more particularly at Astarābād,
and at Āmul, where he ordered a general massacre. Swidāe [Sahūdah] moved
to Jām and Tūs. The latter place refused to submit, on which he massacred
the inhabitants, and then proceeded by way of Rādakān [a well known place
in history and geography, but it appears in Major St. John’s new map of
Persia, published by the India Office, under the impossible name of “Rādlān”],
Isfārāin, or Isfārāyīn, as it is also spelt, and Khabūshān, to Dāmghān.
The people took refuge in the strong and famous fortress of Gird-Koh, W. of the
city, and refused to submit, but a good many, who could not reach it, were
massacred. He then moved upon Simnān, where many people were put to
the sword, but places which submitted were spared.

Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Hazār-Asp or Hazār-Ṣaf, the Atā-Bak of Lār, who, as
already stated, had reached the Sultān’s presence, advised him to take shelter
in Tang-Talū—also written Tangah-Takū—between Luristân and
Fārs, as related in note 4, page 277, but, hearing of the fall of Rai, and the
near arrival of the Mughals, the Sultān and his sons retired towards Kārun-
duj, and Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn is said to have retired to Lār; and other grandees
and chiefs likewise sought places of safety.

On his way towards Kārun-duj, the Sultān narrowly escaped a party of the
enemy, as related previously, at page 277; and he stayed there only two days to
get fresh horses, and then turned his face, it is said, towards Baghdad [بیابان]
—the place of all others, save the camp of the Chingiz Khān, which he would
be likely to avoid], but some MSS. have, to Fulād [فولاد—ba-Fulād]; but,
hearing that the Mughals had already reached Kārun-duj, he changed his route
for the fortress of Surkhāhān—سیرکهان—and from thence entered Gilān.

Jābah [Yamāh] left a force to invest Kārun-duj, and again set out towards
Rai in pursuit of the unfortunate Sultān. Now, considering that, at the out-
set, if only 30,000 men were detached, what with fighting at Hirāt and other
places, besides the losses the Mughals must have sustained after such marches,
to leave a force behind to invest this stronghold must have so weakened their
numbers as to have rendered their destruction easy, I cannot, therefore, for a
moment, credit the statement that only 30,000 horse were detached. Consider-
ating that the Pro-Mughal writers generally lessen the numbers of their own
forces, to flatter their patrons’ vanity, our author’s statement, that 60,000 was
the number despatched, is much more reliable, and much more probable.

When Sultān Muḥammad reached Gilān, Ṣa’lūk, one of the chiefs of the
Gil, received him, and advised him to take up his residence in Gilān. He
remained seven days there, when he again set out towards Rustamdar for
Astadārah [سادات], or Astarah [سدر]—the Aśdar—of others, and
Astāwā or Istāwā of the Jami’-ut-Tawārīkh, where all his treasures that
remained with him were lost. From thence he set out in the direction of
Dā-nūf—[in some MSS. دنوف and even ابوب], a dependency of Āmul,
and, from that place, embarked on the Kulzum [the sea—the Caspian or Sea
of Khurāz], on the advice of the Chief of Māzandarān, as related at page 278.

4 To-i—but, in a few copies, būa—ba-īa. In Pūṣhto, wore in the masculi-
ne, and towe’a—also written woe’a—in the feminine, signifying—split, rent,
scattered, dispersed, etc., is the past part. of the intrans. verb to-wetad, but
it does not follow that the above is a Pūṣhto word. The printed text is
hopelessly defective here.
where one of the chief men of the Mughal army, in a foray therein, went to hell. Būshanj was but a small fortification; and they took it by storm, and martyred all the Musalmāns in the place. From thence they pushed on towards Nīshāpūr, and arrived there, and appeared before the gate of that city. A battle having taken place there [with the troops therein quartered], the son-in-law of the Chingiz Khān was killed. Without occupying themselves in avenging his death, they proceeded onwards towards Tabaristān and Māzandarān in search of Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh. The Sultān was encamped within the darah [valley and pass] of Timmīshiah, on the road to Māzandarān, when, suddenly, the Mughal troops came up with him.

Sultān Muḥammad left Utsuz, the Ḥājib, under the canopy of state in the centre of his troops, with orders to move them to Dāmghān and 'Irāk, whilst he, himself, entered into the mountains of Māzandarān, and embarked on the sea [the Caspian], as has been previously related. The Mughal forces now separated into two armies; the one, which was greatest, pushed on towards 'Irāk in pursuit of Sultān Muḥammad's troops, whilst the smaller one proceeded down the darah of Timmīshiah.

Respecting the movements of both these armies, no further information, such as might be considered certain, reached Khurāsān. Some said that, not finding Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, in Māzandarān and 'Irāk, they fell upon the son of that Sultān, whom they were wont to style Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī Shānastī, and martyred him and the forces of 'Irāk; and, by way of Āzarbājījān, came out in the direction of the Dasht-i-Khīfchāk; but God knows best.

6 This is incorrect: it was on the second occasion that a son-in-law of the Chingiz Khān—of whom he had several—was killed. Our author has confused this event. See page 1028, and note 9 page 1034.

6 Not marked in modern maps. It is also written Timmēshah and Timmīshah.

7 He had but a small number with him.

8 As our author, up to the time he wrote his work, was in doubt respecting the subsequent movements of these two Mughal commanders, he having, in the year 624 H., left his native place and country about the time of their return, and retired into Hind, in order to connect what I have before briefly narrated, I will give a short account of their farther proceedings in this Mughal raid.
The Mughals first possessed themselves of Karan-dujas [which was never called "Kareendar," nor was it situated "between Nessa and Nishapoor," nor was it situated "in the Kurdish mountains, between Kermanshah and Baghdad," at a place called "Aradahan," nor was it "in Khorassan." See "Mongols Proper" pp. 81 and 714], so called after Karan, an ancient Dilamarah king and champion, of the Gut race, and situated in the Kasvan Darab—ةدلا_ة_ة_ة—that is to say, Karan's Castle. Without the points on the last letter, j might be mistaken for y, but any one acquainted with the Persian language would naturally, whether there were points or not, read a, affixed to the name of a fortress, as dujas, as a matter of course. It was plundered and levelled with the dust, after which the Mughals moved against I-lal—ة_ة_ة_ة_ة_ة[called Lal by our author, at page 280, which was not called "Ilak" then, and I think there is no proof admissible that it is called "Al Ask" now. It is precisely the same word, in the original, as PETIS DE LA CROIX's "Yiale"][where was the Sulthan's mother, and other ladies of his family, and the younger children, and invested it.]

Abu-l-Ghazi, Bahadur's history has I-lan, but in the Turkh-i-Alff this place is, invariably, styled the fortress of Lur-jaan—ة_ة_ة_ة_ة_ة—and it is also stated that it was on a mountain in Tabaristan, which, in after times, was noted for a spring, the drops of water from which petrified. The same authority states that Yammah [as in our author, and the Jabah of others] detached a Mughal leader named Suntse with a force to invest it.

No one could call to recollection the time when that stronghold ever wanted for water, for cisterns had been constructed previously, capable of containing such a quantity of water that if no rain fell for years, when they were once filled, there would have been no want of it. It seemed, however, as though Providence was against the Khwarazmfs and Musalmans in general, for, in fifteen days after the investment began, there was scarcely any water remaining, and no rain fell—an unusual event in that district—from the time the Mughals invested it. Consequently, the Sultan's mother, Turkhan Khattun, and the Wazir, Nasir-ud-Din, who was there also, were compelled to come down, and surrender. Almost at the moment of their reaching the foot of the walls the rain began to fall, and continued to pour, in such wise, that the water flowed out under the portals of the fortress!

The place was sacked, and all the vast treasures of gems, gold, and other precious things, fell into the hands of the barbarian Mughals, to such an amount that, besides precious stones and the like, ten thousand thousand—10,000,000—migkals [about 1 drachm each] of red gold, and 1000 kharwar—a load sufficient for an ass—of silken fabrics, clothes, etc., were among the spoils. This booty was sent, along with the unfortunate Turkhan Khattun, her children, grandchildren, and connexions, and Nasir-ud-Din, the Wazir, towards Samarkand, to the camp of the Chingiz Khan; but, on their way thither, they found that his camp was then in the neighbourhood of Tal-kan [Nasr-koh of Tal-kan of Khurasan, as our author states farther on]. When the captives were brought before him, the Wazir, Nasir-ud-Din, was forthwith put to death, together with all the male children of the Sultan's family, however young. What befel the females may be imagined. I shall have something more to say respecting them and their cruel fate farther on.

After that, when Sultan Jalal-ud-Din was defeated on the banks of the Sind, and his haram too fell into the power of the Mughals, the females were sent to join Turkhan Khattun, and were all kept together in one place.

When Sultan Muhhammad, who was then seeking safety on one of the
islands in the Caspian [Ab-i-Sugān, referred to in note 4, page 278, is contained in the map of the Caspian and countries around it, in the Masālik wa Mamālik, and is placed on the south shore, about midway between Āmul and Astarābd], as previously related at page 279, heard of the capture of this stronghold, and the fate of his family, he died, within a few days, of a broken heart [but, according to our author, and contrary to all those who wrote after him, and improbable too—whilst being conveyed back towards Khwārazm. See page 279], in Shāwāl, the tenth month of 617 H. [end of Nov., or early in Decr., old style, 1220 A.D.]. Considering that the first day of 618 H. commenced on the 24th of February, 1221 A.D., it is very evident that the Sultan could not have died on the 10th of January of that year, as stated in "Mongols Proper," on the authority of M. Wolff.

After the capture of Kārān-dūj and Ī-lāl, and the death of the Sultan, had become known to the Mughal Nū-yīns, Jabāh [Yamah] and Swīdā [Saḥūdah], they despatched an agent to the camp of the Chingiz Khān to inform him thereof, and to intimate that the late Sultan’s son, Sultan Jalāl-ud-Dīn, was coming in his direction; that they themselves were thus relieved of any responsibility respecting them; and would now proceed to carry out the rest of his instructions by pushing on into ‘Irāq and Māzandarān, and would rejoin him, within the prescribed time, by way of the Dar-band of Shīrūn, and the Dasht-i-Khīshāk.

Where the Mughals wintered—for it was mid-winter when they heard of the Sultan’s death—if they went into winter-quarters, is not precisely stated, but it must have been in the north-western part of Khurāsān; and as soon as the season opened in the following year—618 H.—Jabāh [Yamah] set out towards Rai by way of Khwāfā. Having reached it, expecting he should be unable to take it alone, he summoned Swīdā [Saḥūdah] to join him. There were, however, unknown to them, allies within the walls. The inhabitants of Rai were divided into two religious factions, the Hanīfīs and the Shāfīs. The former had, not long before, burnt a masjid belonging to their rivals, upon which, when it became known that the Mughals were coming, the Kāfī of the Shāfīs, and a number of his party, hastened forth to welcome them. They then offered to betray the city into their hands, the price being, for betraying their country and faith, and playing into the hands of barbarians, the destruction of the rival sect. The Mughal leaders accepted the terms; and they, having been admitted within the walls by the traitors, proceeded to butcher the Hanīfīs, but, having had clear proof of the disinterested friendship of the Shāfīs, and their trustworthiness, the Mughals massacred them also, and completely destroyed the city. Thus was Rai—one of the most flourishing, populous, and finest cities of Asia—desolated, plundered, and depopulated; and it never after recovered. This took place early in 618 H. After this feat, Jabāh [Yamah] advanced towards Hamadān, and Swīdā [Saḥūdah] to Kāzvin.

When Jabāh reached Kum, to use the expressive simile of one of my authorities, “by the Mughals, the people of Kum became gūm”—the Persian for lost, destroyed, annihilated, etc. At Kum, too, were two religious factions—the Shāfīs and the Sunnīs. The former sent a deputation to wait on Jabāh [Yamah], and incited him to destroy the latter; and, as usual with the Mughals, after slaughtering the followers of the rival sect, they sent the followers of ‘Alī after them, carried off such as escaped the sword into captivity, and left not a living soul at Kum; in fact, they “destroyed” them completely, in “the true Circassian style.”
IRRUPTION OF THE INFIDELS INTO ISLÂM.

When Jahâb [Yamâh] arrived near Hamadân, the venerable Sayyid, 'Alâ-ud-Daulâh, the Hamadânî—some, including the Rauṣat-uş-Ṣâfâ, say Majd-ud-Daulâh, his son—of the race of 'Alî, who was dwelling there—not “commanding,” save in a spiritual point of view—sent him offerings, and tendered submission, in order to save the place and people, and agreed to receive a Mughal Shaikhah.

In the meantime, the Mughals obtained information that a body of the late Sulîn's forces, under two leaders, Beg-Tîfîn, Salâhî, and Kûj-Bûkâ Khân, had assembled at Najâs [or Nakhs? M.S.S. إمّام], upon which they marched against them, overthrew, pursued, and dispersed them. Jahâb [Yamâh] attacked Gûrûd, Khurramâbâd, and Nih-âwand, which were plundered and burnt, after the people were put to the sword. The Mughals continued to carry their depredations into every part of 'Irâk, with the exception of Isfahân, which remained safe in the hands of the Khwârazmîs, and did not fall under the yoke of the Mughals until many years after, and then treachery caused its fall, as our author relates farther on. After the slaughter of a vast number of people, Kazwin was the next point assailed. The people defended it desperately, for the Kazwîns adopted their usual custom of street-fighting, which the disposition and nature of the streets of their city enabled them successfully to do. They fought hand to hand with the Mughals, and some 50,000 men were killed altogether on both sides. The city was captured at last, and those who still remained alive were massacred, and the place was sacked. It stands to reason that, if only 30,000 Mughals crossed the Oxus originally, as said by the pro-Mughal historians, they must have been somewhat reduced even were this the only fighting they engaged in, and therefore, as I have before mentioned, the 60,000 of our author must be much nearer the truth; and even in this case the Mughals must have greatly increased their troops by forced recruiting by the way. In more than one place, farther on, the despatch of fresh troops by the Chingiz Khân to reinforce these two Nû-yîns is expressly mentioned.

Having plundered, destroyed, and massacred to such degree in 'Irâk, the winter season [618-19 H.] having now arrived, Jahâb [Yamâh] and Shâhî [Sahûdah] took up their winter-quarters in some of the dependencies of Rai. When the spring came round the Mughals turned their faces towards 'Azarbâjân, reached Zinân, took it, and massacred the people. They then advanced to Arbîl, which they treated in the same fashion, and burnt it, after which they marched by way of Sar-i-Ab towards Tabrîz. At that time, the ruler of 'Azarbâjân was the Atâ-Bak, Muğaṣfar-ud-Dîn, Yûz-Bak [see page 171], the son of the Jahân Pahlawân, and the last of that dynasty [see page 172, note 2], who, on the appearance of the enemy near Tabrîz, concealed himself, and despatched an agent to Jahâb [Yamâh], together with valuable offerings, soliciting an accommodation. This was agreed to, and, it having been arranged, the Mughals passed on without farther molesting Tabrîz.

According to the Rauṣat-uş-Ṣâfâ, however, "the Atâ-Bak, Jahân Pahlawân, resisted the Mughals at first, but, having been defeated and routed, sent his son, Yûz-Bak, tendering submission, and despatched valuable presents, and thus saved his territory from further hostility"! The Jahân Pahlawân, however, died thirty-seven years before this, in 582 H.

The greater part of 'Irâk and 'Azarbâjân having been trodden by the hoofs of the Mughals, and winter coming on, Jahâb [Yamâh] and Shâhî [Sahûdah] took up their winter [619-620 H.] quarters in the plain of Mughân, but, according to Alî, at Sûfâ—سُوُفَا.
I am unaware whether the accounts taken from Wolff, Erdmann, and other "Professors," quoted by the author of the "Mongols Proper," [p. 82], are verbatim; but, whether or not, these events have been made a terrible hash of in that book, and some, especially respecting the return of the Mughals homeward, have been mixed up with events which happened when Jūfj entered Khīchāk some years subsequently. "Chepē Noyan, and Subutae Behadur," as they are styled therein, are made to capture, after some other places, "Kum, Hamadan, and Rudbar," and, afterwards, are marched upon "Kazvin," and the Sultan, who is, by the same account, still living, is followed to the south shore of the Caspian. This was in 1220 A.D. Then we hear that "Chepē" and "Subutae," after taking llak [p. 93], marched against Rai, where the rival sects bring destruction upon each other. Then "Kum" is taken a second time, and "Chepē" makes a raid upon "the towns of Irak, Dinawar," etc., attacks "Nehawend, the far-famed Ecbatana," while "Subutae" captures Kazvin over again [p. 93], although it had been already taken, previous to the Sultan's death, and 50,000 people slaughtered [p. 82]. After this, "Chepē" advances through "Dilem upon Azerbaijan, which, together with Arran, were then ruled by the Atabeg Uzbek," etc., etc., and, in the spring of the following year, after wintering in "the rich plains of Mogan," the "Mongols advance into Georgia." These events are said to have taken place before the Sultan's death, in 1221 A.D., at p. 82, and, at p. 93, towards the end of 1222 A.D. [= 618 H.]. At p. 97, we are again informed that, "in 1224 A.D. [= 621 H.], a small body of 3000 [the original 30,000?] Mongols" was able to once more "destroy Rayi, to do the same to Kum, and Kashan," etc., etc., so "Rai" or "Rayi," as it is indiscriminately styled, and also "Kum," were, according to this account, destroyed no less than two and three times respectively, in about as many years. How speedily these cities must have recovered again from total ruin and destruction! All these different statements, however, refer really to one and the same events, for, on the first occasion of their inroad beyond the Oxus, with the exception, probably, of Marw and Khwārazm, no Mughal troops were left to hold any position in Khurāsān or 'Irāk-i 'Ajam, and, consequently, in Uktāe's time fresh armies had to be sent. See page 1007.

During this winter [619-620 H.—the winter of 1222-23 A.D.], 2000—some say 10,000—Gūrjī [Georgian] cavalry, all picked men, attacked the Mughals—where is not said, but in one of their advanced positions probably, and, as might have been expected from such a small force, they were overthrown. The Gūrjīs now made preparations for attacking the Mughals in the coming spring, and sought help from Asia Minor, from the Dīār-i-Bakr, and Dīār-i Rabi'. The Mughals, at the same time, were meditating an invasion of Gūrjistān as soon as the season should open. At this time, a Turk slave in the service of the Atā-Bakr, Yūz-Bakr, named Aghūsh, also called Aghūsh, collected together a considerable force, consisting of Khalj Turks, Kurds, and other adventurers, and entered the service of the Mughals. This is a specimen of one of the ways in which they received reinforcements. As soon as the season opened, Aghūsh, and his force of "free companions," supported by the Mughals, entered Gūrjistān, carrying slaughter and devastation as far as the gates of Taffīs. They were soon encountered by the valiant Gūrjīs, and the latter, having inflicted great slaughter upon Aghūsh's force, were about to overpower it, when the main Mughal army arrived on the spot, just in time to save it. Unable to withstand the combined forces, the Gūrjīs had to beat a retreat.
In Safar, 620 H. [March, 1223, A.D.], Jabah [Yamah] and Swidā' [Sahūdah] advanced to Marāghah, which territory, at that time, was ruled by a female sovereign—I have no space for much detail—who held her court in a fortress named Rū-In-duiğ, three farsāchs or leagues from Marāghah. Although she was unprovided with the means of efficient resistance, and almost destitute of troops, the people defended Marāghah for a week, when it was captured, and the people massacred, and all their property destroyed or burnt.

After the capture of Marāghah, the Mughals moved towards Ardabil [Ardibil of the maps], but, as the fame of its ruler, Muğaffar-ud-Dīn, Gargarf, for valour was sufficiently known, the Mughals gave up the idea of assailing it, and they thought it advisable to retire. On the way back, intimation reached Jabah [Yamah] and Swidā' [Sahūdah] of resistance in another quarter.

In the spring of this same year, 620 H., another attempt, but a feeble one, was made to make a stand against the invaders. It must be remembered, however, that Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn had been overthrown on the banks of the Sind some time—about a year or more—before this, that he was now in the tracts east of that river—the present Panjāb, and Sindh—and that there was no supreme head to direct an efficient resistance: there was no combination. Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Abālah, one of the confidential officers of the late Sultān, and who held the Intendancy of 'Irāk during his reign, assembled a number of followers, whom the pro-Mughal historians, of course, style "rogues and vagabonds," to oppose the enemy; and the people of Hamadān also rose, slew the Mughal Shāhnah, or Intendant—not a "governor"—located there, and openly threw off the Mughal yoke. They then seized the Sayyid, 'Alā-ud-Daulah, before referred to, for submitting to those infidels in the first place, and shut him up in the fortress of Kurbat—کرما—or Gurbat. On this Jabah [Yamah] re-entered 'Irāk, and moved towards Hamadān again, against Jamāl-ud-Dīn; and all offers of submission [if made], on his part, were rejected, and Jamāl-ud-Dīn was attacked, defeated, and slain. Hamadān, nevertheless, refused to open its gates, and resisted bravely for three days, when the Fākīh [the Muḥammadan Law-officer, a theologian], who was the Pehlāwā, or spiritual guide of the Hamadānīs, and the prime mover in all this resistance, was killed; and the Mughals succeeded in gaining an entrance into the place by means of a secret passage, which this very Fākīh had had excavated from his own house to the hills adjoining the city. The usual scene of slaughter, plunder, and devastation ensued.

After the capture of Hamadān, the Mughals set out towards Tabrīz, at which place, at that time, one of the chief 'Ulamā, Shams-ud-Dīn, 'Uṣmān, the Tughrā-e, a man of great learning and wisdom, was residing—the Atā-Bak, Yūr-Bak, the ruler, having retired to Khūāe—who, in counsel with the chief men, sent presents and supplies to the Mughals, and tendered submission, and, among other things, a vessel filled with mercurial ointment, which, he thought, "might be very valuable and useful to the Mughals in freeing their persons from certain troublesome parasites, as they had come from a long distance." This so struck the Mughals, who met his agents with the presents at Maḥmūdābād, and at once proceeded to examine and count them, as a proof of his good wishes and intentions for their welfare, that they then and there turned back, and contented themselves with sending an Intendant to Tabrīz, along with the bearer of the presents, as Shams-ud-Dīn had requested.

The Mughals now marched to Khūāe, and Salmās, plundering, devastating, and slaughtering, and then proceeded to Nakẖjūān, Barda', and Bāīlţān. This last mentioned place was summoned to submit, and its people were
desirous of so doing, but, in a tumult which arose, the Mughal emissary was killed, upon which the Mughals stormed the place, violated all the women, and then made a general massacre of the inhabitants. After this feat of brutality, they advanced to Ganjah, which submitted.

At Ganjah intimation reached the Mughal Nū-yīns that an army of Gūrjīs were on the way to attack them, and they moved from thence to meet them. With 5000 men—probably double the number—Jabah [Yamah] placed himself in ambush, while Swīdā [Sahūdah], with the main army, was sent forward to oppose the Gūrjīs; but they treated him so roughly that he had to beat a retreat in considerable disorder, pursued by the Gūrjīs. The latter, however, took to plundering the effects of the Mughals, and, while thus occupied, and their ranks broken, Jabah [Yamah] fell upon them unawares from the ambuscade with his fresh troops; and Swīdā [Sahūdah] soon after succeeded in rallying his army, and also attacked the Gūrjīs. They, in their turn, had to retire with the loss, it is said, in Alfi and Rauṣat-uš-Šafā, of 30,000 men, but 3000 may be nearer the truth. The defeated Gūrjīs effected a junction at Tağfs with Mālik Dā-ūd, their ruler, who had there assembled an army to resist the invaders. The Mughals, however, had sufficient experience of Gūrj prowess, for the difficult nature of their country was made the plea for not further molesting them; and the Mughal leaders turned aside towards the territory of Shirwān. On reaching Shamākhī, they proceeded at once to fill the ditch with everything they could get hold of, dead bodies of horses, asses, bullocks, cows, and even sheep included, captured it, violated the females, massacred its inhabitants, and destroyed the place, and Shirwān was reduced to the same state of desolation as other countries they had passed through.

Having carried slaughter, devastation, and ruin—this is “an afflatus of architecture” possibly—from the frontier of Māwar-un-Nahr to the Kaukasas, the Mughal leaders now prepared to carry out the plan of returning by the Dasht-i-Khīchāk into Mughalistān, and rejoining the Chingiz Khān, by taking the route of the Dar-band or Barrier—the Bāb-ul-Abwāb, or Gate of Gates, of the ’Arabs, known to the classical writers as the Caspian Gates—but, as they were totally unacquainted with the route, the Mughals had recourse to treacherous stratagem, at which they were such adepts. They despatched an agent to the Shirwān Shāh, as the ruler of that territory was styled, who had shut himself up in his strongest fortress, saying: “We do not intend to molest your territory any more; send unto us here some persons that we may enter into a compact together for the future, and then we will depart towards another direction.” The Shirwān Shāh was so delighted at the idea of getting rid of these sanguinary barbarians that he was thrown off his guard completely, and despatched ten persons of note to their camp. Arrived there, the Mughals at once struck off the head of one of them in order to terrify the others, and told them that, if they guided them to the Dar-band, and conducted them through and beyond it safely, they should be set free, and, if not, that they should be sent to join their comrade. These helpless creatures could do no other: so they guided them; and the Mughals, having passed beyond the Barrier, entered the territory of the Alān, a feat which no army had been able to accomplish, without guides, since the time of Alexander.

The Alānians assembled in great numbers to resist the invaders, and combined with the tribes of Khīchāk [respecting the name Khīchāk see note at page 877, para. five] for that purpose, and occupied the route in the front of the Mughals, prepared to resist their passage. The Mughals perceived they were in great danger, and again had recourse to a treacherous
stratagem devised by Swīdāc [Sahūdah]. They sent secretly to the Khīf-
chāk tribes, saying: "You and we are both Turks [here is farther proof
respecting what I have said in my note on the descent of the Turks of
the t-māks of Tāttār and Mughal. See last para. of that note, page 900]
of one and the same stock, and all kinsmen together [and as they were
Nagūs, vul. "Nognys," this was really true, certain ethnological philosophers
notwithstanding. See note to page 888, para. two], while the Ālānān
are aliens and foreigners. Let us enter into a covenant that we will be the
friends of each others' friends and foes of each others' foes, and, whatever you
may desire to have in the shape of money or goods, we will furnish you with,
provided you give no aid to the Ālānān, and leave us to deal with them." Jatab [Yamah]
and Swīdāc [Sahūdah] accordingly sent many things from
among the plunder the Mughals had brought with them, and money likewise.
This induced the Khīfchāk tribes to withdraw, and they went away, upon
which the Mughals fell upon the Ālānān, slaughtered great numbers of them,
ravaged their country, and got out of their difficulties. Then, according to
their usual custom, breaking the pledges they had given the Khīfchāks, they
made a forced march, fell upon them unawares in their own territory, slew,
and dispersed them. The Khīfchāks fled to the territory of the Rūs [Russians],
while the Mughals halted in the kīshlāk or winter quarters of the Khīfchāks,
which they appropriated, and therein they passed the winter of 620-21 H.
[A.D. 1223-24].

After being thus treated, the remainder of the Khīfchāk tribes sought aid
from the Rūs—in the Rauṣat-us-Ṣafā, and some other Histories, they are
always styled Urus—رس—and, between them, they raised a great army, and
set out to encounter the Mughals, who also advanced to meet them. The
Mughal leaders, finding the confederates too numerous for them to cope with,
again had recourse to stratagem, in order to separate them. When the Rūs
and Khīfchāks drew near, the Mughals, as though terrified of them, took to
flight; and the Rūs, taking heart, followed in pursuit of them for ten or twelve
successive days, when, finding the number of their pursuers gradually dimin-
nished, and that the horses of the remainder were quite knocked up, one morn-
ing, at dawn, the Mughals mounted quietly, and fell upon the Rūs; and, such
was the havoc they made among them, that "the ground was made wet with
their blood."

It is stated in Alīf, that, in the beginning of the year 611 of the Riḥlat =
621 H. [it certainly is not correct that the two Nū-yīns rejoined the Chingiz Khān
early in 620 H., as will be proved farther on], the Mughals moved from the
country of the Khīfchāks, and penetrated as far as the city of Sūūdāk [سوداک]—
by some Sūūdāk [سوداک]—on the shore of the same sea adjoining, and near
to [the territory of?] Kūṣṭāntiāh [Constantinople ?], and gained possession of
Sūūdāk city, after which they entered the country of the Rūs, as above
stated.

Pétis de la Croix gives another account, however—but does not quote
his authority—in which it is stated that the Ālāns were Tāttārs of Dāghistān,
but, in the account above, the Mughals, who doubtless knew best, styled
them "aliens and strangers," and did not by descent consider them, in any
way, connected with themselves, who were "Turks." "They devastated their
country," he says, "so that the Mughals might not obtain anything, and this
enraged them so, that they surprised and ruined their chief city, Tarkū, and
took Terki [Mosdok of the present day], the chief city of the Cherkassians,
who were in alliance with them, and also with the Kalimak Tartars."
According to that account, it was to these last—the Khīshchāık of my authorities—that the Mughals sent envoys claiming them as kinsmen, and that, by favour of the Kāl-i-māks, they crossed the Ātīl or Wolga, and entered Khīshchāık. P. de la Croix has here brought in events which happened when Jūjī Khan subsequently went into Khīshchāık, mentioned farther on, from a totally opposite direction, as the country of the Kāl-i-māks sufficiently indicates.

The pro-Mughal writers narrate that, after the defeat of the Rūς, as I have narrated above, Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāı [Sahūdah] set out to rejoin the Chingiz Khān, and, having done so, laid their spoils before him; and that they completed their expedition within the prescribed period of three years, in which case they must have rejoined him before the fourth month of 620 H. [= June 1223 A.D.]. But what are the facts? Having passed the Ātīl, with the consent of the Khīshchāık tribes, the season being far advanced, the Mughals had to winter in the Daşht-i-Khīshchāık. They appropriated the lands and pastures of the Khīshchāık tribes, in consequence of which hostilities arose between them and the Mughals; but the latter, being unable to cope with the former, had to act on the defensive, and send for aid to Jūjī Khān, who, since the disagreement with his brothers before Ürganj of Khwārazm, had retired into the Daşht-i-Khīshchāık, which had previously been assigned to him as his sef. The Chingiz Khān did not move homewards from the Indus until the spring of 620 H., and passed the summer at Bu'kān or Bughlān; and they only joined him in the summer of 621 H., when he was encamped near the Sīhūn, while others say they re-joined him only at Kalūr-ān. Jūjī sent them aid, the Khīshchāık tribes were now forced to submit; and Jūjī, at this juncture, was summoned to join his father, who was on his return homewards, and he therefore kept Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāı [Sahūdah] in Khīshchāık during his absence. They, by his command, reduced the Nagūz [vul. Nogays], crossed the river in their route, easily on the ice, reached what was afterwards known as Hājī-Tarkhān, the capital of the Nagūz, situated on an island in the Ātīl or Wolga, reduced it, and compelled the Nagūz to submit, after a war of six months, to the Mughal yoke. Jūjī was directed to return to the Daşht-i-Khīshchāık in the autumn of 621 H. [A.D. 1224], after the great āvrillā, subsequent to which Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāı [Sahūdah] set out for the urdū of the Chingiz Khān, and, in due course, joined him during the summer of 621 H., as stated farther on.

Now considering that the two Nū-yūns and their force wintered in the kīshlāık of the Khīshchāık tribes, during the winter of 620-21 H. [= A.D. 1223-24], and are supposed to have rejoined the urdū of the Chingiz Khān “early in that year,” the idea of those, originally 30,000 horse, after nearly three years campaigning, during which they must have lost a good many of their number from sickness and fatigue, without allowing for the killed and wounded [P. de la Croix, quoting “Fadlallah,” as he styles the “great Raschid,” says that “Hubbe and Suida” had lost 10,000 men, and the Mughal ruler had sent off a reinforcement of 20,000 to join them in Māzandarān, when Tūfl was sent against Nīshāpur in 618 H.], “dividing into two sections” after reaching the Daşht-i-Khīshchāık, and partially destroying “Hādshi Tarkan”—“twisted” into Astrakhan by Europeans—and one body going back from thence into the “Krima,” and plundering the Genoese city of “Sudak,” then “rejoining their brethren on the Don,” and returning by way of “Precop,” as stated in “Mongols Proper” on the authority, apparently, of Karamzin and Wolf, respecting this Russian campaign [pp. 94 and 95] is, as regards the expedition under Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāı [Sahūdah], at this
ACCOUNT OF THE CROSSING OF THE RIVER JIHUN BY
THE TROOPS OF THE CHINGIZ KHAN TOWARDS KHURASAN.*

After the Nū-in, Yamah, and the Bahādur Sahūdah, with 60,000 horse, passed through Khurāsān, and proceeded towards Irāk, disturbance and tumult arose in Khurāsān, and sedition manifested itself. Each one of the Malikis, in accordance with the commands of Sultān Muḥammad, was in some part or other, and they put the for-

period, as probable as that famous march which the “Gurkhan” made “round the Caspian,” and which must have occurred at the same time, and much in the same manner, as when the Karā Khīṭān “traversed Khurasan and the wastes of Central Asia, and found their way into Kerman without a hint from the Persian historians.” What Jabah [Yamah] and Swīḍāe [Sahūdah] did was subsequent, while Jūjīf was absent at the ḫurīṭās just referred to.

The author of “Mongols Proper” appears to have greatly confused events, or his foreign translations have led him astray, for at p. 94, referring to the raid of “Chepē,” and “Subutae,” we are told that Georgia was then governed by Rūssudan, daughter of the celebrated “Queen Thamam,” and was overrun by the Mughals; and, at p. 132, under “Ogotai,” that, in 1235 [= 633-34 H.], the “Mongols” entered “Erbil,” and in the following year “quitted the plain of Mughan”—it was “the rich plain of Mogan,” at p. 93—on the Caspian, and sacked most of the towns of Albania, Georgia, and Great Armenia, the Queen Rousudan [This is the Rousudan of p. 94, and Rusutan of p. 167. Rū-In-dujz was the name of the fortress in which the female ruler of Marāghah held her court, mentioned in para. 1, p. 997, of note.], taking refuge in the fortress of “Ousaneth” of p. 132, but “Usaneth” of p. 167, etc. These events all refer to one and the same period of time.

One must be credulous indeed to believe that a force, which at the outset only numbered 30,000 horse, or even double the number, as our author states, could have performed these exploits. The very fact of the amount of plunder brought along with them indicates a goodly number of beasts of burden or vehicles of some sort, unless their plunder was packed in a very small compass indeed, and must have hampered them in their Crimean journey, and on the Don, or a large portion of their small force must have been left in some secure position to guard it. Therefore, there can be no doubt but that this original force was greatly augmented by reinforcements of Mughals, and fresh recruits; and the probability is, that a number of the Turk and Tāttār soldiery, which were dispersed throughout the Sultān’s dominions without a head, and some of those taken at the capture of cities and fortresses, must have been taken into pay or forced to serve, and this enabled the two Nū-yīns to bring their bloody raid to a successful termination.

* The great fault of our author here is that he does not give the events in order as they happened, which makes it somewhat difficult to follow him in this, otherwise, most interesting portion of his History, and which later historians, especially the pro-Mughal ones, and such writers as D’Ohsson and others, seem to have been wholly unacquainted with.
tresses in repair, and surrounded the cities with ditches, and caused preparations to be made for war, and to defend the fortresses as far as lay in their power; for every part was entrusted, by the Sultan, to the charge of some Malik, who had been [previously] appointed thereunto.

The fortress of Tirmid the Sultan entrusted to the [contingent] troops of Sistan, the chief of whom was the Amir, Zangi-i-Abi-Hashe; and the Sarhang [standard-bearer] Sâm, and the Pahlawân [champion], Arshah, he despatched to the fortress of Wallâ of Takharistan, the length and breadth of which fortress is about four farsangs [leagues]. The fortress of Bamiân he gave to Amir 'Umr, the Bawardi; and likewise commanded Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-Din, Muhammed, son of 'Ali-i-Khâr-post [the ass-skinned], the Ghûrî, to proceed from Burgshor [Purshor—Peshawar?] for the purpose of securing the city of Ghaznî and to defend that territory. To Malik Husam-ud-Din, Husain-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrâd, who was in the fort and town of Sangah of Ghur, and Malik Kuft-ud-Din, Husain son of 'Ali-i-Abi-'Ali, he gave orders to garrison and put in

1 Tirmid or Tirmiz: two modes of writing this name, and both correct.
2 See note 7, page 103.
3 But few copies of the text have this name at all, and two copies have respectively a variation of it—Arsibah and Arshah.
4 A different place altogether from Balkh, for which it must not be mistaken. See page 1024.
5 It should not be lost sight of that Peshawar is a modern name. Up to the time of Akbar it was styled Baghân. The old capital of the province was Takkaitl, west of the present city. Excavations are being made there at present, I understand, and I have no doubt but that some important archaeological discoveries will be made there.
6 The Bodleian and Ro. As. Soc. MSS. have “and Dihli” after Ghaznî, which proves how much their copyists knew of geography, or their carelessness, or they must have had very imperfect MSS. to copy from.
7 In some copies Hasan. Husain-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrâd, is the same person as is mentioned at pages 394 and 417, who was set up as ruler over Firuz-koh, after the death of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din, Utsuz, and just previous to the termination of the Ghûrî dynasty. He is also styled Sipah Sâlâr.
8 Sangah is the capital of Mandešh. See page 340.
9 The same person as mentioned at pages 391, 410, and 416, and several times in the account of the Shamsiah Sultan. Here is another proof, were any wanting, of an isifat being used for son in the very same sentence with bin. Abî 'Ali was entitled Shuja'-ud-Din, and he was the son of 'Izz-ud-Din, Al-Husain, mentioned at page 338, and he was the father of 'Ala-ud-Din, Muhammed, otherwise Ziya-ud-Din, the Pearl of Ghûr, and the last of its
order the fortresses of the territory of Ghūr, and to use their utmost endeavours in the defence of that country. The Malik-ul-Kuttāb [chief of secretaries], the Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, Daulat Yār-i-Tughrā-i [the engrosser of the Tughrā or imperial signature], he despatched to the fortress of Kālīūn, and directed that the two famous Pahlawāns [champions] of Khurāsān, whom they were wont to call the sons of the Sozan-gar, ¹ should also proceed thither. Malik Shams-ud-Din, Muḥammad, the Jūzjānī,³ was located in the city of Hirāt, and the fortress of Fīwār was entrusted to the charge of the Pahlawān, Aṣīl-ud-Dīn, the Nisḥāpūrī, the son-in-law of the Pahlawān, Mubārak, the Kurd. The fort of Naṣīr Koh of Tāl-kān was conferred upon the confidential retainers of Malik Shams-ud-Dīn-i-Utsuz, the Ḥājīb, and the fortress of Rang of Guzarwān was made over to the vassals of Ulugh Khān-i-Abī-Muḥammad.⁴ The fortresses of Gharjistān were assigned to Sherān, the Amid [chief of the tribe] of the Abū Sahālān,⁴ and those of Ghūr were entrusted to the

Sūltān, and this Kūb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, was the son of 'Alī, brother of the Pearl of Ghūr.

¹ Suwan—Sozan-gar. One set of copies of the text, which almost always agree, in undoubted errors particularly, as I have several times mentioned before, all have ʿibād—Yūz-Bak, which is Turkish, while these chiefs were all Tājīls. This is a specimen how copyists make errors, for ʿibād is merely a careless error for suwan—which words are more alike in M.S. than in type. The meaning of sozan-gar literally is a needle-maker, but that evidently is not the meaning here, but the worker of a description of quilting for covering or spreading over beds or the like, in which flowers of various kinds are worked of silk and thread, termed sozanī.

² Written Jūrzānī in nearly every copy of the text, but Jūzjānī is correct here. The parts about Tūlak formed what is called the Jūrzānāt, or the two Jūzjāns of the ‘Arab writers, but Gūzgān of the Tājīls. See note ¹, page 321, para. 11.

³ The same personages as are referred to at pages 266, 281, 399, and 414.

⁴ One of the ‘Arab tribes of which several, or a portion of several, settled in these parts of Asia, towards the Jihūn, at the time of the ‘Arab conquest, and some of whom remain to this day.

The late Mr. W. H. Blochmann, M.A., in his criticisms on my account of the rulers of Lakhānavāt, contained in his “Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal,” Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XLIV., page 280, note 2, asserted that Sherān by itself is not a Muḥammadan name, and objected to my separating the name of the father of the VIth ruler of Lakhānavāt [page 573] from that of his sons.’ Here is a proof that Sherān is a name by itself, and a Muḥammadan name into the bargain. See also my Reply in the same Journal, Part I., No. III., for 1876.
Maliks of Ghūr. The city of Firūz-koh was made over to Malik Mubāriz-ud-Din, the Sabzwārī, and the fort Tūlak was placed under the charge of the Amīr, Ḥabashī-i-Nezah-war [expert at the lance]; and, in every fortress and city, the Sultan located one of the distinguished Maliks among the Turks and Tājzīls.

When Sultan Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, fled towards Māzandarān, and the armies of Islām became dispersed and disorganized, the Chingiz Khān had taken complete possession of the territory of Samrḵand, and had despatched a body of horse in pursuit of the Sultan; and other armies were despatched into various parts of Khurāsān. Arsalān Khān of Ḫaiālik, who was a Musalmān, and had [under him] about 6000 [horse-] men, all Musalmāns and Ajamīs, along with Tūlān, the Juzbī, and a Mughal force, was sent against the fortress of Walkh of Tūkhūristān, whilst the Chingiz Khān, himself, with the centre [main-body] of his host, advanced from Samrḵand to the foot of the walls of the fortress of Tirmid, and attacked it. After some days,

He is the chief who so gallantly defended Hirat many months from the second attack of the Mughals, and perished in its defence.

He was famed for his skill at the lance or spear, his favourite weapon, hence his appellation—the lance or spear-carrying, or the skilled at the lance or spear. See page 1059.

An army of 60,000 horse, as mentioned at page 987.

Including an army into Khwārazm, the operations against the capital of, which are narrated under the notice of Tūshī, as Jūj Khān's name is also written.

A Kārlūgh Turk of the same tribe as Saif-ud-Din, Hasan, the Kārlūgh [Maj.-Gen. A. Cunningham's Indo-Scythian], only the former belonged to those who continued in their old country, while the latter belonged to those who emigrated to the southwards. See note 5, pages 374-5.

Having passed the winter of 617 H. at Samrḵand—the winter of 1220 A.D.—the Chingiz Khān, as soon as spring drew near, in the month of Zīl-Ḥijjah, the last month of 617 H., and after he had despatched his three sons into Khwārazm, moved, with the bulk of his host, towards the Jīfūn. He first reached Nakhashab; and, in the pasture-lands in that neighbourhood, remained during the summer, in order to fatten his horses, and, probably, until such time as the water should be low enough to enable him to cross the Jīfūn after destroying Tirmid, which was the next point of attack. When the summer came to an end, he set out with his main army by way of Timur Kala'h—from whence he despatched his son Tūlī, at the head of a great army against the cities and fortresses of Khurāsān—towards Tirmid. On drawing near it he despatched an agent to summon it to submit, and threatening the utmost severity in case of non-compliance. The people within, however, placing faith in the strength of their walls—the waters of the Jīfūn partly surrounded the fortress—refused
IRRUPTION OF THE INFIDELS INTO ISLÄM. 1005

during which the Musalmâns of Tirmid had fought many battles, and had sent great numbers of the Mughals to hell, and many Musalmâns had been martyred and made captive, the people of Tirmid were reduced to helplessness* by the stones of [discharged from] the catapults of those accursed ones, and they abandoned the place; and that fortress fell into the hands of the Mughals, who martyred the whole of the inhabitants.

From thence [Tirmid] the Chingiz Khân despatched bodies of Mughal troops down towards Khurâsân, Ghûr, and Ghaznîn; and the passage downwards of every army of Mughals which he sent towards Khurâsân and Ghûr used to be by the fortress of Naṣîr Koh of Tâl-kân.† The garrison used to come down from Naṣîr Koh, and fall upon the troops and followers of the Mughal armies, and retake captives* and cattle, and despatch those accursed ones to hell. These gallant exploits against the
to do so, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Catapults were used on either side, and great energy was displayed by besiegers and besieged, but, on the tenth day—Alîf and some others say the fifteenth—the Mughals, having succeeded in destroying the defences, gained possession of the place by assault. It is very probable that our author’s account of the city having been evacuated is correct.

Under pretence of selecting people for distribution, as usual, the inhabitants were driven out into the open country without the city, and all, both old and young, male and female, were massacred. An aged female whom they were in the act of slaying on this occasion cried out, “Do not slay me until I shall have given up to you a great pearl.” On making inquiry subsequently, they found she meant that she had swallowed—in the figurative language of the original—“one of great value, like an oyster-shell, and like a pearl oyster-shell they treated her: they opened her bowels and found it; and, after that, it was usual with them to treat their prisoners in this way, in hopes of finding jewels.”

After this bloody feast, the Chingiz Khân, in Zî-Hijjah of 617 H.—February, 1221 A.D. [according to the pro-Mughal writers, but three months after according to our author—see page 1008—who was close by at the time, and whose statement is preferable here, and at that page of our author’s account it will be found], crossed the Jîbûn by the Tirmid ferry. Alîf says in the beginning of 618 H., which is much the same, since Zî-Hijjah is the last month of the Musalmân year.

* Some copies have ḥîr, which signifies a fissure or rent, particularly in the ground; some raj, which is the shortened form of raj, which cannot be right; and others, the oldest, ɾaj as translated above. The letters ɾ were left out by some copyists, hence the error.
† In some copies, Naṣîr Koh. See note 7, page 1009.
* The Printed Text has “camels and cattle”—but camels come under the head of cattle I believe.
infidels by the Ṭāl-kānis having become frequent, a numerous force from the main body of the Mughal host was sent against the fortress of Naṣir Koh, and it invested that stronghold completely, and fighting began. Uklān, the Juzbī, and Sa’dī, the Juzbī, together with the son-in-law of the Chingiz Khān, which accursed one's name was Fīkū, the Nū-in, and who had [under them] 45,000 horse, were likewise despatched to make inroads into various parts of Ghūr and Khurāsān. The whole of the cattle and flocks that were around about the cities, towns, ḵaṣrs, and villages of Khurāsān, Ghūr, and the Garm-sīr, fell into the hands of the Mughal forces; and the country as far as the gate of Ghaznīn, the territories of Ṭukhāristān, and the Garm-sīr, was ravaged, and the greater part of the Musalmān inhabitants were martyred and made captive. During this same year, 617 H., for a period of eight months, the Mughal troops continued to carry their devastations into different parts; and, at this period, the writer of this Ṭabaḵāt, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, was in the fortress of Tūlak, and the writer's brother was in the city and fortress of Fīrūz-koh. In this year likewise, a Mughal army came before the fort of Astiah of Ghūr, and for the space of eleven days vigorously attacked it. Within this fortress was an Amīr and feudatory, the Sipah-Sālār [Leader of Troops], Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ḥabashī, i-’ Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād. He was a great Malik with ample resources, but, as the decree of destiny had come, he entered into an accommodation with the Mughals, and went unto them. They took him to the presence of the Chingiz Khān, and he bestowed upon him the title of Khusraw.

1 In a few copies Ughlān, which is also correct, š and ḵ being interchangeable.

2 The same as mentioned at page 287, and farther on. The Chingiz Khān had many sons-in-law.

7 The pro-Mughal historians either did not know of these different expeditions or have concealed them because the Mughals were so often beaten. It is very significant to find that they are not to be found in any other work whatever save the present one, and hence, hitherto, this "honey" has not been utilized.

8 Not an Ethiopian: it is a by-name here. See note 3, page 368.

9 He is the brother of Malik Ḥusān-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain-i-’ Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād, mentioned at page 417. See also pages 394 and 1002.

The king, a prince, a just leader, any sovereign of pomp and magnificence, this, very probably, is the person whom the pro-Mughal writers mistake for Malik Khān of Hirāt. See note 8, page 987, para. 4.
[Prince] of Ghūr, showed him great honour, and sent him back again in order that he might, by means of accommodation, cause the other strongholds to be given up. On his coming back again, after the Chingiz Khān defeated Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, Khwārazm Shāh, on the banks of the river Sind, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ḥabashi-i-'Abd-ull-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād, deserted the Mughals, and engaged in battle with them, and attained the reward of martyrdom.

In this same year likewise, the army of Mughals under the Juzbī, Uklān, appeared before the gate of the city of Firūz-kōh, and attacked it with great ardour for the space of twenty-one days, but did not succeed in getting possession of it, and they withdrew baffled in their attempt. When the winter season drew near, and the snow began to fall upon the mountains of Ghūr, the Mughal forces turned their faces from Khurāsān towards Mawarā-un-Nahr. The number of the Mughal army which was in Ghūr, Mughals and renegades included, was about 20,000 horse, and the route of that force lay by the foot of the fortress of Tūlak, and, for a period of eight months, a force from that army used to carry their raids up to the foot of the walls of that fortress, and the veteran warriors of that fort—and this votary, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, was among those holy-warriors—the Almighty's mercy be upon them!—used to join issue with those infidels, in such wise that it used to be impossible for the infidels to come near the fort; and at times during that eight months, all the day long, the Mughal troops continued to prowl around the foot of the fortress.

Trustworthy persons related that there were so many Musalmān captives in the hands of the Mughal infidels, that they had selected, for the Chingiz Khān specially, 12,000 young virgins, who followed the troops on foot.

8 The Printed Text, and a few of the more modern MS. copies, have ⲍ父母—peoples, families, etc., instead of ⲉ—mountains.

8 This may have been a part of Arsalān Khān's force, or of Fīkū's, or, possibly, a separate force altogether.

4 One of the best and oldest copies of the text has eight days here instead of eight months, while another, immediately after the word month, has "days" also. The sequel proves that in the first case months are correct, and days after, as rendered above. The Mughals and their Musalmān Turkish allies remained in those parts the whole period, from the end of one winter to the commencement of the next; during which time, for days together, they used to prowl about Tūlak, awaiting an opportunity of attacking or surprising it.
The Almighty deliver them out of their hands, and, in His wrath, take vengeance upon the infidels, and annihilate them!

ACCOUNT OF THE PASSAGE OF THE RIVER JIHŪN BY THE CHINGIZ KHĀN.

When the month of Rabi'-ul-Awwal of the year 618 H. came round, the Mughal hosts, a second time, were despatched into different parts of Khurāsān, Ghūr, and Gharjistān; and, as the route of the Mughal armies used to be before the fortress of Naṣīr Koh of Tālkān, the holy-

* I have now come to a point where a very great and serious blunder has been made by some of the writers, who, under the Īl-Khānīs—the Mughal sovereigns of Persia—the descendants of the Chingiz Khān, wrote their general histories, in which the conquests of the Mughals are given in considerable detail, and, consequently, other historians who follow them have generally repeated this grave error, and the fact of its being undoubtedly such I shall, I believe, fully demonstrate. It must cause a rectification of maps, and will overturn some very pretty geographical theories recently put forth in some elaborately illustrated and printed books, which theories hang upon the error in question.

Taking some of my notes from the pro-Mughal writers to illustrate the inroad of the Saljūks, and the life of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, I have, myself, been led into a slight error, at pages 94 and 130, of supposing all three places to be written as I found them, and as the authors themselves appeared to have imagined, or the scribes for them, in the same way, and was partly led away by Ouseley's translation of Ibn-Haukal, but even then had my doubts on the point, at pages 290, 376, 398, 399, and other places; however, after examining the Masālik wa Mamālik, I found that there was a great difference between the places, and corrected it accordingly, but I little imagined what these grave mistakes on the part of the pro-Mughal writers would lead to here, and what blunders they would commit in consequence.

The error is that of entirely ignoring the existence of Tālkān—قبر—in Khurāsān, and mistaking Tāe-kān—قبر—of Tukhāristān, east of Kunduz, for it. The latter place figures in our modern maps, including Col. J. T. Walker's last, under the incorrect name of Talikhan, but the word has no ক in it, and never had.

This error on the part of these Muhammadan historians is the more to be wondered at, because some of them describe the situation of Tālkān sufficiently correctly to prove that it is the very place referred to above by our author, but in no other are such details given. The author of the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh—the earliest of the pro-Mughal writers referred to—says Tālkān was an exceedingly strong place, seven days' journey from Balkh. The Fanākatī, who is very brief, says the Chingiz Khān proceeded from Balkh to the fort of Tāe-gān [k and gh being interchangeable] and captured it. In the Rauṣat-us-Safā and Ḥabib-us-Siyar, it is "Tālkān, situated on a lofty hill called Koh-i-Nuṣrāh"—the Mountain or Hill of Silver, after a silver
warriors of that fortress used to display valour and self-devotion. This circumstance coming constantly to the hearing of the Chingiz Khân, and the forces sent against that stronghold being unable to gain possession of it, and it being impossible to capture it, he crossed the Jîhûn for the purpose of taking it, and pitched his camp on the Pushtah [mound] of Nu'mân and in the Bayabân [uncultivated plain] of Ka'b which is between Tâlkân and Balkh.

He did not proceed against it at first, in person, but, subsequently, on finding the troops he had detached for the purpose could not capture the fortress, as explained a little farther on.

To the south of what appears in Col. J. T. Walker's map as "Dasht-i-Chul," both words, dašt and chûl, being precisely of the same meaning—a desert, plain, wilderness, uninhabited tract, etc. The Pushtah-i-Nu'mân lay in about Lat. 36° 20', Long. 64° 40'.

mine—and that it was "situated between Marw and Balkh," and, in this, the Târlîkh-i-Jahân-grî, and the Târlîkh-i-Alîf agree. The Târlîkh-i-Guzidah also gives the name and situation correctly.

This may also be quite correct; but, or in MSS., be mistaken for and I am inclined to think that is a mistake for the other, as our author was not likely to pass over such a matter as silver-mines without referring to it.

The older historians and geographers describe both places most distinctly. Baihaţf says "Sulţân Mas'ûd on the way from Balkh to Sarakhs reached Tâl-kân;" and that monarch's defeat by the Saljuks occurred in that vicinity. Ibn-Haukal says Târ-kân of Tukharistân is seven days' journey from Badaḵshân, while Tâl-kân of Khorâsân is three stages, i.e. three days' journey from Marw-ar-Rûd (now, Murghâb), and the same distance from Shiwarghân. Abû-l-Fida says "the city of Tâl-kân, once a flourishing place, did not exist at this period, but merely a citadel built on Nûkrah Koh by a prince of Tukharistân, on account of a silver mine which it enclosed." Ibn-al-Wardî [Hylander: Lundae, 1823] says: ""...[aš-]Tâl-kân] Urbs in Chorâsân vel Irāk el Ajem (inutraque enim regione urbes ejus nominis sitae)." There was another place so called in 'Irāk-i-'Ajam, as Ibn-al-Wardî says. The Masâlîk wa Mamâlîk, a work of undoubted authority, says, "From Balkh to Shiwarghân is three marâhak or stages, and, from the latter place to Tâl-kân, three stages, and from Tâl-kân to Marw-ar-Rûd three stages. Tâl-kân lies among mountains, and has running water and gardens. A river runs between it and Marw-ar-Rûd which is crossed by a bridge." It is often mentioned in connexion with Fâryâb and Marw-ar-Rûd. See page 378. In another place it is said "Târ-kân [which has been mistaken for Tâl-kân] is the largest city of Tukharistân, which is a district of Balkh, and is situated in a plain near hills, and is watered by a considerable river." In the various maps also in that work the position of Tâl-kân is plainly indicated. If we turn to Wood's work, "A Journey to the Source of the Oxus," new ed., pages 153 to 157, we shall find his description agree with what is stated in the Masâlîk wa Mamâlîk respecting its situation, and it proves, beyond a doubt, from the
When the affairs of the people of the fortress of Naṣīr Koh came to a crisis, they resigned their hearts to martyr-
physical nature of the country around, that, what he—led away by the mode of writing the name, as given by Elphinstone, and others—calls Talikhan and Taulikhaun was not the place invested and destroyed by the Mughals. It is a place distant from any hills, and not so situated that "every Mughal army passing to and fro between Khurāsān and Ghūr must, necessarily, pass at the foot of the fortress," as our author says. To crown the whole, at page 47, he mentions "Tā′e-kān of Kunduz," in connexion with Walwālīj, as a wholly different place.

Ibn-Khalkān, too, notices two Tāl-kāns—Tāl-kān of Khurāsān, and Tāl-kān of Kavwīn, but not Tāe-kān of Tukhāristān; and, after describing the vowel points, says: "Tāl-kān is the name of two cities, one in Khurāsān, and the other a dependency of Kavwīn, and contiguous to the fortress of Ala-mūt."

ELPHINSTONE appears to have known nothing of Tāl-kān of Khurāsān, and refers to Tāe-kān of Kunduz, as Taulikhaun. Col. Yule, in his "Essay on the Geography, etc. of the Oxus," in the second edition of Capt. Wood's "Journey," p. xxvi, refers to both places by one and the same name—"Tāl-kān on the Murghāb," and "Tāl-kān, on the borders of Badakshān," but, at p. xxxi, he mentions "the more open country below, Tālikān (or Tālikān), and Balkh," etc.; and, at p. xxxiii, refers again to Tālikān, east of Balkh, as the fortress invested by "Chingiz," which, of course, is incorrect. Tāe-kān of Badakshān again is often mentioned in that excellent work the Asīr-ul-Bilād. As to the Ḥayāṭīlah see note 8, page 423.

ELLIONT (Vol. II. p. 578) falls into the same errors as others. He says "Tālikān—a city of Tukhāristān" between Balkh and Merv, three days' journey from the latter. There is another town of the same name east of Kunduz. The Tālikān of Tukhāristān is the one most frequently mentioned," etc. It is however precisely the reverse, and Tukhāristān was situated east of Balkh, while Merv is west, in Khurāsān. Tāl-kān had ceased to be known as "a city" or town prior to the time of the Chingis Khān.

As the clearing up of this terrible error is necessary, I will show how such like mistakes are brought about. Pétis de la Croix's "History of Genghizcan the Great," which is one of the cabbage gardens to which manufacturers of histories have recourse for padding, at page 283, says, that Sultan Jalāl-ud-Dīn dwelt many weeks in the city of Bālc, where he got together some troops, and this it was that "displeased Genghizcan against its people." This is a blunder, and his own. Jalāl-ud-Dīn was never at Bālc at this period: "Bālc" is an error for Ghāzmīn. He gives no authority for his statement in the margin, but, soon after, begins to quote "Abulfarag," and "Mircone." After mixing up a deal of his own with a little from oriental writers, he says, at page 286, quoting "Fadollah" as well as "Abulfarag,"—"After the Mogul Emperor had thus reduced the city of Bālc to his obedience, he sent detachments out of his army to India [this is incorrect: Ghūr and those parts are referred to by the writers he quotes], and Persia, and left a considerable part of his troops in Transoxiana to keep it in awe, whilst he went to Tucarestan, to besiege the city of Tālcān [sic], which was but seven days' journey from Bālc [here he has mixed up his own remarks], and was esteemed the strongest city in all Asia [his own] for its situation, it being built on a very steep mountain [which Tāe-kān of Tukhāristān is not] called Norcecewh . . . whilst Tālī went to execute his father's commands, Genghizcan planted the engines before
dom, and washed their hands of all hope of life. Three months prior to the occurrence of the capture of the fortress, and their attainment of the glory of martyrdom, the whole of them, by mutual consent, donned deep blue [mourning] garments, and used to repair daily to the great masjid of the fortress, and would repeat the whole Kur‘ân, and condole and mourn with each other; and, after doing all this, they used to pronounce benediction on and bid farewell to each other, and assume their arms, and engage in holy-warfare with the infidels, and despatch many of the Mughals to hell, and some among themselves would attain martyrdom.

On the Chingiz Khân, the Mughal, becoming aware of

*Talcum* (sic), etc. . . . he caused to be made, with all speed, a great number of grappling-irons, long nails, hooks, ladders, and ropes, to ascend the Rock [this cannot possibly be applied to Tâe-kân of Kunduz or Tûkhâristân, lying in a plain] . . . animated by the remembrance of the fatigues they had suffered for seven months past, which time the siege lasted," etc. *Talcum was situated between Merv and Balk* [here he is quite right and dependent on Tocaristan [this is his own, and is wrong] . . . . The first city of this name was not standing in the time of Genghiscan, and there was nothing left but the Citadel, which a prince of Tocarestan [one of the Shamsabûn rulers of Tûkhâristân and Bânîfân] had caused to be built on the top of the mountain Nocrecou, so called because of the mines of silver which it enclosed," etc. From the above extract it will be perceived how such errors have been brought about.

Of modern writers, I find Thomas is the most correct as to the position of Tâl-kân, but he spells the word incorrectly—"Tâlakân" ["Journal Ro. As. Soc.", vol. xvii. p. 188, "On the coins of the Kings of Ghazni"]; and again, at page 208:—"This is the Tâlakân in Juzjân [Jawzján?], which must not be confounded with the city of the same name or nearly similar name in Tûkhâristân, situated to the eastward of Kunduz . . . The second city is discriminated in many of the early geographical authorities, by the independent orthography of تالکان". The "Arabic ٣ is not however always, or even often, prefixed to the name except in 'Arabic books. The advantageous position for a permanent camp chosen by the Chingiz Khân at the Pushtah-i-Nu’mân can be seen at a glance on looking at a good map, but this position did not secure it from an attack from the fortress of Ashiyâr of Gharjistân, mentioned at page 1972, when the Chingiz Khân set out towards Ghaznîn in pursuit of Sultan Jalâl-ud-Dîn, after the latter had repeatedly overthrown the Mughal forces opposed to him. The fact of this attack from Ashiyâr also still further tends to prove the position of the great camp mentioned farther on, and, consequently, the mistaking of Tâl-kân, of Khurâsân for Tâe-kân of Kunduz east of Balkh involves a blunder of only about 360 miles too far to the east. Tâl-kân is, undoubtedly, the place visited by the Chinese traveller, Hiouen Tsthang, under the name of "Ta-la-kien" on the confines of "Po-la-si" [not "Persia," for Fârs, which is anglicized Persia, only applies to a province, and not to Irân], and lay on the great caravan route between Turkistân, Bukhârâ, by Tirmid and Balkh, to Hirât and Khurâsân. See also pages 378 and 398.
the severity of the conflict carried on by these warriors of the faith, he moved from the Pushtah of Nu’mān against the fortress in person, and the attack commenced. On one side of the fortress, where the upper gateway was situated, they had excavated a ditch in the rock, and the Mughals, with stones from their catapults, battered down the bastion at that point, and filled in the ditch, and effected a breach to the extent of about a hundred ells. Still the Mughal forces were unable to take the fort; but the Chingiz Khān, through excessive rage, swore his accustomed oath that he would take that fortress on horseback.  For a period of fifteen days more fighting was carried on, until an even passage was made, so that the capture of the fort of Naṣir Koh might be effected.

When the Mughal cavalry charged into the fortress, 500 men of the defenders of the place, tried warriors, formed in a compact body, and sallied forth from the gateway of the Koh-i-Janīnah [Janīnah mountain] of Tālkān, and threw themselves upon the Mughal army, broke through its ranks, and cut their way out. As mountains and ravines were close by, some of them attained martyrdom, but the greater number escaped in safety.

The Chingiz Khān destroyed that fortress, and caused the whole of [the rest of] the inhabitants to be martyred. May God reward them!

ACCOUNT OF THE COMING OF SULTĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN, MANG-BARNĪ, SON OF SULTĀN MUḤAMMAD, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH, TO GHAZNĪN, AND THE EVENTS THAT BEFELL HIM THERE.

Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, sent his commands

8 When ells occur, the English ell is referred to.
9 He had to wait for Tūf Khān, whom he had ordered to rejoin him with his forces from Hirāt, before he could succeed in taking the place, according to the Rauṣat-us-Safa, Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, and some others.
1 By filling the ditch and levelling the walls.
2 That is to say, the gateway facing the Janīnah—in some copies, Janfah—mountain.
3 The pro-Mughal writers say that it was taken after seven months, that not a soul was left alive within it, and that it was razed to the ground. If any place was entitled to be named Mau-bālīfgh it was this.
4 Great fortresses, often miles in circumference, with towns within their walls. What they were may be seen from the sketches of Captain Hart, Dr. Atkinson, and in Sale’s "Jalāl-ābād."
to Malik Ikhtiyär-ud-Din, Muḥammad, son of 'Ali-i Khar-post [the ass-skinned], the Ghūrī, a man of experience, a valiant warrior, and of considerable firmness, who, some time previously, for a period of ten [two?] years, had held out the fortress of Naṣir Koh of Tālkān, against the forces of Khwārazm Shāh, and who, in Ghūr and Khurāsān, had, consequently, become famed and renowned, and whose line was of the great Maliks of Ghūr, to set out from Buršhor [Purshor—Peshawar ?], which was his fief, and proceed to Ghaznīn; and, when he arrived there, the forces of Islām turned their faces towards him. In the capital city of Ghaznīn, great numbers of troops assembled, in such wise, that about 130,000 horse, all brave soldiers and completely armed, were mustered with the intention of undertaking this important enterprise, that he should organize the army, and suddenly fall upon the forces of the Chingiz Khān who was then encamped at the Pushṭah-i-Nu‘mān, and [endeavour to] overcome him.

He [Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Din, Muḥammad-i-Khar-post] was constantly occupied in organizing the army, and in the equipment of his train; and those grandees and distinguished men of Khwārazm, who had become severed from the service of Sultān Muḥammad, were coming to him at Ghaznīn. Shihāb-ud-Din-i-Alb, the Sarakhsī, who was the Wazīr of the kingdoms of Ghaznīn and Ghūr on the part of the Khwārazm Shāh, came to Ghaznīn. There was [also] at Ghaznīn a Koṭ-wāl [Șeneschal], whom they used to style Șalāh-ud-Din, who was of the ḫashḥah [town] of Gird-gān, in conformity with the command of Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh. Malik Khān of Hirāt, who, at the time of flying [from thence], had proceeded towards Sistān, when the hot season set in, turned his face towards Ghaznīn, and news from Khurāsān was received respecting Sultān Jalāl-ud-Din, Mang-barnī, that he was coming to Ghaznīn. Shihāb-ud-Din-i-Alb, the Wazīr, in secret, had

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6 "Ass-skinned" or of "Ass-like skin." It is a nickname. See pages 286 and 1002.
7 When Ghūr was independent.
8 In some copies, by way of Buršhor. See note 8, page 1002.
9 Or Pushṭ, which is the same in signification.
10 See page 285.
11 In a few copies of the text—Kоdakān, or Godān.
now devised a treacherous plot with Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, the Koṭ-wāl, and had prepared a banquet and invited Malik Muḥammad-i-Khar-post to this convivial entertainment, and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, the Koṭ-wāl, assassinated that Malik-i-Ghāzī with a knife; and the army which he had gathered together became dispersed.²

² As our author has not entered into detail here, the following may tend to elucidate the events of this period, but, in some particulars, it differs considerably from his account, though he is certainly worthy of credit, as he was living in those parts at the period in question.

The disloyal conduct of Malik Muḥammad, 'All-i-Khar-post, towards Malik Khān of Ḥirāt, brought about his own downfall.

The Jahān-Kūshāe says that, when Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārāzmi Shāh, fled from the banks of the river of Baḷkh, where he was encamped [on discovering disaffection among some of his Turkish troops, and a plot to deliver him over to the Mughals], Yamīn [our author’s Malik Khān—which is his correct name, and whose title was Yamīn-ul-Mulk—i. e. the right arm of the country], Malik—the feudatory of Ḥirāt and its dependencies, having proceeded thither as directed, but unable to remain, retired from thence—which must have happened soon after the departure of the Mughals under Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Ṣahādah], on their way towards Nīḥābūr—by way of the Garū-sfr. At this time, ‘All-i-Khar-post, the Ghūrī, was at Ghaẓnah on the part of the Sulṭān, with a force of 20,000 men; and, when Yamīn Malik arrived within two or three stages of Ghaẓnah and encamped at Sūrah [r.9—], he despatched an agent to Muḥammad son of ‘All, saying, “assign us grazing ground [for the horses and other cattle], so that we—thou and I—may continue together [for mutual support], since the Sulṭān has fled towards Irāk, and the Mughals and Tātārs have entered Khūrāsān, in order that we may see what may occur in the Sulṭān’s affairs.”

At this time, the Shams-ul-Mulk, Shihāb-ud-Dīn [Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Alb] just mentioned in the text above. See also page 285, the Sarākhshī, who was the Wazīr, [one of the Wazīrs?] of the Sulṭān, was likewise at Ghaẓnah; and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, the Nisāfī, who was Koṭ-wāl [Seneschal] of the fortress and city, was likewise located there. From this it appears that Muḥammad, son of ‘All-i-Khar-post, was merely feudatory of the province, and the Koṭ-wāl was in independent command. The Khar-post and the Umrā [of his troops] in reply to the Yamīn Malik’s [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk’s] request, sent answer: “We are Ghūrīs and you are a Turk, and we cannot enter into connexion with you. The Sulṭān has assigned fiefs and grazing grounds to each one: let each of us therefore continue in his own locality until we see what may arise.” This is a specimen of one out of the many similar causes of the Mughal successes, and the ruin of the Musalmān empire, and—like some modern Catos, who reclaim: “Perish our Indian Empire”—the faction of Ghaẓnī would rather see the Musalmān rule extinguished than their own selfishness and ambition frustrated.

Agents on several occasions passed between them, but no agreement was come to; and the Ghūrī faction was obstinate in its refusal. As might have been expected, the Shams-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr, and the Seneschal, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, conspired against the Khar-post, saying: “these Ghūrīs are disaffected towards the Sulṭān, and refuse to allow Yamīn Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk], who is the Sulṭān’s kinsman, to enter the Ghaẓnah territory.” The whole of the forces of
In the year 617 H., Malik Khān of Ḥīrāt, as above stated, Gharzānah were then collected together, encamped within half a farsang of the city; and the Shams-ul-Mulk and Sulāh-ud-Dīn, who were among them, conspired against Mūhammad, son of 'Alī-i-Khar-post. They invited him to a feast, at a garden near by, when Sulāh-ud-Dīn, seeing the opportunity, stabbed him with his dagger and slew him. After having killed the Khar-post, the Shams-ul-Mulk, and Sulāh-ud-Dīn, before the deed became known, succeeded in throwing themselves into the city, and secured the citadel; and the Ghūrīs became disunited, and, after two or three days, Yamīn Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk] arrived at Gharzānah and assumed authority.

Soon after came news that the Chingiz Khān had reached Tāl-kān, and 2000 or 3000 Mughals—20,000 or 30,000 more likely—came in search of Yamīn Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk] by way of the Garm-sīr. He sallied out with a body of troops to encounter them; but they, finding him too strong for them, did not venture to stand against him, and made a hasty retreat. Yamīn Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk] pursued them as far as Bust and Tīqīn-ābād; but the Mughals had gone off in the direction of Ḥīrāt, and he, by way of Kuṣdār, proceeded into the Sho īstān—the Salt Desert between Ḥīrāt, the Kūhistān, and Sijistān.

He had taken along with him the Wazīr, the Shams-ul-Mulk, and imprisoned him in the fort of Kajūrān of Bust and Tīqīn-ābād, and had left Sulāh-ud-Dīn, the Seneschal, in charge of the citadel of Gharzānī; but, after the departure of Yamīn Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk], the people of Gharzānī rose against Sulāh-ud-Dīn, slew him, and gibbeted him. There were at Gharzānī, at this time, two brothers, natives of Tūrīz, the Raṣī-ul-Mulk, and the 'Umdat-ul-Mulk [these are, however, titles not patronyms], and they became the directors of affairs; and, having gathered together a large following, acquired the whole power. The Khalj tribe [a section, see page 539 and note 4, para. 2], and Turkmāns, in great numbers, coming from Māwarā-un-Nahr and Khūrasān, congregated at Parshāwar, and their Sar-Khel, or Leader, was Saiʿīd-ud-Dīn, Aghārāk, who, in the Jāmī-ul-Tawārikh, is called a Turkmān. The Raṣī-ul-Mulk was desirous of moving against them, so that he might acquire power in Hindūstān [sic in MSS., but the provinces on the Indus, part of the present Panjāb, is meant]. He accordingly assembled his forces, and marched against them; but he was overthrown by the Khalj and Turkmāns, and killed with most of his followers. His brother, the 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, was left in charge at Gharzānī during his absence.

The Aʿẓam-ul-Mulk, also styled the Aʿẓam Malik in the Jahān-Kushā, who was the son of 'Imād-ud-Dīn of Balkh, as mentioned above by our author, who was the Hākīm [here signifying that he held the fief and ruled over it] of Nangraḥār, and Malik Sher, the Hākīm of Kābul, with the Ghūrī troops of the Sulṭān, who had gathered around them [they were Ghūrīs themselves], marched upon Gharzānī, and invested the 'Umdat-ul-Mulk in the fort, which is in the middle of the city. After they had placed catapults against it, and besieged it for forty days, they captured the fortress; but, on the very same day, arrived the Shams-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr, whom Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, flying towards Gharzānī by way of Khūrasān [see note 7, page 286], had released on reaching the fort of Kajūrān, in which Yamīn Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk] had confined him, and had sent on, in advance, to prepare for his reception at Gharzānī. A week after, the Sulṭān himself arrived; and troops began to rally round him from all quarters, as already related under his reign, and as will be noticed farther on.
had retired before the Mughal forces and come to Ghaznīn, and, from thence, returned again towards the Garm-sīr with the intention of proceeding to Sīstān. On the way thither, he conferred the territory of Burshor [Burshūr] upon Rażī-ul-Mulk; and, when Rażī-ul-Mulk came to Ghaznīn for the purpose of proceeding to Burshor [Burshūr], the people of Ghaznīn kept him there. Subsequently to that, however, Rażī-ul-Mulk set out towards Burshor [Burshūr], and the troops of the Ighrāk 8 [tribe] which were there [congregated] put Rażī-ul-Mulk to flight. After he had withdrawn from thence the Aʿzam Malik, the Sipah-Sālār [Leader of Troops], the son of 'Imād-ud-Dīn of Balkh, who was Amir of Nagrāhār [Nangrāhār], seized Rażī-ul-Mulk, and detained him. Suddenly, Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, arrived in the Ghaznīn [territory], upon which they ['Imād-ud-Dīn and his partizans] slew Rażī-ul-Mulk; and, shortly after, Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, and Malik Khān of Hirāt, reached Ghaznīn.6

Numerous troops joined them, consisting of Turks, Ghūrīs, Tājziks, Khalj, and Ghuzz, and a great army collected. From Ghaznīn, they pushed forward towards Tukhāristān, and routed an army of Mughals which were before the walls of the fortress of Wālīshṭān,6 and came back again [to Ghaznīn].

8 In some modern copies of the text, this name appears without the point over 长辈 and in one Arabic as长辈, with the point omitted. Some modern historians, and writers of lesser calibre, have consequently jumped at the conclusion that these men were 'Irākīs, or natives of 'Irāk—Babylonia. They did not apparently know that 'Irāk cannot be so written, but长辈. The word above as it now stands without a point over 长辈 is merely the plural form of 'Arāk—长辈—signifying, juice, essence, etc., and that, of course, is wrong.

The latest, and most amusing mistake on this subject is contributed by Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., in a book entitled "Afghanistan and the Afghans," written for the present Afghan crisis, in which he says, quoting some translation probably (page 185), that "Changiz at the time of his invasion found the Peshawar valley held by 'Irāc or Persian (sic) troops." When, however, Ghāzī Afghāns are not Afghāns but Khābīch Turks [the Khalj tribe is possibly referred to], and "Tarins" are "Ghuljis," and "Sabaktaghin" is the "founder of Ghaznī," what may we not expect?

The word Ighrāk, as written by our author, is confirmed by the Jahān-Kushād and other Histories; and there is not the shadow of a doubt that the 'Ighrāk were Turks, and, moreover, that they were a section of the great tribe of Khalj, as stated in the account of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn.

4 See note 6, page 1021, where he is referred to.
5 On the 17th of Zī-Hiijah—the last month—617 H.
6 The name of this place has been mistaken by many authors, who follow
When intimation of the coming of Sulṭān-Jalāl-ud-Dīn,

and copy from each other, and they have turned it into Wālīfān—.validators—which, in MS., is not so very different from ṣafākār, but that a careless copyist might leave out the تعل—one—entirely, seeing that the three shoulders—if they may be so called—in the letter, in its intermedial form in a word-traders—are made one of in MS., thus—Validators—and might put the two points of حاء-under instead of over the letter, and thus make it —، which has been done in the cases in question. Our author, then in his 29th year, and his predecessor, the Bāḥāḵ, both of whom were natives of these parts, and government officials, must have known the names of such prominent places correctly. They continually refer to Wālīfān [in the printed text of the Bāḥāḵ, however, the three points of حاء have been left out] as well as to Wālīfān, as totally distinct places, but no such place as Wālīfān is ever referred to. It is an undoubted error, as well as the supposed siege of Bāmlān, as I shall presently show.

Now let us examine what the different writers, generally quoted, say on the subject; for the clearing up of this serious error is a matter of necessity. I must first, however, refer to a European writer.

Pétris de la Croix, in his Life of "Genghizcan," quotes a number of authors, some of whom are undoubtedly good, and some of little or no authority, but the earliest wrote about a century after our author, who was the Chingis Khān's contemporary. Some of the originals (quoted by P. de la Croix), such as I could obtain access to on the spur of the moment, I have examined, and I find that, very often, they are not correctly quoted. The Nisāwī's Life of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, I have not had access to, but I am convinced the author could not have made some statements which he has had the credit of. I will first notice P. de la Croix, in juxtaposition with some of his chief authorities: for all I have not space.

Quoting "Abulfarag" and "Mirconde," he tells us that "Genghizcan," after taking Tal Kan, put his troops in motion against Bāmlān, and was still waiting for news of his troops, sent after Gelaededin towards India [Ghūr and the tracts between the Oxus and Ghaznī are meant, but some troops were subsequently sent east of the Indus. See note 4, page 293 and page 297]. Then [Mirconde] that, "hearing Gelaededin was at Ghazna, he hastened his march to surprise him, but was stopped in Zabulestan by the garrison of Bāmlān, which he hoped to take without opposition." He had just begun to batter the place when news reached him that the leaders of the forces he had sent towards India [this is his own, as the sequel proves, or "Marraschi"] had been defeated, and then De la C. quotes the Nisāwī's History to the effect that, "two or three days after Gelaededin got to Ghazna, he learnt that the Moguls were near by and investing Caudahar." This is quite enough to stamp this quotation as incorrect, for there was no such name known to Bāḥāḵ, or to our author, at that period, and for very many years after, as Kandahār—without taking into account its position from Ghaznī—although the site is undoubtedly ancient. It is probably identical with Tigūn-ābād, mentioned at page 448. Then we are told that: "Emin Malic was come out of Hirat to watch the Moguls," and that "Schamseddin commanded in the city for him," after De la Croix had just before said that Schamseddin had usurped possession of it, and that "he had surprised this city in the absence of Emin Malec" [see page 1013 of this translation], while the fact was that, at this time, Hirat had been taken by Tūlf Khān, and had received a Mughal Shaṭnah or Intendant. Then, again quoting the Nisāwī, as he says, "Emin Malec consented" to
THE ṬABAḴĀṬ-I-NAṢIRĪ.

Mang-barnī, and Malik Khān of Hirāt, and the gathering

join his sovereign, and they now moved to relieve Candahār “before the citadel was taken,” and “surprised the Moguls, who had already taken and plundered the town,” and drove them off with great slaughter, “the town being full of dead bodies of Moguls and Tartars.” All the Mogul army at Candahār perished! The Sulṭān “repaired Candahār,” and “returned to Ghazna.”

I have no opportunity, at present, of examining the Niṣāwī’s History, but I feel certain that no such name as the city of Ḵandahār will be found in it, unless the interpolation of some more modern writer or copyist; and further that it will not be found in any History of that period. Ḵandahār adjoins the tract called the Zamīn-i-Dāwar, which Bāhāḵī so often refers to in connexion with Bust and Kuṣḏār, and whose work, devoted to a single reign, is so full of detail; and he mentions Wālīḵt in connexion with those places, but never mentions such a place as Ḵandahār. At page 319, our author too, in his account of the five great mountain ranges of Ghūr, says, that “the fourth is the mountain tract of Warānī, in the valleys and outskirts of which are the territories of Dāwar [the Zamīn-i-Dāwar], Wālīḵt, and the Ḵasr of Kajūrān.” Is it possible that such a position as that of the city of Ḵandahār could have been in existence, and lying in the easiest route between Ghaznī and Bust, without being once mentioned? It is also improbable that Wālīḵt can be Wālīḵtān, because we are distinctly told that the latter was in Ṭūḵḵāhrīstān, which lies some five degrees farther north than Ḵandahār. The so-called “Saygīl,” of some European writers, is merely an error for Sīgīl, or Sīji. The ancient name too of Ḵandahār is said to have been Wālīnd, and of the province Bālyūs.

Neither Bāhāḵī nor our author, who constantly give names of places and routes, especially the former, as from Hirāt to Balkh, and Ghaznī to Balkh, ever once mentions such a place as Wālīnd, which, as I have already remarked, is a mistake of some copyist for Wālīḵtān, but both of them mention Wālāwīlī—باویلی. The only places mentioned in the Masālīk wa Makālik, and in Ibn-Haukal in any way approaching the words under discussion, in the parts indicated, are Zawālī, Wālīnd, and Wālīn—باویلی— with the- j— left out in the latter, and which places neither Bāhāḵī nor our author mention, and they are undoubted errors for Wālāwīlī. See note 8, page 288. There is a Walshein in Col. J. T. Walker’s last map, but no reliance can be placed on our maps for correctness of names—especially in Oriental names—names in the map of a country—which ninety, if not ninety-nine, times out of every hundred, are inserted on oral evidence alone, but, for historical accuracy, should be written first in the language of the country and people, and then inserted in the map. Walshein of Col. Walker is, however, just 90 miles N. of Bāmlān and 180 N. of Ghaznī, and is not mentioned in any oriental History or Geography, that I am aware of.

P. de la Croix then goes on to say, first quoting Abū-l-Faraj for “Candahar” [page 306], and then Fadlallah [i.e. Rāshīd-ud-Dīn, Fāṣūl-ullah], that the Chingiz Khān determined, on hearing of this defeat, to despatch Tūlī, his son, against the Sulṭān, and was about to send him off with 80,000 horse, when another courier arrived announcing the revolt of Hirāt, and, instead, Tūlī was despatched thither, and continues: “Just after despatching Tulicīn [Tūlī Khān, however, had nothing whatever to do with the second attack upon Hirāt. See page 1049, and note 9], and after an unsuccessful attack on
of the troops of Islām, reached the Chingiz Khān, he

Bamian, news reached him of the movements of Conomon Nevian [the Nu-
vān, Fīrūz, previously sent into “India”], who had arrived within a day’s
march of Geladeddin, who advanced [quoting “Nisavi” and “Fadllallah”] to
meet them, although one-fourth superior to his own force, and came upon them
just beyond a town called Birouan, within a day’s journey of Ghaznūf.” This
force of Mughals was overthrown as already related above, and at pages
289-90 of this Translation. Then we have the astonishing statement [from
“Nisavi” it is said] that, after this defeat at Birouan [Barwān], “There was,
some days’ journey from thence, a party of Tartars [not Mughals] who were
besieging a fortress called Owala [the Wālīfān of others], who, when they heard
of the battle of Birouan, raised the siege and fled, and that “the defeat of
the Moguls and Tartars was quickly known to the Emperor, who was still
before Bamian.” Then follows the account of its capture and the massacre
of every soul. The subsequent statements are generally correct.

As to some of the originals quoted, which I have examined in order to test
the doubtful passages, I find that Rashid-ud-Dīn’s account is very different.
He says that Amin Malik [Yamin-ul-Mulk—Malik Khān of Hīrāt] joined
his sovereign with 50,000 men from the neighbourhood of Ghaznūf, that the
Sūltān married his daughter, that the Sūltān and his forces continued the
whole winter at Ghaznūf, and during that time, on the news of his arrival
having spread, was joined by Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāk, with 40,000 men, and
also by the Amirs of Ghur and their followers. He then goes on to say,
that, early in the spring, hearing that the Mughals were attacking Wālīfān
[our author’s Wālihān], and its being hard pressed, he advanced to Barwān
[fort was near the sources of the Lohgar river], left all his heavy materials
there, and moved to attack them, as related in the notice of Jalāl-ud-Dīn,
at page 288, note 2. The Chingiz Khān heard of the first reverse within
the limits of Tāl-ḵān, not at Bāmīān, as De la Croix asserts, and not one
word is mentioned about any siege of Bāmīān, and he, after hearing of the
last defeat of his troops, moved at once towards Ghaznūf from Tāl-ḵān. The
Fanākāf mentions Tāl-ḵān of Khurāsān, and makes no mention of any siege
of Bāmīān.

The Jahān-Kuhārī, the account in which I have detailed farther on, says
Amin Malik was in the vicinity of Ghaznah when the Sūltān arrived there,
and agrees with Rashīd-ud-Dīn’s statements in all things, brings the Chingiz
Khān, at once, from the vicinity of Tāl-ḵān of Khurāsān to Ghaznūf, and
makes no mention whatever of any siege or capture of any place called
Bāmīān.

The Raqṣat-us-Ṣaffa [De la Croix’s Mironde, meant for Mīr Khāwīwind] does not mention Wālīfān at all; and the Chingiz Khān is made to advance
from Tāl-ḵān [the correct name is given], but, to show his geographical
knowledge, probably, the author says he came by Andar-āb to Bāmīān, by
which the Mughals must have gone only 7 degrees of Long.—some 480
miles—directly from W. to E. to reach Andar-āb, then come backwards some
120 or 130 miles more to the S.W. to reach Bāmīān through some of the
most difficult ground in Asia, while between Tāl-ḵān and Bāmīān the distance
is only about 160 miles, and about equidistant from Marw-ar-Rūd and Balkh.

The Ḥabīb-us-Siyārī, written by the son of the author of the Raqṣat-us-
Ṣaffa, agrees with that work.

The Tārikh-i-Jahān-gīr agrees with Rashīd-ud-Dīn, and the Fanākāf.
nominated the Nū-īn, Fīkū, who was his son-in-law, to

except that, in it, we have Bādānī—as in several authors—for Barwān, and Nāmīn for the Bāmīn for the Raṣqat-ūs-Safā.

The Tārikh-i-Ibrāhīmi says nothing about Bāmīn, but the Mujāmi-ul-

Khiyār agrees with the Raṣqat-ūs-Safā.

Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Kān, says, that, after Bālkh was destroyed, the Chingiz Khan despatched 30,000 men, under several leaders, including the Nū-yān Kūṭūkū, “to cut off [the Jāmī-ut-Tawārikh says, “to keep open”] the communication between Ghaznī [in the Kazān edition wrongly spelt Gāzmnī], Ghurjistān, Zābul, and Kābul [wrongly spelt Zābil and Kāmil], and drive him into Kīch; and this shows, likewise, that Ghūr and its dependencies, and Zābulistan—N.W. and S.W. of Ghaznī, were the parts assailed by the Mughals, and not Parwān N.N.E. of Kābul, which is quite in an opposite direction. The translation, so called, of Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Kān’s history, however, leaves out all mention of Kīch, and much of the details; and says that the Mughals separated into two bodies, and that Kūṭūkū, with his force, moved towards Hirāt to prevent Kān Malik [the Yamin-ul-Mulk] from joining the Sultān. “Another body,” the translator continues, “nearly surprised Saygill,” and he also mentions Saygill above, where the Turkī original has Zābul. Such a place as Saygill is not once referred to, and, instead of Saygill, the Turki has Wālīn. There is no mention of Barwān or of Kandahār; in fact Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur, does not give the name of the place where Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn overthrew the Mughals twice, but, with respect “to Tāl-kān, Andar-āb, and Bāmīn, he implicitly follows the Raṣqat-ūs-Safā. One great blunder on the part of this translator speaks volumes for the value of his authority in these matters. He says that “Sultān Kān Malik”— as he styles Malik Kān of Hirāt—the Yamin-ul-Mulk—after the desertion of Sāf-ud-Dīn, Ighrāk, and Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn’s retreat to the Āb-i-Sind, “returned to his government of Hirāt!” It had been already invested and taken by the Mughals under Tūf Kān, at this time, as already related.

The most astonishing statement, respecting Bālkh and Bāmīn, is contained in Alfī, which I shall presently notice, but, as to Jalāl-ud-Dīn’s movements from Ghaznī, it is very brief, and agrees with Rashid-ud-Dīn, and the Jahān-Kūshā, that the Sultān set out in the beginning of spring to Barwān, pushed on to relieve Wālīn, and defeated the Mughals, who retired across the river [the Hirmand, no doubt]—breaking the bridge that the Musalmāns might not follow them, and made their escape. The Sultān returned to Barwān, after relieving Wālīn [Wālištān. The same remarks apply here as at the head of this note.]. But, on the seventh day after, a Mughal army of 30,000 men [Fīkū’s force was 45,000 our author says], which the Chingiz Kān had despatched under the Nū-yān, Sankghūr, appeared on the scene, but they were overthrown with great loss, notwithstanding their stratagem of dummy horsemen. Then follows Sāf-ud-Dīn, Ighrāk’s desertion and the Sultān’s retreat to the Sind, “which is now known as the Ni-Āb.” The same work also adds that the Chingiz Kān, at this time, had brought the siege of Tāl-kān to a conclusion, and Bāmīn is not once mentioned in his subsequent movements from Tāl-kān to Ghaznī.

The most conclusive proofs, however, against a long siege of any place named Bāmīn are the dates and the facts that the Chingiz Kān heard near Tāl-kān of the repeated defeats of his troops, and that he moved straight from the Pushtah-i-Nūmān to Ghaznī, and, to enable him to reach it by the
advance from Hirât and Khurâsân towards Ghaznîn. When he [with his troops] arrived on the confines of Barwân, Sultân Jalâl-ud-Dîn advanced against that army, and gave it battle, defeated it and put it to flight, and despatched great numbers of the Mughal infidels to hell. A second, and a third time, Mughal armies advanced, and were overthrown.

In the army of Sultân Jalâl-ud-Dîn were a great number of the Ighrâk [tribe], all warlike men, and ruthless horsemen, and, between that body of the Ighrâk, and the 'Ajamîs and Khwârazmis, a quarrel arose respecting the booty, and hostility ensued; and that body of Ighrâk troops separated from Sultân Jalâl-ud-Dîn, and went off to another place, and the Sultân remained with the Turks [only].

shortest route, there was no need for him to have passed the place which appears in the maps as Bâmlân at all. See note 7, page 1024.
7 It lay near the sources of the Lohgar [now Logar] river.
8 See note 4, page 290, next to last para and note 7, page 498.

With respect to these movements, a very pretty muddle has been made in "Mongols Proper," page 89, and shows what a profound knowledge of the ethnology as well as the geography of these parts some of the "authorities" quoted therein must have possessed. After turning "Khan Melik," [Malik Khân—the Yamín-ul-Mulk] into "the late governor of Meru," it is stated that "Seif ud din Agruk, a Turkoman chief, brought his Turkomans and Kalladjes (the latter a mixed race of Arabs and Turkomans, who wandered between the Indus and the Ganges)," joined Sultân Jalâl-ud-Dîn, and, subsequently, "Seif ud din" is made to "retire into Beloochistan!" At page 716 of the same book, there is a note to this, and it is said there: "this is a statement from Wolff, and it is not quite exact." Truly! "Erdmann says, towards Kerman and Lenkoran. Raverty calls these mountains Kârmân and Sangârûn. D'Ohssoon says he retired to Peshawar. This is no doubt right [of course I but see note 3, page 230, para. 6, and note 7, page 498, para. 5], and his followers were not the Kankalis but the Kalladjes."

The Jahân-Kushā, which is generally well-informed on matters of detail, and also tolerably correct—save and except the practice of always lessening the number of the Mughals, and increasing the number of their opponents fourfold or more, and concealing their defeats—says, that Sultân Jalâl-ud-Dîn marched towards Barwân, which is the boundary of the Nâmfân [Bâmlân] territory [the situation of Barwân near the sources of the Lohgar river agrees with this description], where several routes converge, in order that he might become acquainted with the state of affairs, when, during his absence from Ghaznîn, a force of 10,000 or 12,000 Mughals [45,000, see p. 1006], who were in pursuit of him, reached Ghaznîn. The place being denuded of troops, they entered the city [11 suburbs ?], burnt the Adinâh [Friday] Masjid, and slew all who happened to fall in their way, but, next day, after plundering the country around, they set out in pursuit of the Sultân, gave him battle [this is his pro-Mughal bias, and is quite the reverse of what took place, as confirmed by every other writer without exception—the author was a high official in the Mughal
When the Mughal Nū-īn, Fīkū, returned defeated to the Chingiz Khān, the latter moved [from his camp at] the
service], and were defeated, and they retired to Tāl-ḵān, before which the Chingiz Khān then was. The writer then hushes up the subsequent overthrow of the Mughals at the Sulṭān’s hands, and proceeds to narrate the defection of a great part of his troops, consequent on the quarrel between Yamīn Malik, as he styles Malik Khān of Hirāt [whose title was the Yamīn-ul-Mulk. See page 287, and page 540, note 4, para. 2], and Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāḵ. Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāḵ, together with other Khalj Amīra, and the A’ẓam Malik [the A’ẓam-ul-Mulk, son of ‘Īmād-ud-Dīn, the Balkhī], a Ghūrī chief, with their troops, Khalj [there were Kānḵulīs, and Ghuzz, among them too. See page 376], Turkmāns, and Ghūrīs, went off in the direction of Parshāwar, while the other Turks and Khwārezms, with the Sulṭān, retired towards Ghaznīn.

It must not be lost sight of, in connexion with this mention of Ghuzz, that they were once in possession of Ghaznīn, Kābul, and Zābul.

These Khalj Turks, under the name of Khālich, Dr. Bellew makes Ghazāf Afghāns of, and Col. G. B. Malleson first turns them into “Abdālis” and afterwards into “Ghilzais!”

These selfish and disloyal chiefs, however, very soon received their deserts. They proceeded towards Nangrāhār [originally called Nek-ānḫār—the district immediately south of the Kābul river, and extending from Bhaṭ-kōt on the east to the Surkh-Āb Kotal on the west, and to Kajā on the south, which was the chief of the A’ẓam Malik, and then included in the jurisdiction of Burshor, or Parshāwar]. Arrived there he entertained the other chiefs for a time, but, there being aversion between Nūb, the Jān-dār [in ELLIOT, incorrectly rendered from an imperfect MS., probably, “Kōh Jān-dār,” a strange name for a man. جن has been read ك and mistaken probably for ڪر—the former is a proper name: the latter signifies a mountain. The office of Jān-dār has been previously described], who was head of a Khel [clan] of about 5000 or 6000 families, and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāḵ, he, in consequence, turned his face towards Parshāwar with his 20,000 followers, while Nūb, the Jān-dār, stayed behind in the pasture-lands of Nangrāhār [not “cantonned himself,” as in the work above quoted]. When Saif-ud-Dīn had proceeded one stage on his way, he sent a message to the A’ẓam Malik saying:—“We are as father and son towards each other: thou the son, I the father. If thou desirdest my good pleasure, send away Nūb, the Jān-dār, to his own place of dwelling, and his own locality, and do not allow him to remain in Nangrāhār. [The Khalj tribe—or rather a portion of them—had been located in the neighbourhood of the Safed-koh, on the southern slopes, in Karman and Shalūzān for several centuries previous. See note 5, page 539, para. 2]. The A’ẓam Malik replied: “It is not well, at this time of warfare, that antagonism should exist among the soldiers of Isām.” Thus saying, he rode off with some fifty of his Khwāṣ—retainers—after Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāḵ, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between him and Nūb, the Jān-dār. Saif-ud-Dīn went forth to receive the A’ẓam Malik, and brought him in, and seated him by his side at a convivial drinking party. The A’ẓam Malik began to refer to the matter of Nūb, the Jān-dār, and to interpose in his favour. Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāḵ, inebriated as he was, suddenly got up, mounted his horse, and, attended by 100 horsemen, set out towards the encampment of Nūb, the Jān-dār. Nūb, under the impression that he was coming to him, consequent on the A’ẓam Malik’s intervention, with a friendly object, went forth, with
Pushtah-i-Nu’mān, with all the forces remaining there with him, and turned his face towards Ghaznīn. He fought a battle with Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, and Malik Khān of Hirāt, and other Khwārazmī Maliks who stood by him, on the banks of the Sind river; and Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn and the troops of Islam were defeated, and threw themselves into the Sind river. Of the Musalmāns some were drowned, some attained martyrdom, some were made captive, and a few escaped in safety out of the river.

ACCOUNT OF THE TAKING OF WALKH * OF TUKHĀRISTĀN.

When, in conformity with the command of the Chingiz Khān, Arsalān Khān of Kaialik, the Musalmān, with his own troops, and the Juzbī, Tūlān, the Mughal, marched to the fortress of Walkh, they sat down before it for a period of eight months; and, as that fortress had no

his sons, to receive him, and saluted him, when Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāj, drew his sword to smite Nūb, but his followers seized him, and cut him to pieces.

When intimation of Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāj’s, fate reached his camp, his people said: “This was deception which the A’gam Malik adopted, in concert with Nūb, in order to destroy the Ighrāj Malik;” and, under this supposition, they seized the A’gam Malik, and slew him, and the Ighrāj forces fell upon the encampment of Nūb, and slew him and all his sons. Great numbers were killed on either side, and the Ghūrīs [—غوریان—mistaken for غریان—women, in Elliot, vol. II., p. 401, out of which a ridiculous episode has been made that “even the women took part in the affray!”] took part in the fighting, and a great number were killed.

About that time also Bak-chak and ‘Alā-ul-Mulk, [the word is doubtful. It might be Kanduz—’Alā-ul-Mulk of Kanduz, but it is not ‘Ṣadr,” certainly, as in Elliot], by command of the Chingiz Khān, arrived in order to bring these wine-bibbers to condign punishment. Bak-chak was Amīr of the Mughals, and ‘Alā-ul-Mulk, the Sar-Khel—head of the levy or body [jarāt] of local footmen; and so the remainder of those Khālī, Turkmān, and Ghūrī troops, two or three months after they had deserted the Sultān, were all either slain and dispersed at the hands of each other, or slaughtered by the troops of the Chingiz Khān, in such wise that not a trace of them was left. See also page 1043.

No doubt, all these events had something to do with the subsequent movements of the Karlūks, or Karlūghs, and the Khālī, towards Sind. See note 6, page 374, note 5, page 498, page 534, and page 539, note 5.

6 In the best St. Petersburg MS. the copyist, in this heading, had written بلال—Balākh—but afterwards crossed out the ū and prefixed to the word—بلال. In some copies of the text to this heading is added “and the fortresses of the territory of Bāmlān,” but Walkh is alone referred to.

8 They had a force of 20,000 men with them.
approach [save one] in any direction, they gave orders to the Mughal troops in such wise that, around and in the parts adjacent to that mountain skirt, they kept felling trees and throwing their trunks and branches at the foot of the fortress, and making it appear to the people within the stronghold that they would [really] fill up the darah [defile], whereas it could not be filled up in the space of a hundred years from its profundity; but, as the vengeance of

This description will not suit the situation of Balkh in any way whatever, which, as the Masālik wa Mamālik, Ibn-Haukal, and others, tell us, is situated on level ground, at the distance of four farsakh-leagues—from the mountains, and that it was fortified [notwithstanding the author of "Mongols Proper," p. 80, tells us "it was unfortified"] with ramparts and a citadel.

As I have hinted before, it seems to me, that, as the words ی and ی are something similar in appearance, and ی sometimes used for ی, and vice versa, and as Bāmī is another name for the city of Balkh, some of these writers, who incorrectly make Balkh stand a siege of thirty-seven days, may have jumbled the whole of these words together, and made Bāmīān out of it.

It will be noticed that our author, although he gives so many details respecting Balkh and other places—strong hill fortresses, sometimes miles in girth—which the pro-Mughal historians seem quite unacquainted of, or the operations concerning which they were determined not to notice, and never quote], and knew so much about them, makes not the slightest allusion to any investment of Balkh, nor to its having submitted to the Mughals, nor to the slaying of its inhabitants by those infidels. Had such happened, so near his native place, is it possible he could not have known it? or that, had he been aware of it, he would have concealed it, especially when there was no reason for doing so?

Most of the works previously referred to are exceedingly meagre in their details, and there are numerous discrepancies in their accounts, and confusions in their dates, respecting the movements of the Chingiz Khān after the capture of Tirmid. The Tarikh-i-Allī says: "Having passed the river Amūfah at the Tirmid ford, early in 618 H., the Chingiz Khān moved towards Balkh [our author’s Walkh], which, after an investment of thirty-seven days, was taken by storm, the people having resisted obstinately to the last. He gave orders for a general massacre of the people of Balkh because, at Bāmīān, his grandson, Chaghataī’s son, had been killed [here is a muddle] and so the attack on Bāmīān took place first, after crossing the Oxus! This remark sufficiently proves how much some of the historians are at sea. Crossing the Oxus at Tirmid, Balkh would be reached first, and Bāmīān is some 150 or 160 miles S.S.E. of it], and, therefore, to avenge his death, the Chingiz Khān gave orders for a general massacre of the people of Balkh, and all, both young and old, perished.”

P. de la Croix pretends, but does not quote his author here, but, subsequently, quotes "Mirconde," that it was because Sultan Jalal-ud-Dīn was "so favourably received by the people of Balc," where "he dwelt many weeks" [but near which he never went], that the people were massacred.

The other version, in which the majority of the works I have been quoting agree, is, that, in 617 H. [the end of the year is meant, but, some say, in the
Heaven, and the decree of Fate, had come down [upon the Musalmans], the son of the Ra’is [Chief] of Walkh came into the camp of the Mughals, and he directed and guided

first month of 618 H., when the Chingiz Khan appeared before Balkh, the chief ecclesiastics and other personages went forth to receive him with offerings for his acceptance, and tendered the submission of the city; but, as Sultan Jalal-ud-Din was still in existence, and causing tumult and disorder [it is here P. de la Croix's error occurs], the inhabitants were expelled from the city into the open country without, and all massacred to the number of 52,000 souls, after which, the city of Balkh, "the Tabernacle of Islam," as it is termed, "was levelled with the plain in which it stood."

The Ra’sat-us-Safa says, that, "in the history of Balkh it is stated, that the city and its dependent villages—not the city only—had attained to such a degree of prosperity and populousness, that it contained no less than 1200 Jamil' Masjids, and 1400 baths, and that there were some 50,000 Sayyids, Mullas, and Maulawifs there [and yet all the inhabitants were massacred, and the number was 52,000 in all]. . . . Of all the lofty and splendid buildings which the city contained, not a vestige was left standing." The rest agrees with the accounts above given.

Now, considering that our author is so correct with respect to Tal-Kan of Khurasan, and how most authors have blundered with respect to it, and, as he, who was a native of these very parts, was dwelling within the fortress of Tulak at the time, and personally acquainted with several of the great chiefs he names, I conceive that what the other Histories I have previously referred to speak of as Balkh is no other than the great fortress of Walkh, that their Bamin is his Tal-Kan, and Walfan, as some style it, and "Candahar" of others, is his, and Baitakh's, Walightan.

The Masalik wa Mamalik and Ibn-Haukal certainly tell us that "Tukharistan and Bamin are districts of Balkh," and that "Bamin is a town half as large as Balkh, situated on a hill, and is the only town in the district situated on a hill," but others tell us [see note 6, page 426] that there was no town or city so called, and that the chief place in the Bamin district was Ragif—Rafi—or Ra’sif—Rafi—but in the History of Timur it is written Arjuf—Arif—and is repeatedly mentioned. In his account of the dynasty of Bamin and Tukharistan, our author never once mentions such a town, city, or fortress, but he constantly mentions Balkh, and does so in this Section, as well as Walkh, Walwali, and Walishan, and in this Section, also refers to "the fortress of Bamin," which, as in some other instances, might be correctly rendered, a or the fortress, or in the district of Bamin.

Our author's "fortress of Bamin" is, doubtless, that which is called by modern travellers "Goolgooleh," built upon an isolated rock in the middle of the valley, through which runs the river of Bamin, and near which, in after times, a town named after the district sprung up. Excavations in the rocks, as may be noticed at page 1058, are by no means peculiar to the well known ones near this Bamin. The great fortress of Zuhak, situated at the extreme end of a defile on one of the two routes from Kabul to the comparatively modern Bamin, is, in my idea, the Walkh of our author. See "Sale's Defence of Jafal-Abad," and note 4, page 1058.

It was previously stated that the Sarhang, Sam, and the Pahlawan, Ardash, were sent to the fortress of Walkh, but who the Ra'is was is not mentioned.
them by a path by which a single light-footed person, on foot, alone could proceed. In the ridges of that mountain [on which the fortress stands] are numerous niches of stone, like unto couches; and, for the space of three nights and days, he continued to take the Mughals and conceal them in those niches until a considerable number of men ascended towards the fortress. On the fourth day, at the dawn of morning, the enemy raised a shout, and fell with their swords upon the band which guarded the gateway of the fortress, until they cleared the gateway completely of its defenders. The Mughal army [now] ascended to the place, and martyred the whole of the Musalmans within it, and set their hearts at ease respecting that momentous affair.

They [the Mughal leaders] were directed so that they proceeded from the height of the fortress of Walkh to the foot of the [walls of the] fortress of Fiwär of Kādas; and invested that fortress likewise.

Victory to the true believers, and destruction to the infidels!

ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE CITIES OF KHURÄSÄN, AND THE MARTYRDOM OF THEIR INHABITANTS.

Trustworthy persons relate after this manner, that the Chingiz Khān had four sons. The eldest of them was named Tūshi, the next younger than he was named Chaghatae, the third was called Uktāe, and the fourth, who was the youngest of all, was named Tūlī. When the Chingiz Khān marched from Māwarā-un-Nahr into Khurāsān, he despatched Tūshi and Chaghatae, with a large army, towards Khwārazm; Khîschäk, and Turkistān; and Tūlī was nominated to proceed, with a numerous army, towards the cities of Khurāsān; and Uktāe, the Chingiz Khān kept near himself.

In the year 617 H., Tūlī turned his face from the [great

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4 Recesses in the hills probably.
5 See page 375, note 6.
6 Which is also written Jüjf, using the Irānī f.
7 The account of the capture of the capital of Khwārazm will be found in the notice of Tūshi farther on. He was afterwards to enter Khîschäk.
IRRUPTION OF THE INFIDELS INTO ISLĀM. 1027

camp at the] Pūghtah-i-Nu'mān towards the city of Marw, and took that city, and martyred its inhabitants.⁸ From

⁸ Our author and all other Musalmān and Mughal historians must be wrong, for does not Col. Malleson, C.S.I., in his "History of Afghanistan from the Earliest Times," which some writer in the "Times" has declared "a marvel of accuracy," tell us at page 113 that "Chinghiz" himself took Balkh, Merv, Herât, Nishāpūr, and Tus in succession? Our author gives no particulars respecting the fall of Marw-i-Shāh-i-Jahān, one of the most celebrated and ancient cities of Khorāsān, and therefore I will endeavour to supply them from other writers. After the Chingiz Khān had crossed the Jībūn and destroyed Balkh, but Balkh, according to our author and some others, he determined to subjugate Khorāsān, and despatched, in 618 H., from the neighbourhood of Tāl-kān—between that place and Balkh [which agrees with our author's statement], 80,000 horse, computed as one tenth of his whole host, under his youngest son, Tūľ, with whom he associated Taghāchār, a younger brother of the Nū-yān, Kārāchār, the ancestor of Amīr Tūmir. Taghāchār, on account of his having married one of the Chingiz Khān's daughters, is "styled the Gūrgīn, which is to say, in the Turkī language, son-in-law, and dāmād in Persian," and, therefore, those who have hitherto imagined that this is a Chinese title peculiar to, and first used with reference to Tūmir as having married into the family of "the great Khan," [but that was not the reason] will perceive that, although Amīr Tūmir may have been the last to whom that Turkī title was applied, he was certainly not the first. When Tūľ had proceeded forward a few marches, he detached Taghāchār, in advance, with 12,000 horse, some say 10,000, to Nīshābūr, imagining probably, after what had been stated to Jābah [Yamāh] and Swīdāe [Sahūdāh], as related previously, that that city would be given up at once. The Mughals were mistaken, however, for the Majīr-ul-Mulk, the Kāfī, 'Umīr-rajī, and Zīyā-ul-Mulk, the Zauzāf, who had made vast preparations for defending the city, had no such intention. Alī states that the Amīr-i-Majīlī, Shāhāf-ud-Dīn, was the governor. They had, among other things, besides catapults and ballistas, 300 ūţ-charkh, machines for discharging iron projectiles filled with inflammable composition, in shape like a rocket, and naphtha in flasks, and 300 ghirārah [the meaning of ghirārah is variously given as an iron helmet, and also a kind of net, but some sort of projectile must be meant], all of which were disposed on the towers and ramparts. On a Wednesday, in the middle of Ramāsān [December, 1220 A.D.], at dawn, the Mughals attacked the place, and continued the attack for three successive days without intermission, but, on the Friday, at the time of midday prayer, a rocket struck Taghāchār the Gūrgīn, and killed him.

It is somewhat remarkable that a Tūkajār should have been killed at Fūhanj near Hirāt, in the first Mughal irruption into Khorāsān, and a Taghāchār before Nīshābūr on the second occasion, but, notwithstanding the similarity of names, the two events are clearly recorded.

After this reverse, the Nū-yān, Nūrkā [Nūr], the next in command, finding it was impossible to obtain possession of Nīshābūr, divided his force into two bodies, and departed. One took the direction of Sabzwār, and, after assailing that place for three days and nights, carried it, and the Mughal leader ordered a general massacre, and slew 70,000 persons. All this, however, seems scarcely possible for 5000 or 6000 men to effect, and the number, evidently, has not been truly stated. The other half of the Mughal force moved to Tūs,
thence he advanced to Nishāpur, which, after much fighting, captured the fortress of Jand, which was near Tūs, and likewise massacred the inhabitants. In the work entitled "The Mongols Proper," these proceedings, under the names "Thus" and "Kuhistan," are wrongly attributed to Tūlī Khān, who never went near those places.

In the meanwhile Tūlī marched towards Marw, but, before doing so, he sent requisitions into the different parts adjacent, which had submitted to the yoke, such as Sarakhs, Abīward, and some other towns, to levy men to assist in his operations against their fellow-countrymen, so that, besides his army, some 70,000 men were brought together. After demolishing some few small forts and places on his route, and drawing near Marw, according to the Mughal custom, he despatched a body of 400 horse to reconnoitre. This force, having advanced during the night, fell upon an encampment of īlāts, or nomads, and on making investigation found it was an encampment of Saljūk Turkmāns, then preparing to make a raid upon the environs of Marw. How these Turkmāns happened to be there at this time I must briefly explain, for the details are very long.

At this period Marw-i-Shāh-i-Jahān—a different place from Marw-ar-Rūd—was one of the largest, wealthiest, richest, and most populous cities of Asia [a place, or rather that which has taken or stands in its position, which, at this moment attracts, and, for some time past, has attracted the serious attention of those patriotic Britons, who would not see the hordes of another Chingiz dominant over Asia and Eastern Europe to the mortal injury of British interests both in India—which they do not desire to see "perish"—and in Europe]. Sharaf-ud-Dīn, Muḥaffarr, who bore the title of Majīr-ul-Mulk, was one of the great men of Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh’s court, and carried his head very high, because his mother, who had occupied a subordinate position in the Sultān’s haram, when she was conferred in marriage on the reputed father, who was made a muḥbīf [clerk or accountant in a treasury] on that occasion, was said to be pregnant by the Sultān. The son whom she bore, in time, rose to a high position, and had been a Wazīr, and Hākim of Marw and its dependencies. He had, however, for some reason, been removed, prior to the Mughal invasion, and another person, who bore the title of Bahā-ul-Mulk, son of Najīb-ul-Dīn, had been appointed in his stead, and the Majīr-ul-Mulk, Sharaf-ud-Dīn, Muḥaffarr, consequently, returned to the presence of the Sultān. When the Sultān, dreading lest he might fall into the hands of the barbarian Mughals, proceeded towards Māzandarān, he gave directions to all his Amīrs to secure the fortresses of Khurāsān, and to have them garrisoned and provided with catapults and other war engines, so as to afford protection to the people around, while of such places as could offer no opposition the unfortunate Sultān recommended the inhabitants to submit to the invaders on their appearing, and so save their lives, and to trust to the upshot of events. On this command being issued, the Bahā-ul-Mulk removed all the valuable property and treasure from Marw to the fortress of Tāk—the Raṣūlat-us-Ṣafā, and Abūl-Ghīṭāf, Bahādur, have Yāzar and Yarāz, respectively—whither he himself withdrew, and left a Deputy at Marw, while the people, all but those whom fate induced to remain, dispersed into various other places. It was at this crisis that the Nū-yāns, Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdā [Sahīdhah], with a large army, appeared before it, as already related, and the chief ecclesiastics, who had remained behind in Marw, afraid of the Mughals, sent a person to those leaders with presents, and tendered submission. They could not stay to
he captured; and, in order to take vengeance because the

take possession, and so, contenting themselves with the presents and offerings, passed on without molesting Marw.

At this time, a predatory Turkman chief, named Būkā, having concerted with a body of his clansmen, succeeded, unexpectedly, in throwing himself into Marw, and made himself Amīr and Ḥākim, and a great number of the Sulṭān’s soldiers, and Turks of those parts, as well as other soldiers of fortune, gathered around him, so hostile were they to the Mughals. In the meantime, the Majīr-ul-Mulk had left the Sulṭān in his retreat [Kauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā says, after the Sulṭān’s death] in one of the islands in the Caspian, and gained the fort of Šālūk [in Ǧīlān], the seneschal of which, Shams-ud-Dīn, ‘Alī, received him with honour and reverence, and rendered him all assistance in his power. This enabled the Majīr-ul-Mulk to collect a large force of Turks and Tājālks, and he marched to Marw, and took up a position in the garden facing the Dar-i-Sarrājān, or Gate of the Saddlers. A number of the chiefs of the Marghāzī, who had formerly been in the Majīr-ul-Mulk’s service, hearing of his arrival, flocked round him with the men of that tribe. Būkā, however, would not admit the Majīr-ul-Mulk, until the latter, by presents and promises, had gained over a great number of the inhabitants, who had gone and waited on him, and on this accession of strength, one day at noon, boldly proceeded towards the city, and entered it without opposition. Būkā, out of necessity, now went and waited on him, and, with his followers, was enrolled among the rest of the Majīr-ul-Mulk’s retainers.

The Majīr-ul-Mulk, having now gathered around him followers and fighting men to the number of 8000, began to think of something more than a subordinate position. This raised the ire of the Shaikh-ul-Islām of Marw, Shams-ud-Dīn, Ḥārīṣī, who began intriguing against him with a relative, the Kāṣf of Sarakhsh—which place the Mughals had obtained possession of, and left an Intendant at—in order, even at the cost of giving up Marw to the Mughals, to bring about the Majīr-ul-Mulk’s downfall. Some informers brought this to the latter’s notice, and he accused the Shaikh-ul-Islām, who stoutly denied the charge. At last, a letter, in his own hand-writing, to the Kāṣf of Sarakhsh, in reply to one of his own, the bearer having been intercepted by the way—some say, a letter of the Kāṣf to him—fell into the Majīr-ul-Mulk’s hands, who at once requested the Shaikh-ul-Islām to visit him. On his arrival, he said: “What news hast thou from Sarakhsh? and what are its people doing?” The Shaikh replied: “I have no cognizance of their affairs, and have no information respecting them.” The Majīr-ul-Mulk threw his own letter towards him, saying, “There, read that!” and, seeing his own letter, he was utterly confounded. The Majīr-ul-Mulk, in a contemptuous manner, exclaimed, “Depart!” and the traitor was rising to do so when several chiefs closed with him, and with their daggers slew him, and then, dragging the corpse along by the heels, cast it into the market-place, and left it to the dogs, as all traitors to their country deserve.

After this, the Majīr-ul-Mulk began to detach troops to harry the vicinity of Sarakhsh; and the Bahā-ud-Mulk [the Sulṭān’s governor], hearing of the state of affairs, and the predominance acquired by the Majīr-ul-Mulk, came forth from the Ḥişār of Tāḵ, and went to the Mughal Amīrs in those parts [our author mentions how numerous bodies of Mughals were sent into Ghīr and Ghārijstān about this time], acquainted them with the state of affairs, and sought to obtain, through them, the charge of the territory of Marw
son-in-law of the Chingiz Khan had been slain at that
greeving to pay a certain amount yearly as tribute. His offers were accepted,
and he was sent to Marw, along with a body of Mughal troops. Arrived at
Shahristan, the Bahá‘ul-Mulk indited a letter to the Majfr-ul-Mulk, saying:
"Some ill-feeling and distrust existed between us on account of a certain
office, but that has vanished; and, as the power of the Mughals is such as
cannot be coped with, wisdom and foresight alike demand that no other road,
save that of submission and obedience, should be traversed. At this time
7000 Mughals and 10,000 levies are on the way to this part along with me,
and therefore regret and sorrow will follow aught save submission to them."

When the Majfr-ul-Mulk received this communication, he became disturbed
and astounded, in such wise, that his most trusted and confidential followers
were for at once dispersing and seeking places of security. After a time,
however, they advised him not to believe this statement of an interested per-
son and a traitor, and that to abandon Marw would be an act of great folly.
The messengers from the Bahá‘ul-Mulk were separated and questioned
respecting the actual number of troops along with him, and, on their giving
replies confirming the Bahá‘ul-Mulk’s statement, the Majfr-ul-Mulk ordered
both of them to be put to death, and despatched from Marw a body of 2500
Turk troops of the Sulján of Khwārazm, to drive off the Bahá‘ul-Mulk and
his Mughal allies. When the Mughals found this, they secured the Bahá‘ul-
Mulk, whose own followers now deserted him, and returned towards Tūs,
where they struck off his head.

The body of Turk cavalry, detached by the Majfr-ul-Mulk, pushed on as
far as Sarakhs; and, on their appearance there, the Musalmāns seized the
Kāšī, Shams-ud-Dīn, who had taken offerings to Jabah [Yamah] and Swidā‘
[Sahūdah], and had assumed the authority there, and made him over to a
man whose father the Kāšī had caused to be put to death unjustly, who slew
him according to the law of retaliation. All noise respecting the Mughal
armies now became suspended—it was the calm preceding the hurricane, how-
ever—and the Majfr-ul-Mulk gave himself up to pleasure and revelry, drinking
and other unlawful acts.

At this juncture, Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, a Turkmān, who was Hākim of Amūlah,
came to Marw, and reported that the Mughal forces were coming, that they
had reached the Amū, and were then investing Kala‘-i-Nau. Although the
Majfr-ul-Mulk received him with great distinction, nevertheless Ikhtiyār-ud-
Dīn was hostile to him—on account of his remissness probably, at such a
strategy—and he went and took up his quarters with the Turkmāns. Soon after 800
Mughal horsemen came in search of Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, and threw themselves
upon the Turkmāns. At this juncture, Shaikh Khan, and Aghūl, the Hājib,
who arrived with 2000 men from the side of Khwārazm, laid an ambuscade for
the Mughals, slew the greater part of them, and took sixty of them captive,
who were paraded about Marw, and then put to a cruel death.

Shaikh Khan, and the Hājib, Aghūl, made no stay, and retired to the
Daght-i-Khurz, upon which the Turkmāns chose Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn as their
head and ruler, entered into a covenant with him, left the service of the
Majfr-ul-Mulk, and contemplated taking the city out of his hands. He, how-
ever, got information of it, and prepared to defeat their design, upon which
they, being hopeless of surprising Marw, went and pitched their camp on
the banks of the river of Marw. They then began to plunder the villages
around, and the suburbs of the city, up to its very walls, and to appropriate
place, he martyred every person in Nishāpūr, desolated it,

everything they could lay their hands upon. In the meantime, Tūlī Khan, having drawn a levy of 70,000 men from Sarakhs, Nisā, Afward, and other towns of Khurasān, which had submitted to the Mughal yoke, and incorporated them into his army, moved towards Marw.

Having arrived in the vicinity, he sent in advance—so say the pro-Mughal historians—a body of 400 horse—much more probably 4000—to reconnoitre, so that, in the night, they reached the banks of the Marw river, close to the Khels of the Turkmāns, and there they halted. There were 12,000 men there assembled for the purpose of making a raid in the vicinity of the city; and, in that dark night, each detachment of Turkmāns, as they came up, totally unsuspecting the presence of such foes, were attacked unawares, in detail, and slaughtered; and, during that night, the Mughals destroyed the whole of the 12,000 Turkmāns, and Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn is also said to have been killed. Now if the former only numbered 400 men, each man must have killed thirty on the average, and this they could scarcely have accomplished in the time, even had the Turkmāns lain down quietly to be butchered like sheep, which they probably did not do. The whole 12,000 must have come by precisely the same road, just at the propitious time, and when the 400 Mughals had just finished the preceding detachment; and of course, in the stilly night, the cries and shouts, groans and screams, and the clash of arms could not be heard, and close to their Khels too. All this is gross exaggeration, although contained in the Jahān-Kushā, the Raṣūt-Us-Safā, and several other pro-Mughal works. Having thus broken the back of their strength, the Mughals, next day, made for the encampments where were the families of the Turkmāns, and early in the morning fell upon them and slew the whole—with the exception of some, who, while the slaughter was going on, threw themselves into the river of Marw, hoping to escape, and perished—male and female, young and old—who were butchered, to the number of 70,000 souls! Now, at this rate of 400 men, each individual Mughal must, on the average, have killed, during the night and following day, just 230 souls, which is as incredible as it is ridiculous to expect any sane person to believe it, and, even assuming that these barbarian butchers numbered 4000, each one must have slain, on the average, thirty-two persons. Taking the fighting men at 12,000, and the average number of each family at from five to six persons, each furnishing one fighting man, 70,000 is not beyond the mark. The Mughals captured likewise 60,000 quadrupeds—oxen and camels—besides innumerable sheep, and proceeded to join Tūlī’s camp.

This account reads like a page out of Mr. Eugene Schuyler’s work, or a leaf from the annals of the “Christian” and “knightly warfare” in Asia Minor and European Turkey in 1878: the Turkmāns of that day, like the Turkmāns of this, were treated a la Kaufmann, and the whole proceedings were carried out in true “Circassian style.” I would observe here, however, with respect to some strange theories respecting the origin of the name “Turkomen,” in the “Geographical Magazine,” for 1875, page 151, that there would be some difficulty to find such a word in any oriental writer whosoever.

The day after this fearful slaughter, which is said to have taken place on the 1st of Muharram [which must be an error for the 11th or 21st, as Tūlī was only despatched early in that month], 618 H. [25th February, 1221 A.D.], Tūlī Khan, with his army arrived, and took up a position opposite the Shahristānah Gateway, which is mentioned in the “Masālik wa Mamālik” as situated near the great masjid, and commenced to assail the place. The Majīr-ul-
razed the walls of the city, and, having had a pair of oxen

Mulk, who had made great preparations for its defence, distributed his treasures liberally among the troops, and used to send forth large bodies of men to make sallies upon the Mughals, in such wise, that, on the first day, in the course of one hour, more than 1000 Mughals were slain. Here it will be remarked how large bodies of Turks and Tâjiks only kill 1000 Mughals, in about the time that 400 Mughals, by the writer's account, would cut up a whole host.

At this show of resistance, Tûlî, next day, attacked the place in person, at the head of 22,000 Mughals—but the Raużat-us-Ṣafâ says, an army in numbers beyond all computation—and inflicted great slaughter on the defenders; and, in this manner, from morn to eve, for a period of twenty-two days, the fighting went on. The Târîkh-i-Jahân-gîr, Habîb-us-Siyar, and Jahân, Kughâ, say the fighting only lasted for seven days, and that on the eighth the Majîr-ul-Mulk sent to beg for quarter, but this statement is much the same as that of the 400 horsemen slaughtering 12,000 Turkmân soldiers and 70,000 of their people.

In the meantime, the vast population of Marw became reduced to great straits, and began to say among themselves, that there was no hope of resisting the Mughals. Besides this, many persons from Balkh, Samâkand, Bukhârî, Khwârzem, and other places captured by the Mughals, had taken shelter in Marw; and these fugitives persuaded the Marwâzîs that the city must surely be captured at last, and that it was better to seek an accommodation, and thus prevent the shedding of torrents of Musalmân blood. On the twenty-third day, therefore, the Majîr-ul-Mulk was prevailed upon to despatch the Imâm, Jamâl-ud-Dîn, the chief ecclesiastic, who, attended by a body of the priesthood, came out of Marw, and sought the presence of Tûlî Khân. After presenting besitting pekh-kash, the Imâm offered, if the conqueror would promise to spare the lives of the inhabitants, and not destroy the city, to pay a ransom of 200,000 dinârs, 30,000 khar-wârs of grain, 100,000 ambling horses, and 100 Hindû and Turk slaves, to receive a Mughal Shâhmah or Intendant, and pay yearly taxes into the Khân's treasury. Tûlî accepted these offers, a dress of honour was conferred upon the Imâm and those with him, and he was sent back to the city with that Khân's reply. The next day, the Majîr-ul-Mulk, attended by ten of his principal officers, placing faith in the word of a Mughal prince, and taking with him valuable offerings of all descriptions, came out of Marw, and proceeded to the audience tent of Tûlî Khân. On his reaching the entrance, he was stopped by the Amîrs of Tûlî—the matter, of course, had been previously arranged—and he was required to give an assignment of 300 khar-wârs—each computed at an ass's load—of dinârs as an offering to the Bâdshâh-Zadah [Tûlî Khân], and another 100,000 dinârs for themselves, on the wealthy people of the city, on which they would obtain from Tûlî Khân a written deed of security for the lives of the inhabitants; and this they swore most solemnly to observe according to the rites of their belief. Willing to save the people, and again trusting the perfidious Mughals, the Majîr-ul-Mulk, at once, gave an assignment on 100 great merchants of the city; and sent a person of his own, with a party of Mughals, to receive the amount. The Mughals went and brought back with them the persons named, and, with the aid of the rack and other tortures, succeeded in extorting the money; and, besides these unfortunate, nearly 10,000 other persons were tortured to death. After this, the Majîr-ul-Mulk was mutilated by having his ears, nose, and lips cut off—the fashion of the "Sag-lab" Montenegrin and Bulgarian "heroes" of the present day—and then
yoked [to a plough], he had them driven over [the area on
put to death. Orders were then issued by this fiend in human form to destroy
the city, and massacre the inhabitants. The Mughals poured in, and con-
tinued to expel the inhabitants, whom they drove out into the plain. Four
days were occupied in separating the males from the females, and then, after
the selection of a few young females for captivity, and about 400 artisans, the
whole of the remainder were butchered, and not a soul was left alive.

By the generality of writers it is said, that some 300 or 400 victims fell to
the share of each Mughal butcher; and, although the number seems incre-
dible, when we consider that the people of other cities were fugitives at Marw,
and that the inhabitants of the towns and villages near had taken shelter within
the walls, it is doubtless correct. The Sayyid, Izz-ud-Din of Nisâ, and a
number of clerks, were occupied during thirteen days and nights in recording
the number of the slain, and the number, without accounting such as it was
impossible to recognize, belonging to the city and neighbouring villages alone,
it is said, amounted to a little over 1,300,000 souls. See page 281.

After this, the walls and defences of this great city, after it had been
thoroughly sacked, were demolished, and in such wise “that scarce a trace of
it was left; and for a period of two hundred and nine years its desolation was
such that its site did not afford sufficient shade for a wild beast,” after which,
in 812 H., through the favour of Sultan Shâh-Rukh, the son of Amir Timûr,
the Gürgân, the city was rebuilt.

Tûf Khan now bent his steps towards Nishâbûr; and, according to the
Jahân-Kuhsâhâ, when he had proceeded two marches on his way, fearing prob-
ably, that enough blood had not been shed, with the instinct of a fiend, sent
back a body of 2000 horse to slay all who might have crept out of holes and
corners since his departure; and about 10,000 persons more were, in this wise,
massacred. The Târîkh-i-Jahân-gîr, however, states that, after sacking
Marw, Tûf Khan nominated the Amir, Ziâ-yâ-ud-Dîn, ‘Ali, one of its great
men, who had been spared because he had retired previously from public life,
and was dwelling in seclusion, to proceed thither, and remain there as governor
of the desolated city and its dependencies, along with a Mughal Daroghah or
Overseer, named Barmas — also styled Barmas and Barmas — over such of the
inhabitants as might, from holes and corners, and other places of concealment,
return to the city.

After the departure of the Mughal army towards Nishâbûr, about 5000
fugitives once more assembled, but their cup of misery was not yet full. A
body of Mughals, who subsequently arrived there on their way to join Tûf,
desired to have their share of slaughter, and so they required that every person
in the place should bring out a skirt full of grain for them. By this stratagem
all who did so were massacred; and this same detachment slew all they met
with on the road to Nishâbûr. Soon after another body of Mughals, who had
separated from the Nû-yân Jâbah [Yamah] arrived, and they also put to death
all who chanced to come in their way.

There was still more misfortune in store for Marw. Some time after, an
outbreak of Musalmâns against the Mughals took place at Sarakhs, and the
Amîr, Ziâ-yâ-ud-Dîn, ‘Ali, set out to suppress it, and the Mughal, Barmas, or
Barmas, the Overseer, moved outside Marw, with his following, taking with
him the artificers and mechanics of the place, with the object, in case of need,
of retiring to Bukhârâ. Those left within Marw imagined that he had heard
news of the Sultan, Jâlal-ud-Dîn’s arrival, and that he was preparing to fly.
which] the city [stood], in such wise that not a vestige of
the buildings thereof remained.* Having finished with

They accordingly rose, and began to express their joy thereat by beating
drums. Barmās came to the gate, and requested the chief men remaining
among the inhabitants to attend him, but no one obeyed, on which he had all
such as he met with outside slaughtered, and then retired hastily towards
Bukhāra.

Amīr Žiyyā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, returned soon after, and set about repairing the
walls and the citadel; and people assembled around him from the vicinity, and
other more distant places, but an officer of the late Sultān's, the Pahlawān
Nūsh-Tigīn—called Küsh-Tigīn by some—had gathered a considerable fol-
lowing under his standard, and arrived before Marw, and invested it. Žiyyā-
ud-Dīn, 'Alī, finding it impossible to remain, succeeded, by stealth, in leaving
the city with his Mughal party, as the investment was but partial, took to
flight, and entered the fort of Murghab. Nūsh-Tigīn now set to work to
repair some part of the city, and to cultivate the land, but a faction secretly
communicated with Žiyyā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, and incited him to return. He did so,
and appeared with a force, and took up a position before the place. Nūsh-
Tigīn sent a body of his followers, who took Amīr Žiyyā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, and
brought him before him, who, finding that he himself must perish or Žiyyā-ud-
Dīn, 'Alī, he had him put to death; and, with a heart at ease, set about his
restoration of the city, and putting it in a state of defence. Three or four
days only elapsed when a body of 2000 Mughal horse, on their way to join the
Nū-yan, Fīkū, finding how matters stood, one half went away on their duty, so
ordered previously, leaving the remainder to watch the place. News was then
despatched to Nakhshab, to the Mughal officers there stationed, acquainting
them with the assemblage of a number of people at Marw again; and, after five
days, two chiefs, Turbāc [Turtāc?] and Āk Malik [a Musalmān Turk—it was
Mughal policy to employ Mughals and Musalmāns in concert], with a body of
5000 Mughals, appeared, who penetrated into the city, and are said to have
slain 100,000 people more [more likely 10,000], who had again assembled
there, the different quarters of the city having been assigned to different
detachments of this force for the purpose of hunting up and destroying all
whom they could find. Turbāc [Turtāc], with the principal part of the
Mughals, then departed, but Āk Malik was left behind to search for other
victims supposed to be in hiding. Every stratagem that was conceivable was
adopted to draw them forth; and the last one, which was but too successful,
was, that one of the party, a Musalmān of Nakhshab, was made to pronounce
the call to prayer, upon which welcome sound the poor wretches issued forth
from holes and cellars to be put to the sword, and in such wise that but twelve
persons—some say only four—and no more, were left alive in Marw, and
these, according to the Raużat-uṣ-Ṣafā, were Hindūs!

* Having left Amīr Žiyyā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, in charge of what remained of
Marw, Tūlī moved towards Nishābūr, in order, says 'Alī, "to avenge the
Gūrgan, Taghchār, previously killed in Khurāsān." In advance, he
despatched a great part of his army with the war engines and materials for
carrying on a siege; and, although Nishābūr is situated in a stony tract of
country, nevertheless, he brought along with him, from a distance of several
marches, so many loads of stone that they lay in great heaps all round the
place. Not a tithe of them were used, for the inhabitants, perceiving the
hand of the Almighty in what was taking place, and that this was a fresh
them [the inhabitants], and the city, and territory, Tulf

army, greater in magnitude than the previous one, notwithstanding the vast preparations they had made for defence, as previously narrated, became disheartened, and so no other remedy remained than to despatch the Kasli-Mamalik, Rukan-ud-Din, 'Ali, son of Ibrahim, to the presence of Tulf. On reaching his quarters, which was a considerable distance from the place, the Kasli besought security for the lives of the inhabitants, and tendered submission and payment of tribute, but all was of no avail, and he was dismissed. On Wednesday, the 12th [in some, the 2nd] of Safar, 618 H., early in the morning, the attack commenced, and was persisted in until the afternoon of the Friday, during which time, also, the Mughals had dammed up the water in the ditch in several places, so as to cause breaches in the walls. They then renewed the attack on all sides with greater vigour than before, and effected a lodgment on the top of the walls, where they were as bravely resisted; but the defenders were being gradually forced back. A lodgment had also been effected near the Sher-ban gate; and, during the Friday night, the walls and bastions became crowded with Mughals. On the following day they poured in through the gates, and began their work of plunder and massacre, while the people were still resisting at every favourable point. The Mughals made search for the Majr-ud-Din [the Fakhru-l-Mulk, Nigam-ud-Din, probably. See note 9, page 990, para. 11], and at last dragged him forth, and he, to make them put him speedily out of pain, was reviling and defying them, and they put him to death in the basest manner possible. 'Ali says the defence was carried on for eight days, during which great numbers perished on both sides, and, on the ninth day, the city was taken by assault.

The remainder of the inhabitants were now, as customary, driven out into the open country outside the city and slaughtered; for it was directed, in order to avenge the death of the Gurgan, Taghchir, that Nigabur should be utterly destroyed, and no living creature, not even a dog or cat, was to be left alive. The daughter of the Chingis Khan, the Khutun of Taghchir, with her own followers, afterwards [not before. The idea of her "leading the avenging force at the head of 10,000 men," as stated in the "Mongol Proper," is as absurd as the idea of "cutting off all the heads, and making separate heaps of men's, women's, and children's heads"] entered the place, and caused all that could be found, and any who might have crept out of concealment, to be slaughtered. Only forty—not so many as four hundred—who were mechanics and artisans, were allowed to escape, and they were carried off to Turkistan; and in the time of Amir Timur their descendants were still dwelling there. The walls, towers, and all the buildings of Nigabur were thrown down, and for seven days and nights the water of the neighbouring river, which had been dammed up for the purpose, was made to run over it, so as to sap whatever buildings remained—the greater number of houses were probably built of unburnt bricks—and bullocks and ploughs were brought, and its site was sown with barley, and the Mughal horses [some of them?] fed with it when it sprang up. One Mughal officer and four Taghiks were left there to slay any persons who might have escaped the general massacre!

It is stated in the Tariikh-i-Khurasan, quoted by some of my authorities, that it took twelve days to number the slain, and that, without enumerating women and children, and such as could not be accounted for, the number recorded was 1,747,000 souls. With respect to this immense, and almost incredible, number of persons said to have been butchered by the Mughal
advanced towards Hirāt,¹ and pitched his camp before the
barbarians, we must understand that the people of the open country always
sought shelter within the walled cities and towns. This fact, no doubt, tended
to hamper their garrisons, and, from the quantity of food required for their
subsistence, caused the early surrender of many very strong places that, other-
wise, would have held out like the fortresses of Ghūr and Gharjistān, as our
author so graphically relates farther on.

¹ The next movement of Tūf Khān was against Hirāt. On reaching the
verdant plain of Shabartū near that city, he despatched an agent, named Zar-
būr, demanding that the Amīr who was governor on the part of Sulṭān Jalāl-
ud-Dīn, and the Kāşt, the Khātib, and chief men of the city of Hirāt, should
come out and wait on him, and submit to the Mughal sovereign, and secure
protection for their lives and property, lest the fate of Marw and Nishābūr
might be theirs also. The governor, Amīr Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the
Jūzjānī, and other Maliks therein, on hearing of the advance of the Mughal,
had prepared to make a determined resistance, and all the approaches and
defences were strongly guarded. Tāriḵ-i-Jahān-gir, Raqsat-ūs-Safā, and Ḥāfs Abrū, state, that there were 100,000 troops at that time in Hirāt, but this
is mere exaggeration for the glorification of the Mughals, as the sequel shows
the contrary to have been the fact, but there certainly was a strong force there.
When the envoy from Tūf Khān appeared before Amīr Shams-ud-Dīn, Mu-
ḥammad, and delivered his message, he forthwith ordered him to be put to
death, saying at the same time: "Let not that day come for me to be subject to
Mughal and Tattār infidels while breath remains in my body!" Next day,
when intimation reached Tūf of the fate of his envoy, he was greatly enraged,
and directed the troops to take up positions round about the city, and to slay
every Harawī Tājgilī they could meet with.

For a period of seven days Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, opposed
the Mughals with great valour, and inflicted heavy loss upon them, among
those killed being several of the principal Amīrs, and 1700 others of lesser note,
besides common men. On the eighth day Tūf led the Mughals in person to
the attack, and Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, sallied out, at the head of
a large force, to encounter him, and an engagement ensued which was carried
on with great obstinacy. The Mughals were so severely handled at last, that
they were nearly giving way, when an arrow struck Malik Shams-ud-Dīn,
Muḥammad, and he fell from his horse, and then and there expired.

His fall caused division within the city, and the people became separated
into two parties—those who were devotedly loyal to Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and
the soldiery, who were for vigorous resistance to the last, while the civi-
lians, such as the Kāşt and the ecclesiastics, the priesthood holding grants of
land, and those to whom trade and their own selfish interests were all and
everything, and patriotism nothing, who were for accommodation; and it will
be noticed that, throughout these misfortunes, such persons invariably caused
resistance to be abandoned, or they betrayed their people and their sovereign's
interest for their own ends.

In the meantime, Tūf Khān, who had taken a great fancy to Hirāt, and
liked its climate and situation, did not wish to desolate it like other cities [and
who, doubtless, had information of the state of affairs within, and the resistance
likely to be offered], and whose ranks had been thinned, and were then drawn
up facing the Ifrūz—some say Firūz-ābād—gateway, which, according to the
"Masālik wa Mamālik," was the most flourishing quarter of Hirāt, rode
forward on the ninth day, with 200 horse, to the edge of the ditch, and
requested a parley. Then, removing his head-dress [some say helmet, others
gate of that city, and the attack began, and catapults were placed in position in every direction.\(^2\)

turban, but neither correctly], he called out: "O! men of Hirât! I know ye that I am Tülf, the son of the Chingiz Khân; and, if ye desire to save your lives, and those of your women and children, from the hands of the Mughals, cease from all further resistance, and submit, and I will agree that ye pay into my coffers one-half the amount of taxes [Alfi says, "the same amount to my deputies"] you have been paying to your Sultan. These words he accompanied with most solemn oaths and promises, that no injury should befall them, if they ceased fighting and opened the gates. Hearing these words from the mouth of Tülf Khân himself, it was agreed to submit to his authority. This is what, in the "Mongols Proper," becomes "it offered to capitulate."

In the first place, 'Izz-ud-Dîn, the Harâsfī, who, by command of the Sultan, was the Muṣkaddam, or Provost of the guild of weavers and manufactories—with 100 persons of his craft, each bearing nine pieces [the Mughal fortunate number] of silks of various kinds, and of great price, for which Hirât was famous—it still is for a kind styled ḫanāwīs—proceeded to the presence of Tülf, and after them followed the chief officials and men of the city. They were all well received; but, as though it were impossible for a Mughal to keep his plighted word, 12,000 persons, the soldiers and dependants of Sultan Jalâl-ud-Dîn, were massacred to a man, but to the other inhabitants, whom they had defended and for whom they had shed their blood, no further molestation was offered, and the Mughals acquired vast booty. Misery enough was, however, in store for the Harâsfīs.

After the surrender, Amîr Abû-Bîkâr-i-Mârâghânî [see note on the Kurunt dynasty, farther on] was left there as Governor of Hirât and its dependencies, and a Mughal, named Mangatâh, also written Mangatâi and Mangâtâ, a favourite attendant of Tülf's, was left with him as Shâhânâh or Intendant. The former set about remedying the distracted state of affairs, ruled justly, and endeavoured to restore the province to its former prosperity, and put the city in repair. Tülf Khân, according to his father's commands, set out [Alfi says, in 609 R. = 619 H., but this is not correct: it was 618 H.] on his return eight days after the surrender, and joined the Chingiz Khân in his camp near Tâl-kân of Khûrusân, which he had not yet taken.

During this expedition under Tülf Khân, besides Marw, Nîshâbûr, Hirât, Tûs, and Sabzwâr, other cities and towns and their dependencies, such as Jâjumr, Nîsâ, Abîward, Sarâkhâ, Khovâf, and other places in Khûrusân, fell under the yoke of the Mughals, which is referred to in the metrical account of the Mughals before noticed, in the following words, "than which," as an author says, "the Farî tongue furnishes no terms more forcibly expressing the fearful calamities caused by the Mughals," referring to the words contained in the first line of the second couplet:

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کرکت آن مه یا در سیستان
بکند و بکشت و برخت و برد
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"In three months, the world-seizing Tülf
Captured these all to the gate of Shîstân.
He raged and he slew, and he swept and he clutched;
Not a person remained, neither great nor small."

Whilst these events were happening at Hirât, Sultan Jalâl-ud-Dîn had upon several occasions overthrown the Mughals, as related under the reign of that hero, at page 288, and note 3, and farther on.

\(^2\) Those who consider the Muscov a lamb may take a lesson from these identical places—Marw and Hirât.
Malik Shams-ud-Din, Muhammed, the Jurjani, and Malik Taj-ud-Din, the Juzjani, and other Amirs who were within the city, made preparations for resistance; but trustworthy persons have related after this manner, that the stone of every catapult, which they used to discharge from the city in the direction of the Mughals camp, used to go into the air, and again descend into the city.

The city of Hirat which Sulthan Muhammed, Khwārazm Shāh, sat down before, and, before which, he carried on hostilities for a period of eleven months before it was surrendered to him, the Mughals took up a position before, and, in the space of eight months, they captured that place which [in strength] was the barrier of Sikandar, and martyred the whole of the inhabitants [with few exceptions]. Persons, whose statements are to be depended upon, relate, that in one quarter [part] of the city, 600,000 martyrs were counted. According to this proportion, in the whole four quarters of the city, twenty-four laks [2,400,000] Musalmans were martyred. May the Almighty reward them!

When Tuli came to the determination of returning, he set at liberty some of those captives, and gave them a Shaheenah [Intendant] and left him there, and commanded him to restore the city.

Anecdote.

An anecdote, worthy of insertion here, is related, as referring to the occurrences which happened at the period in

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* The other is styled Kazf in one or two copies, but Juzjani may be the most correct after all. The Rauzat-us-Safa also has Juzjani.

* See page 259, and note 9.

* Our author has fallen into complete confusion, and has here entered the events of the second siege, while, in his account of the latter, at page 1048, he has introduced some events belonging to the former siege. The greater part of this paragraph and the next relates to the second siege with which Tuli Khan had nothing to do.

* This anecdote refers to the attack on Hirat by Tuli Khan, the particulars of which have just been given. It has been stolen by the author of the Raukat-us-Safa without acknowledgment, indeed he pretends—such is, too often, the conduct of some unprincipled writers—to have obtained it from the Kasif, from whose lips our author heard it, and merely says: “It is stated by the Kasif of Gharistan,” and then uses our author’s own words, without acknowledgment. Such pirates, after they have pilfered from another’s writings, generally turn round and abuse him.
question. In the year 622 H., the author of this Ṭabākāt, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, who is the servant of the Sultan's dynasty, had occasion to undertake a journey, on a mission from Ghūr towards the Kuhistān, at the request of the august Malik, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-'Uṣmān, the Mchar-ghanî7—may he rest in peace!—for the adjustment of the route of kārwāns [of merchants and travellers], and the tranquillity of this territory. When he [the author] reached the city of Kā’in, he there saw an Imām, one of the great men of Khurāsān, whom they were wont to style Kāzī Waḥīd-ud-Dīn, the Būshanji [of Būshanj or Fūshanj]—the Almighty's mercy be upon him! That Imām related [saying], “In the disaster of Hirāt I was present in that city; and, every day, in conjunction with the Ghāzīs [holy-warriors], its defenders, I used to don arms and armour, and proceed to the top of the ramparts, and view the multitude of the forces. One day, I was at the top of the ramparts of the city of Hirāt while the fight and tumult was going on, in full panoply, with helmet and cuirass, besides other things, when, suddenly, I missed my footing from the top of the walls, and fell down towards the ditch, and, like unto a stone or a ball, I went rolling down the face of the khāk-ress,8 whilst 50,000 men, Mughals and Musalmān renegades, with arrows fitted to their bows, and with stones, were aiming at me, until, rolling over and over, I fell into the midst of the infidels, and was made prisoner by a body of men who, in making the attack, had come to the foot of the parapet, and the face of the khāk-ress, and descended into the ditch. This mischance happened to me at a point facing which Tūlī, son of the Chingiz Khān, had had a tent pitched, at the edge of the ditch, and the Mughal troops were fighting under his personal observation. Although I came rolling down the face of the khāk-ress a distance of about twenty gas [ells], until I descended into the abyss of the ditch, which was forty gas more,9 Almighty

7 A well-known race or family, one of whom—Abū-Bikr-i-Mcharghanī—was left by Tūlī Khān as governor of the city and its dependencies, along with Mangātām, the Mughal Intendant. See the note on the Kurāt Dynasty, under the account of the downfall of the Mulāhidah, farther on.

8 An artificial mound, surrounding Hirāt, and forming its chief strength. See following note.

9 The description of modern Hirāt will give some faint idea of what it was
God shielded me under his protection so that I experienced no wound, neither did any of my members sustain any hurt or fracture whatever.

"When I came to the ground he [Tūlī] caused a party to run up with speed, telling them: 'Bring ye that person alive, and do not harm him in the least.' When, in accordance with that command, they conducted me to the presence of Tūlī, he looked at me searchingly, and gave orders to them, saying: 'See whether he has received any hurt;' and, as there was none, he said to me: 'What person art thou—of the race of Adam, or a pari, a demon, or an angel, or dost thou hold a charm bearing the names of the Ulugh Tingrī? Speak truly, how it is.' I bowed my face to the ground and replied: 'I am an unfortunate man of the learned class, and one of those who blesses or prays; but I had one thing with me.' He said: 'What hast thou with thee?' I bowed my head to the ground, and replied: 'The sight of a sovereign like thee had fallen upon me, and through the felicity thereof, I remained in safety.' This reply was favourably received by Tūlī, and he looked upon me with favourable eyes, and remarked, saying: 'This person is a sagacious man, and a wise, and may be qualified for the service of the Chingiz Khān. It is necessary that ye take care of him in order that he may be conducted to his presence;' and he commanded so that they made me over to the care of one of the respected Mughals.

"After Tūlī had completed the conquest of the cities and districts of Khurāsān, he took me along with him to the Chingiz Khān's presence, and related the story [to him], and in the Chingiz Khān's service I found great favour. I was constantly in attendance at his threshold, and he used continually to inquire of me the traditions of the prophets, and concerning the sovereigns of 'Ajam, and the

in its strength and glory at the period in question. It is entirely enclosed by an artificial mound of earth between fifty and sixty feet in height, at the present time, the walls rising about thirty feet above. This mound slopes down from the base of the rampart, at an angle of about forty or forty-five degrees, and at the bottom of the mound is a deep wet ditch thirty feet wide.

1 The Great Spirit—God.
2 Before Tal-kān of Khurāsān, which the Chingiz Khān had not yet succeeded in capturing. See page 1008, and note 4.
kings of the past; and would inquire: 'Did Muḥammad (on whom be peace!), foretell aught respecting my rise and sway?' I used to relate to him the traditions [of the Prophet] which they have related respecting the irruption of the Turk; and he used to say: 'My heart bears evidence that thou speakest the truth,' until one day, during conversation, he said to me: 'A mighty name will remain behind me in the world through taking vengeance upon Muḥammad, the Aghri'—that is to say, he used to call Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazzm Shāh, by this term, and, in the Turki language, aghri signifies a robber—and this expression he would greatly make use of and say:—'Khwārazzm Shāh was not a monarch: he was a robber. Had he been a monarch he would not have slain my envoys and traders who had come to Utrār, for kings should not slay ambassadors.' In short, when he inquired of me, 'Will not a mighty name remain behind me?' I bowed my face to the ground, and said: 'If the Khān will promise the safety of my life, I will make a remark.' He replied: 'I have promised thee its security.' I said: 'A name continues to endure where there are people, but how will a name endure when the Khān's servants martyr all the people and massacre them, for who will remain to tell the tale?' When I finished this sentence, the Chingiz Khān dashed the bow and arrow which he had in his hand upon the ground, and became exceeding enraged, and turned his face away from me, and his back towards me. When I beheld the effects of rage upon his impious brow, I washed my hands of life, and gave up all hope of existence. I made sure to myself that the time of my departure was come, and that I should leave the world from the blow of the sword of this accursed one.

"After a minute had passed away, he turned his face towards me again, and said: 'I used to consider thee a sagacious and prudent man, but, from this speech of thine,

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8 Here again is another proof of what I have stated in my account of the descent of the Turks and of the ʃ-māk of Tāṭār and Mughal. Had the Kāf, incorrectly, said by mistake, "the outbreak of the Tāṭār," the Chingiz Khān would, no doubt, have taken it as an insult, but he was a Turk of the Mughal ʃ-māk. See note 9, page 869, and para. at page 875.

4 In some copies "the Mughalf." The Printed Text has— genteel—aghri, but all others are as above.
it has become evident to me that thou dost not possess complete understanding, and that thy comprehension is but small. There are many kings in the world, and, wherever the hoofs of the horses of Muḥammad, the Agẖri, have reached, there I will carry slaughter and cause devastation. The remaining people who are in other parts of the world, and the sovereigns of other kingdoms that are, they will relate my history. 7 No favour on the part of the Chingiz Khān remained to me, and it came about that I was distant from his presence; and I fled from the Mughal army, and made my escape, and returned thanks and praise unto Almighty God for the same."

ACCOUNT OF THE CALAMITIES WHICH BEFELL THE TERRITORY OF KHURĀSĀN THE SECOND TIME.

After Sultān Jalāl-ud-Din, Mang-barnī, Khwārazm Shāh, overthrew the army of Mughals, on the confines of Barwān, between Bāmiān and Ghaznīn, 6 several times, and the Chingiz Khān turned his face towards Sultān Jalāl-ud-Din, Mang-barnī, and advanced towards the river of Sind, and the news of these victories [of the Sultān] reached all the cities of Khurāsān, in every city and town wherever the Mughal Shāhnahs [Intendants] were stationed, the people thereof despatched the whole of them to hell, 5 and in every place a predominant person arose. After the Chingiz Khān defeated Sultān Jalāl-ud-Din on the banks of the river of Sind, he despatched the Bahādur, Shā‘ūr, 7 along with Uktāe [his son] to Ghaznīn, so that they destroyed

5 This shows, were any proof wanting; that our author did not refer to the narrow Barwān valley, north of Kābul, but to a locality much farther south-west.

The author of the Raṣḥāt-ussaʿafā here repeats what he has stated several times before, in other places, that it is Barwān, a place between Ghaznīn and Bāmiān. As I have said before, the situation of Barwān was near the sources of the Lohgar river. See note 8, page 288, note 8, page 1008, and note 8, page 1016.

6 It was this that caused the second siege, and the utter desolation of Hirāt, the Hirātīs having slain the Mughal Shāhnah and the Musalmān governor, the Maraghaṇī. Here again it will be observed that there is no mention either of Bāmiān or of its long siege.

7 In one or two copies, Sāʿūr.
the city of Ghaznīn, and brought forth the inhabitants without the city, and, with the exception of a few, who were made captives, martyred the whole of them.

The Chingiz Khān, himself, advanced from the banks of the Sind river in pursuit of the Ighrāḵī Musalmāns, who formed a very large force, and a countless number of men, and proceeded towards Gībarī. He took the fortress of

It has never recovered to this day from the effects of this calamity like many other famous and formerly densely populous cities of Asia.

Some modern copies of the text have ا Rocks—Arāb—here.

This word is written Gabarī, Gībarī, Gībarī, Gībarī, and Gībarī in the different copies of the text, but the best and oldest copies have Gabarī or Gībarī. The Calcutta printed text has both Gabarī and Gībarī. In MSS., the point of the letter ğ often appears as two, close together, occasioned by the two points of the reed, especially when there is not much ink in it, and vice versa. The letter might, in consequence, be sometimes mistaken for i.

Baihaḵī and the Gardaḵī continually refer to the fort of Gībarī as being near the Sind or Indus [possibly Kāpir dī Gīrī. See note 2, page 76], but the former invariably mentions it in connexion with "Parghāwar," or "Purshor," "Man-Manārah," and "Wahind." Man-Manārah is evidently Prata'h Manārah's on the west bank of the Indus above Āṭak, and the words are, apparently, the Pushto translation of an older name, prata'h signifying "fallen," "overturned," &c., qualifying a feminine noun. Sulṭān Mas'ūd, the Martyr, was confined in the fortress of Gīrī. See page 95.

The tract referred to by our author, however, is, without doubt, the country north of the Kābul river, between the Kamān, or river of Kunār, and the Landey Sind, namely, Bājawī and the tracts forming its southern boundary; and I find, in an old geographical work, and in a Persian lexicon of old and difficult words, that Gabarī—with the pronunciation written—is the name of a town [shahr] in the country of Bājawī. To have come upon the Ighrāḵīs, the Mughals must have entered Nangrāhār, or, as it was anciently called, Nek-Anhār, lying south of Bājawī; and the Chingiz Khān was never in "Pakī," in his life, nor in Pakla't either.

The people inhabiting the tracts lying along the banks of the river of Kābul, and east even as far as the Indus, were sometimes styled by the general name of Shalmānī by the Afghan chroniclers, and Dīghānī by the Tajiks, but Elphinstone styles them by the fanciful name of "Swatis." They were a purely Tajik race, and had become converts to Islām at an early period. On the northern bank of the Kābul river there was another race of people who are known up to very recent times under the name of 'Arabū—respecting whom some account will be found in my "NOTES ON AFGHĀNISTĀN AND PART OF BALŪCHISTĀN, GEOGRAPHICAL, ETHNOLOGICAL, AND HISTORICAL," printed by command of the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for India.

These Tajik people were no more "Scythians," than the Musalmān Dilāzāḵ Afghāns were "Buddhists," as Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., style them in one of his books, and "Rajpūts" in another, or than the Kkār Afghāns are the "Gakar tribe of Indians in the north Panjāb," or than the Kikhān Afghāns, whom he styles Khatriṇī in his last book, are "Khatirs Hinduṣ."
Gībarī and other forts of the territory of the Koh-pāyah [hill-skirts], and slew the Musalmāns. For a period of

The fort of Gībarī or Gabarī appears to be the very same as Gabar-kot, which the Mughal Bādghāh, Bābar, subsequently took from Mīr Ḥaidar, the Gabarī. The Shalmānīs, with whom the Yūsfāzīs and Mandaṣās, of the Khākhī division of the Afgān nation, first came into contact, when they, in after years, retired from Kābul into Nangrahār, were divided into three septs or divisions:—Gabarī [not from Gabrī, a fire-worshipper: it is a different word], Mutrāwī, and Mumfālī. Their rulers were descendants of the Jahāngīrīn Sultāns—Sultān Bahārī and Sultān Pakhal—who held all the country north of the Kābul river, from the Tag-āo river to the Pfr-Pinjal mountains of Kāshmir, east of the Indus, and likewise some parts on the southern side of the Kābul river as far south as the Spin Ghar or Safed Koh, but their power had greatly declined. Sultān Awes was the Gabarī Sultān of Suwāt at that period, and was the last king of that territory and its dependencies, but he retired northwards before the power of the Yūsfāzīs and Mandaṣās, towards the sources of the Āmūfah or Oxus. He, and his descendants, for several generations, ruled therein as far as the frontier of Badaḵshān, after which they are suddenly lost sight of. The great probability is that the rulers of Chitrāl, Kashkār, Shīghmān, Wākhān, and some other petty states on the upper Oxus, are their descendants; and, like them, they claim descent from Alexander of Macedon.

In the time of the Ākhūnd, Darwezah, some of the descendants of these Jahāngīrīn Sultāns of Pīch, as they are called, were still dwelling in Nangrahār, at the town of Pāpin in particular, and the Ākhūnd himself, on the mother’s side, was descended from Sultān Bahārī. He gives the names of twelve direct generations of Chiefs and Sultāns as far back as Sultān Shams. I hope to be able to enter into details of this interesting subject shortly, but a good deal respecting the geography of these parts, and practical routes, will be found in my accounts of Suwāt, Kashkār, Chitrāl, Kāfīristān, and the Independent Afgān States, and also of Yārkand and Kāshghar, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, as far back as 1856, which contain many geographical details, which have since been discovered by “Havildars” and “Mullas,” and appropriated by one or two literary vampires.

Khushāl Khān, the celebrated Poet, and Chief of the Afgān tribe of Khoṭak, in one of his poems on Suwāt, which I have quoted in my account of that valley, in the Journal above mentioned, refers to some of the many routes leading into Turkistān from the tract in which the Chingiz Khān was encamped, and one of which he evidently intended to take, in the following manner:

“There is a road leading into Turkistān by Hindū-koh,
   And another that leads into Chitrāl and Badaḵshān,
Another route also leads to Bután and Kāshghar,
   And there is one more that goes to Morang—up hill and down dale.”

A few of these Gībarīs are, I believe, still to be found in the districts referred to.

In the Kashghar Mission History, Surgeon-Major Bellew states [p. 142] that “His route was probably across the Swat country into the Kīmar [sic] valley, where Chaghān Sarā, or ‘white hostelry,’ from its name attests Moghol occupation, and thence up the Chitrāl [sic] valley called also Kāshkār,
three months he halted in the Gilbari territory and the Koh-payah; and, from thence, the Chingiz Khan despatched envoys to the presence of the august Sultan, Shams-ud-Dunya wa ud-Din, I-yal-timish—May he rest in through the easy Burugil Pass. . . . Such, at least, is the route taken by part of his army, if not by Chingiz himself, who, according to the author of the Tabdhi Nasiri (a personal actor at Tolak in the defence against his invasion of Ghor), rejoined his camp with the heavy baggage left at Naman Pusha, in Tokharistan [sic], and took it on with him to Samarcand, where he spent the spring and summer”!

The Doctor could not have had a map by him when he wrote this, and certainly did not read the “Tabdhi Nasiri” right. What the Tahakati-Nasiri contains may be seen above and farther on. If the Chingiz Khan had taken the route marked out for him by the Doctor from “Pakli and Swat”—but the Chingiz Khan never crossed to the east bank of the Indus with his army—he would have performed a feat indeed. From thence to Chaghân Sarâe and the Pughtah-i-Nu’mân in Khurasân, not in Tukhâristân, I beg leave to say, he would have marched through a maze of mountains, the most difficult, perhaps, in Asia, some 10 degrees from E. to W., after which, to reach Samrkan only, he would have had to march backward some five degrees more in the direction of N.E. Chaghân certainly signifies white, as he says, but who shall show that the place in question was named Chaghân Sarâe in consequence of that march, or that it did not receive the name from Turks centuries before, or from Mughals—even the Mughals reigning in India—centuries after?

It will be observed that the Doctor simply says “his route was probably across the Swat country” and “through the easy Burugil Pass,” but Mr. D. C. Boulger, in a book entitled “The Life of Yakooob Beg, Amur of Kashi-gar,” whose sole authority [as he states] for such a statement is Doctor Bellew’s narrative in “all its fullness,” has ventured to assert, on the bare probability expressed by the Doctor, that the Chingiz Khan did actually return from the Indus to Kasghar by the “Baroghil Pass.” At pp. 28 and 29 is the following:

“Genghis Khan carried the terror of his name into the utmost recesses of the Hindoo Koosh. He wintered in the district of Swat, on our north-west frontier, a territory which is quite unknown to us except by hearsay [he might have added, “as far as he knew”], and which has only been occupied by the Mongol and Macedonian conquerors [here, too, he might have added, “as far as he knew”]. From his head quarters on the banks of the Panjihora he sent messengers to Dehi. . . . He hastily broke up from his quarters in Swat, and, by the valley of the Kunar and Chital, he entered Kashgar, through the Baroghil Pass.”

All this may appear very satisfactory to the unwary, but there is not an atom of fact in the whole statement, and I shall presently show that the Chingiz Khan did nothing of the sort, and was never near the “Baroghil Pass” in his life. This is a specimen of the nonsense called history which this Afghan war has called forth by the hecatomb, and the public misled.

Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., in his “History of Afghanistan from the Earliest Times,” states (p. 113) that “Chingiz Khan,” meanwhile, on the first news of the outbreak in Khwarzim, had hastened to that province, had
peace!—as he was entertaining the design of conducting his army towards Hindūstān, and of returning, by way of the Koh-i-Ḵarā-ḵal and Kām-rūd, to the country of Chīn; but, although he was burning shoulder-bones [of sheep] continually and examining them, he used not to find permission suppressed the rebellion [sic]. Perhaps the writer did not know that Khwārazm was an independent empire, including great part of western Asia, killing in battle the two brothers of Jaldū-ḵān, and that he had then “marched southward, capturing in succession Balkh, Mīrv, Herdī, Nishāpor, and Tur,” which places, save Balkh, the Chingiz Khān was never near in his life. Soon after the author informs us that from 1227 to 1251 “the enslaved country (Afghanistan) had no history” [as far as Col. Malleson knew]. These pages will show the correctness of history, which is “a marvel of accuracy.”

To return to the Chingiz Khān. His object was to save distance, and reach Tingkut by the shortest route. By Lakhānawat and Kām-rūd the distance would have been still lessened, assuming that it lay as we find it in the maps of the old travellers and the Jesuits, but not if it had lain as far north as it appears in the map to the “Mongols Proper,” wherein we are informed [p. 92] that “Jingis Khan wintered about the sources of the Indus,” which are in Tibbat itself! If so, he would have been very near Tingkut, without marching back some ten degrees west to reach Buklān, and then marching twenty degrees east again to reach Tingkut. He found, however, that he was not likely to obtain the consent of Sultan I-yal-timīsh to take the Karā-ḵal route, and as time pressed he had to give it up, and get into the route by which he had entered Khurāsān in the outset. The particulars respecting his return will be found farther on.

Northern India is here referred to.

In nearly all the copies of the original this word is written جیش with گ, but it is meant the three points having been run into one, as is often done in MSS. This is the mountain range which several European scholars have made mistakes about, but our author seems to refer to the Himālayah range in its general acceptance, in referring to Kām-rūd. Reinaud, for example, reads the name Kēlardjāk from Al-Birūnī, in the Jāmi’-ut-Tawārīkh of Rashīd-ud-Dīn; but, in the copies of the latter work which I have examined, the name is correctly written. Ibn Baṭṭūţah also has Karā-ḵal. The description given shows very plainly the tract of country indicated. Al-Bīrūnī says the peaks resemble domes of bilāur [crystal], and that they are covered with perpetual snow, like the mountain of Dimāwand. Then, continuing his description from east to west, he says, next come the Bīlāur Mountains in the direction of Turkestān, and that a two days’ journey brings one into Turkestān. Their cities or countries [bilād] are Gilgīt, Astūrah, and Chīlīs, and the people of Kāshmīr suffer greatly from their raids. Farther on he says that, in two days after passing the mountains of Bīlāur and Shāmilān, the country of the Bhūtawārī Turks is reached [this was the part the Mughal ruler wished to reach], and again refers to their raids upon Kāshmīr; but what I wish to draw particular attention to is this statement, that, if a person travels along the left bank of the Sind [Indus], he will meet with numerous towns and villages, to the south of the capital of Kāshmīr, as far as the Karā-ḵal range between which and Kāshmīr is a distance of two leagues.
augured that he should enter Hind, when swift messengers brought information to him from Tamghāj and Tingit, that the Khāns of Tingit, and Tamghāj were in a state of revolt, and that the loss of those territories was impending; and, as a matter of necessity, he returned from the Koh-pāyah of Gībarī.

The whole of the mountains [of that tract] were blocked with snow, and, by the Chingiz Khān’s command, they used to sweep it away; and, by way of the passes of the territory of Ghaznīn and Kābul, he returned to Turkistān and Kāshghar.

From Gībarī, in the depth of the winter season, he despatched Uktāē with an army of Mughal troops into Ghūr and Khurāsān. Uktāē reached a place situated between Ghūr and Ghaznīn which they [the people] call Pul-i-Ahan-garān [the Blacksmiths’ Boundary], near unto Firūz-koh, and there Uktāē pitched his camp. From thence he nominated the Juzbī, Sa’dī, and the Juzbī, Mankadhū, and several other Nū-īns, with a large force, to proceed into Sīstān, and the Nū-in Abkah, who was the Chingiz Khān’s personal Manjanikī [Engineer—head of the catapult workers], and in whose corps were 10,000 Mughal Manjanikīs, was

4 The word appears to be the plural of šabta as rendered above. In some copies of the text the word appears to be šabta which, unless a proper name, is meaningless. Other copies have šabta and even šabta. The Calcutta printed Text has šabta.

The Jāmi’-ut-Tawārikh states that, after the defeat of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Chingiz Khān advanced up the Indus, and sent Uktāē downwards towards Ghaznīn, and that, during the hot season, the Chingiz Khān, with the main army, continued encamped in the plain of Mīrwan—Mīrwan—or Nīrwan—or Mīrwan—or Nīrwan—for it is written both ways, and also Yazwān—Yazwān in expectation of being joined by the Nū-yān, Balā, who had been sent in pursuit of the Khwārazmī Sultān. When he rejoined, the Chingiz Khān moved from his summer quarters and set out in order to reach Tingkut by the shortest route. His forces advanced some marches, when news of the revolt in Tingkut reached him, and, as the route he was then following lay through a most difficult country, filled with mountains and forests, uncultivated, with a sickly climate, and bad water, he gave orders to make a retrograde movement back towards Pāshāwar [the territory of—Alīf also states that he set out from thence in Muharram], and returned to his own country by the same route as he had come, by the Bāmlān mountains. When he reached the fortress of Kūnān-Kor-kān—Kūnān-Kor-kān—Uktāē rejoined him with his forces.

5 Pul has other meanings besides that of a bridge, and here means as rendered. See page 321.

6 In some works, Mankadah.
despatched against the fortress of [the] Ashiyār 7 of Ghārjistān. Uktāe likewise sent the Nū-īn, Iljī, into the hill-tracts of Ghūr and Hirāt. In short, Shaḥnāhs [Intendants] and bodies of troops were appointed to proceed into every part of Ghūr, Khurāsān, and Sistān; and, during the whole of that winter, those bodies of troops from the Mughal forces, which had entered into those different territories, carried slaughter into all the townships and villages thereof.

When information had reached the Chingiz Khān of the slaying of the Mughal Shaḥnāhs, he commanded, saying: "From whence have these people whom I have killed come to life again? On this occasion my commands are on this wise, that the heads of people shall be separated from their bodies, in order that they may not come to life again." Consequent upon this, they [the Mughals] devastated all the cities of Khurāsān, a second time.

The force 8 which had advanced to the gate of Sistān took that place by assault; and, in every quarter, and in every dwelling thereof, they had to fight before they were able to overcome the people, for the Musalmāns of Sistān, women and men—great and small—all resisted obstinately with knife and sword. All [the males] were slain, and the females were martyred.

In the city of Hirāt, to the gate of which [another] Mughal force had advanced—as has been previously recorded—there was a Khwājah, whom they were wont to style the Khwājah Fakhr-ud-Dīn-i-'Abd-ur-Rahmān, the 'Ibrānī 9 [Hebrew] Banker, a Khwājah of vast opulence, and held in great respect; and, on this occasion, he held out the city of Hirāt for some days. Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, the Sabzwārī, having evacuated and fled from the fortress of Firūz-koh, had arrived at Hirāt, and they [the

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7 Ashiyār is the plural of Shār, the title by which the ancient rulers of Ghārjistān were known. See page 341, note 4.
8 From Uktāe's army, as will be seen farther on.
9 The events of Sistān will be found farther on. The fortress referred to held out a considerable time.
1 This word—تیرک—occurs in the oldest and most of the other copies of the text, but a few have 'Arāf. He is also styled 'Abd-ur-Rahīm in one copy, but that was his father's name. The Rausat-ūs-Ṣafā has یزی which may be meant for Timrām. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, according to Price, has 'Arab.
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Inhabitants] had made him commander of the forces of Hirât. They related on this wise that, when the Mughals

The news of the defeats inflicted upon the Mughal armies by Sultan Jalâl-ud-Dîn, Mang-bârâf, at Barwân, in the spring and summer of 618 H., spread rapidly; and, "the wish being parent to the thought," it was stated that, henceforth, the Mughals would never again be able to cope with the Sultan. Consequently, in every part where there was any Malik, Shânah, or official of the Mughals, he was put to death, and the people set over themselves some person to direct the affairs of their various cities and provinces until such time as the Sultan should restore order, while some, no doubt, hoped to become independent.

Hirât followed the example: the people rose, Malik Abû-Bikr, the Marâghâni, and the Mughal, Mangâtâf, were put to death, and the chief people chose Malik Muâbi-riz-ud-Dîn, the Sabzwârî, as their leader and governor, the same who is mentioned by our author at page 1004, while the administration of civil affairs was made over to the Khwâjah, Fâkhr-ud-Dîn-i-'Abd-ur-Rahmân, a man of experience, who is styled an 'Irâkî by all but our author; and these two personages were of one heart and one mind to resist the Mughals to the utmost. They forthwith made great exertion to put Hirât in a good state of defence.

When the Chingiz Khân heard of these outbreaks, and especially that of Hirât, he was very wroth with his son, Tûlî, who had now rejoined him, and exclaimed: "This comes through your withholding the sword from the Hirâtîs!" and the very next day a force of 80,000 horse was despatched on the way to Hirât, under command of the Nû-yân Iljidae [the Íchikdale of others—which seems the most correct—and Ilj of our author: Abû-l-Ghâfî, Bahâdur, spells it Íchikrä]. He was the son of Kâjûn, brother of the Chingiz Khân, and greatly trusted by him], at the same time remarking to him that dead people had come to life again, but he was to take care this time to ensure their being dead, by cutting their heads off, and to spare nothing. He set out in the month of Shawwâl [Sha'bân?], 618 H. [January, 1222 A.D.]. Such is the date given, but it is simply impossible. It, however, tends to correct, at the same time that it proves itself impossible, another date—that of Sultan Jalâl-ud-Dîn's defeat on the Indus. Tûlî Khân, in the same year, had marched against Marw, Nishâbur, and Hirât, and had returned to the camp at the Fushštah-i-Nu'mân, near Ťal-kân, which still held out, in 618 H. The news of the defeats inflicted on the Mughals by the Sultan, in the spring and summer of that year [about the first quarter of that year which began on the 7th of March], required a little time to spread; then the news of the outbreaks in consequence, and among them the rising at Hirât, required a little time to reach the Chingiz Khân's camp. By this time Tûlî had rejoined him, a supreme effort was made to capture Ťal-kân, and after that we may suppose that he determined to send Iljidae against Hirât, and move against the Sultan in person. The date generally assigned to the Sultan's defeat on the Indus is Rajab—the seventh month—618 H., three months before Iljidae, according to the date above, was sent from Ťal-kân against Hirât. Some, again, say the Sultan was defeated in Shawwâl, the month in which Iljidae is said to have been despatched, and this also proves that he could not have been despatched in that month, but some time before. It therefore seems beyond a doubt that the Chingiz Khân heard of the rise at Hirât in the fifth or sixth month of 618 H., despatched Iljidae early in Sha'bân—the eighth month—pushed on
captured the city upon this occasion, this Malik Mubāriz-ud-Din, an aged man of fine and handsome aspect, rode himself to Ghazīn in pursuit of the Sultān, very soon after, and defeated him on the Indus in Shawwāl, the ninth month of 618 H. The Sultān could not have been defeated in Rajab—the seventh month—therefore; and from these dates likewise it is clearly proved that, on his way to Ghazīn and the Indus, the Chingiz Khān could not have been detained by the so-called siege of Bāmīān, referred to in notes 4, page 1008, 5, page 1012, and 6, page 1016.

The Nū-yān, Iljīdār, in due course reached the river of Hirāt, where he halted for the period of one month in order to prepare for undertaking operations, and make ready the catapults and other warlike engines. From the neighbouring places, previously indicated by the Chingiz Khān himself, which had submitted to the Mughal yoke or had been subdued, he obtained assistance and war materials; and, in a short space of time, from the confines of Khurāsān, the territories of Balkh, and the highlands of Shīwarghān, some 50,000 horse and foot, of the people of the country compelled to serve, arrived to aid in the siege.

On the other hand, they were not idle in Hirāt; and Malik Mubāriz-ud-Din prepared for a vigorous defence. All the people, high and low, great and small, bound themselves by most solemn pledges not to do as was done on the former occasion, but to fight while life remained.

The month of preparation having expired, the Nū-yān, Iljīdār, or Iljīf, who now had a force of 130,000 men under him, advanced towards the city of Hirāt, and four bodies of 30,000 men each were disposed, so as to operate against the four sides of the city, and the four gateways. He took care beforehand that those among his troops who should be guilty of any misdemeanour [no doubt this was because their defeats, by Sultān Jalāl-ud-Din, had made them feel themselves less sure of success than previously, and it was soon after the Sultān's overthrow of the two Mughal armies that this force was sent against Hirāt, and before the Sultān's defeat on the Indus] should be punished with death, but those who distinguished themselves should be fittingly rewarded.

The siege was prosecuted with vigour and as bravely defended during a period of 6 months and 17 days, when, in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 619 H., the Mughal commander determined upon a supreme effort, and assaulted the place for several successive days, with the loss of some 5000 men upon each occasion. The walls, from the constant battering of the catapults and other military engines, had become quite honey-combed, when, one day, about 50 ells of the curtain gave way, burying, among others, 400 men of note among the Mughals under the débris. Three days after this misfortune division arose among the defenders—one party being for holding out, the other for capitulation—for the people within had now become much straitened, both for military stores, as well as food to feed the immense number of inhabitants and fugitives within the beleaguered city, while, day by day, reinforcements and assistance were reaching the Mughals. At length, on a Friday, in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal—Rauṣat-ūs-Šafī says, the month after, but all leave out the date—619 H., the final assault was delivered where a portion of the curtain fell, and the Mughals entered the fortifications at what was afterwards called the Khākistar Burj [bastion] and captured the city. They at once commenced an indiscriminate massacre—old and young, male and female, adult and infant—and for the space of seven days this was
through the city fully armed, and arrayed in defensive armour; and, lance in hand, fought against the infidels until he attained martyrdom; but God knows the truth of the matter.

ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTS OF KĀL-YŪN AND FĪWĀR.

After the Mughal troops had effected the capture of Hirāt and desolated the city, they divided into two divisions. One of these marched into Sīstān, and at its head was the Juzbī, Sa’dī, and other great Nū-ins; and the other force appeared at the foot [of the walls] of the hīsār of Kāl-yūn, and the troops took up their position round about that fortress. It is a fortification excessively strong, the like of which, in strength of construction, there is nowhere to be found, either in loftiness and sublimity, or in stability and solidity; and in the Kitāb-i-Masālik wa Mamālik [The Book of Roads and Kingdoms], which carried on, the city sacked, the buildings and defences demolished, and the ditch filled up. "The number of persons who attained martyrdom on this occasion amounted to 1,600,000," in which number must be certainly included those who, from the towns and villages around, sought shelter within that stronghold; and it will easily be perceived how difficult it was to have held out so long with such a number to feed. The resources of Hirāt must have been immense.

After the Nū-yān, Iljīdā, or Iljī, had desolated the district around Hirāt and left not a soul alive, he, after a further stay of eight days, set out for the fortress of Kāl-yūn, as our author states; but some authors mistake the name, and have Isfīzār—امشزاز—which was the name of a town and district dependent on Hirāt, through which he passed, and also mentioned in the "Masālik wa Mamālik." See page 397, note 7. The fortress described by our author lies beyond that, but the direction agrees. From this place the Mughal leader sent such of the booty captured at Hirāt, as was befitting, to the Chingiz Khān; and, when he reached the kaşbah of Aobah, mentioned before, at page 358, note 8—still a well-known place on the direct route between Hirāt and Kābul, although geographers, at the present day, seem to have very hazy ideas on the subject—he sent back a body of 2000 horse, with the true fiendish instinct of these barbarians, to slaughter such of the unfortunate Hirāṭis as might have concealed themselves, and who now, imagining that the Mughals were far away, had come out of their places of shelter. Sixteen persons, including the Khāṭib, were all who remained alive! The particulars respecting them will be found under Uktāe's reign.

8 This fortress was founded by Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām. See page 342.

4 It is worthy of note, and highly significant, that the pro-Mughal authors never allude to these events in Ghūr and Khurasān. They either knew nothing about them, or purposely concealed them.
the masters learned in science have compiled, this fortress is mentioned in these words: "The strongest fortress in the world, and the fairest, is Kāl-yūn." It is such a fortress that whosoever would go from the foot of the walls of the city of Hirāt to the foot of the walls of that fort, it behoveth him to proceed twenty farsangs [leagues] in an upward direction to a considerable altitude, until he reaches the base of the rock upon which that fortification stands; and, that point having been reached, it is necessary to proceed another league upwards in order to reach the foot of the rock on the summit of which the ramparts of the fort stand. The height of that rock is about a thousand cubits, and the face of it is like a wall, so that it is impossible for any living thing to mount it, with the exception of reptiles of the earth; and on the top of the rock is the plateau of four leagues or more [in area]. In the fortress are seven wells which they have excavated in the solid rock, and in each of these is so much perennial water that, however much of it is expended, it does not diminish; and, in the middle of the fortress, is an extensive plain.

The sons of Abū-Bikr who were the champions of Sultan Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, two brothers, two heroes of renown, and, in themselves, two huge elephants of war—were the seneschals of that fortress. Trustworthy persons have related that both the brothers, in stature, were so tall that, when they used to accompany Sultan Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh [on horseback], in procession, with their hands placed on his stirrup, their heads rose a head higher than that of the Sultan; and the two brothers were famed for their valour and high spirit, and they were the Amīrs [governors] of the fortress. During these events the Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, Daulat Yār, the Ṭughrā-i, who was one of the rulers in the Khwārazm-Shāhi empire, had also entered the fortress of Kāl-yūn.

* In most of the modern copies, "four bow-shots or more," but the context shows that inside the fort itself was an extensive plain. The map compiled by Captain Sanders and Lieutenant North, of the country around Hirāt during the first occupation of Afghānistān, will probably show its position, which lies about 70 miles N.E. of Hirāt.
* The principal person in charge was a civilian, as previously mentioned, the Malik-ul-Kutāb, the Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, Daulat Yār-i-Ṭughrā-i, as mentioned at page 1003, but these two champions acted as seneschals of the fortress.
At the time when the infidel horsemen reached the base of the fortress, there were in Kāl-yūn a great number of men and much war material. Sūltān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, had [previously] beleaguered and pressed hard this fortress and that of Fiwar, which is opposite to it, for a period of ten or eleven years before he obtained possession of them. Kāl-yūn had [since] been thoroughly provided with men and arms, and stores and provisions. When the Mughal troops began the attack upon it, the holy warriors and tried men within descended from the fortress and commenced holy war upon them, and despatched numbers of Mughals to hell. Day and night they engaged in fighting with and resisting the infidels. The intrepidity of the garrison of the fortress reached such a pitch that it was impossible for the Mughal force to obtain sleep at night out of dread of them, and so these infidels completely enclosed the entire fortress round with a circular wall, in which they placed two gates, facing the fortress, with walls before them, and men were told off to keep watch at night. A trustworthy person related that a fox had remained at the foot of the rock on which the fortress of Kāl-yūn stands, within the circumvallation of the Mughals, and, for a period of seven months, that fox had no way by which he might get out, so strictly did the Mughal troops guard this wall.

When one year of the investment of the fortress passed away, the Juzbī, Sa'dī, with a Mughal army, from before the gate of Sistān, came into Khurāsān, and arrived at the base of the fortress of Kāl-yūn; and, a second time, was the place closely invested.

7 That was during the time of the Ghūrī Sultāns and must have happened soon after the assassination of Sūltān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, or even before that event.
8 The Printed Text, like some MS. copies, differs considerably here, and they have, "a double" wall.
9 From this it appears that, before the arrival of the Juzbī, Sa'dī, the Mughals had latterly contented themselves with merely blockading the place; but, after his arrival, began more active operations. Although beaten off twice, they never left it entirely, and then came back again to invest it, as will presently appear.

The Raṣṣat-ul-Ṣafā has an apocryphal story to the effect, that the people of the great fortress of Kāl-yūn, fearing the Mughals, with the help of the Ḥirātīs, would attack them again, now that they had obtained possession of Ḥirāt,
A pestilent disease overcame the defenders of the fortress, and the greater part of the people died, through the provisions with which the fortress was supplied, which consisted of a large quantity of dried flesh and pistachios—for the pistachios of Khurāsān mostly come from around about Kāl-yūn—and, from constantly eating dried flesh, pistachios, and clarified butter, the people of the fortress used to fall sick, and their heads and feet used to swell, and death would result. After the garrison had held out against this investment for a period of sixteen months, not more than fifty persons remained alive, and of these twenty were suffering from swollen feet, and thirty were strong and healthy. One of this band left the fortress and went over to the Mughal force, and made known the state of the garrison and of the fortress of Kāl-yūn; and, when the Mughal troops ascertained for certain the state in which the people of the place were, the infidels donned their arms and turned their faces towards it. The garrison, resigning themselves to martyrdom, threw everything of value within the fortress, consisting of gold and silver, and valuable clothes, and whatever was of worth, into the wells, and then filled them up with large stones from the fortress; and all else that remained they burnt. They then threw open the gateway of the fortress, drew their swords, and threw themselves upon the infidel Mughals, and attained the felicity of martyrdom.

When the fortress of Kāl-yūn was taken, a body of the Mughal forces which had been at the foot of the walls of the fort of Walkh of Tukharistān, namely Tūlān, the Juzbī, and Arsalān Khān of Kālālik, with those Mughal troops, by command of the Chingiz Khān, marched to the foot of the fortress of Fiwār of Kādas.1 This fortress of although they had twice been obliged to raise the investment, despatched eighty men to Hirāt to kill Amīr Abū-Bikr and Mangatī, the Mughal, and thus create a diversion, and direct the Chingiz Khān's power to the destruction of Hirāt!

1 See page 1023, and also note 2, page 1024.

2 This is the tract respecting the name of which there were some doubts at pages 342, 375, and 398, but Kādas and not Fādas—there is but the difference between ā and ā—is the correct name, but, in some copies, it is written—Kāduq—with aḥ. It is in these parts, and among these mighty fortresses that the student of the Macedonian Alexander's campaigns might identify the stronghold of the Bakhtrian Oxyartes, the rock fortress of Chorienes [Kāl-yūn?]
IRRUPTION OF THE INFIDELS INTO ISLĀM. 1055

Fīwār in strength, solidity, and impregnability, is still stronger than the fortress of Kāl-yūn, and the fact of its strength may be held certain in that ten men can defend it. Between Fīwār and Kāl-yūn is a distance of about ten farsangs [leagues], in such wise that both fortresses are in sight of each other. If strange horsemen should reach the base of the fortress of Kāl-yūn in the day, the people would make a smoke, and, at night, they would light a fire; and the garrison of Fīwār used [thus] to know of it: and if such should reach the fortress of Fīwār the same would be done to make it known to Kāl-yūn.

For a period of ten months8 that the Juzbī, Tūlān, and Arsalān Khān of Kaīālik, lay before the fortress of Fīwār, on account of the great scarcity of provisions, their forces had become reduced to great straits. They now brought from the stores of the fortress of Kāl-yūn what was necessary for their subsistence,4 so that, for a short time [longer], they were able to continue before the stronghold. A person from the fort of Fīwār [now] came into the force of the Juzbī, Tūlān, and gave information of the state of the place, that [nearly] the whole of the garrison were dead, and that, throughout the whole fortress, there were not more than seven men alive, and out of them four or five were sick. Then the infidels armed themselves, and captured the place, and martyred those seven persons—God reward them!

These events happened in the latter part of the year 619 H.,4 and this was the affair, as has been [just] related, of those two strongholds, than which there were no stronger forts in all Khurāsān and Ghūr.

ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN GHŪR, GHARJISTĀN, AND FĪRŪZ-KOH.6

The city of Firūz-koh which was the capital and seat of

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8 One of the oldest copies has eight months.
4 It is stated just above that everything of value had been thrown into wells or burnt, but perhaps they did not think pistachios and other provisions worth destroying.
5 See note 7, page 1061.
6 The fortress of Tūlak is included under this heading, and our author says it
government of the Sultāns of Ghūr, the Juzbī Uklān,7 with the Mughal forces [under him] appeared before, in the year 617 H., and for twenty days and more attacked it vigorously, but retired without having effected their purpose.8 The people of Firūz-koh showed opposition towards Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, the Sabzwārī [who was in charge], and rose against him; and he was under the necessity of entering the upper fortress, which is situated to the north-east of the city, upon a lofty and overhanging mountain. During the time of the Sultāns of Ghūr there was no more upon that spot than a great ḳaṣr [castle],9 and it used to be impossible for laden beasts to get there; but, at this period, that Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, the Sabzwārī, had restored and enlarged that fortress, he had carried a rampart all round the top of that mountain, and had made a road to that fortress so that laden camels used to go up to it, and a thousand men could find quarters therein.

When disagreement arose between the people of Firūz-koh and Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, the Sabzwārī, and the latter took up his quarters in the upper fortress, the people wrote letters to Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain1—may he rest in peace!—and solicited him to come thither. Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, with the forces of Ghūr, proceeded to Firūz-koh, and Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, located his uncle's son, Malik Ḥmād-ud-Dīn, Zangī, Ba'lamī,2 at Firūz-koh, and this circumstance happened in the year 618 H.

lay between Ghūr and Khurāsān, and, therefore, it was situated, by this account, in Gharjistān, north of Hirāt, or close to it. In another place [page 362], he says it is in the hill-tracts of Hirāt.

7 This is the person who is turned into Hulakoo in Miles's "Shajrat ul Atrak," so-called, but it is a work of no authority whatever, and his translation contains gross and absurd errors.

8 As already mentioned at page 1007, which see.

9 This is the place referred to at pages 403 and 407.

1 Here, as in other places preceding, he is, in some copies, styled Hasan. He was Malik of Ghūr, under the Khwārazmīs, after the downfall of the Ghūr dynasty. This is the illustrious Malik—the son of 'Alī, son of Ābī 'Alī—who came into India in the reign of I-yal-timīsh, who held such a prominent position in Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, and who was, at last, put to death by that Sultān, or rather his advisers. See pages 702 and 798.

8 Doubtful: it is written ELY in some of the best copies of the text as well as ELY as above, and in others—ELY and ELY—without any points.
When the forces of the infidel Mughal, under Uktâe, moved from Ghaznîn and advanced towards Ghûr, a body of troops [from that army] pushed on, suddenly and unexpectedly, and fell upon Firûz-koh. Malik 'Imâd-ud-Dîn, Zangî, they martyred in the year 619 H.; and the people of the city were martyred also. Malik Mubâriz-ud-Dîn, the Sabzwârî, evacuated the [upper] fortress, and came to Hirât, and there attained martyrdom; and the city of Firûz-koh was wholly destroyed.  

The fortress of Tûlak, however, of which Amir Ḥabashî -i-Nezah-war [the expert at the lance] on the part of Sulţân Muḥammad, Khwârazm Shâh—on whom be peace!—was governor, did not fall into the hands of the Mughals. The fortress of Tûlak is a fortification totally unconnected

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* The Chingiz Khân's son, at the time his father left the banks of the Indus with the intention of returning homewards. See page 1047.

* This place, the seat of a powerful empire never afterwards recovered; and at this day even its site appears to be imperfectly known. Its destruction is another specimen of the "architectural afflatus which fell upon the world after the Mongol invasions."

But neither our author, nor any other Oriental writer, knows anything about Ghûr, its capital, or its sovereigns; and when they tell us that Firûz-koh was the capital they merely show their ignorance, for does not "General Ferrier" tell us that "Zernî" was? In his book, entitled "CARAVAN JOURNEYS," he states at page 248, "Zernî was, as I have before remarked, the ancient capital of the country of Gour. . . . Its position in a valley is happily chosen"!!

In his attempt to reach Kâbul from Hirât, "the General" set out from the latter place, and says he reached as far north as Sar-i-pul, and was compelled soon after to return to Hirât again. This journey occupied him from the 22nd June to the 21st July—just thirty days—on which latter date he was brought back to Hirât again. During the chief part of this time he was under surveillance, and not permitted to roam about, and travelled part of the time through "Gour" by starlight, but notwithstanding all this he not only discovered the ancient capital, but also its name, totally contrary to every native author who has written on the subject, and also had time to make researches into the history of Gour, although he did not even know how to spell the name correctly. Consequent on these discoveries our author's account of its twenty-two rulers, not including those of Ghaznîn and Tûkhrîstân, must be contrary to fact, for "the General" tells us that the "Gour" dynasty only lasted sixty-four years, and that it only consisted of five persons!!

I may be permitted to doubt the correctness of "the General's" statements (upon a good many matters besides this, and not in this book alone), until some one can show me, in any history whatever, such a name as Zernî, much less that it was the "ancient capital" of Ghûr.

It is quite time such incorrect statements and such "Histories" should be exposed.
with any adjoining mountain, and the foundation of it dates from the time of Manūchīhr, and Ārash, the Archer, [then] held it. In the upper part of it are chambers hewn in the solid rock which they call Ārashī [after Ārash], and Amīr Naṣr, the Tūlakī, sunk a well, in the upper part of the fortress; and the diameter of the well will be about twenty gas [ells], and it is excavated in the solid rock. The water, however much is drawn from it, shows no decrease, and its depth is immense. The fortress is of great strength, and lies between Ghīr and Khurāsān. When Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, came to Balkh, Ḥabashi-i-Nezah-

6 The famous champion and archer of Manūchīhr—Heavenly-faced—the tenth king of the Bāstānīṣ dynasty, and one of the heroes of the Shāh-Nāmah. Ārash, upon one occasion, is said to have discharged an arrow from Āmul to Marw, a distance of only about “forty days’ journey.” This, however, is much of a kind with the feats the Greek heroes of antiquity performed, and not a whit more exaggerated.

6 It will be seen from this, that the excavations in and around the district of Bāmīān, and where the two great idols, the Khing But—Grey Idol, and the Surkh But—Red Idol, stand, are, by no means, the only ones in these parts; and the fact shows, in a somewhat ridiculous light, the various opinions respecting the latter, and their purposes.

The account given respecting them by oriental writers is, briefly, this. “The Khing But is the beloved of the Surkh But, and they are each about fifty-two gas—ells—high. They are situated in the mauza‘—district—of Bāmīān, a dependency of Tukhāristān, on the frontier of Barakhshān. People can go in and come out at the fingers and toes of these idols or figures, which are hollow within. Some call them Lāt and Manāt, and in ‘Arabic they are styled Yaḡūš and Ya’ūk.”

MASSON, in his Travels, makes out these two figures to be the work of the “White Huns,” who conquered Transoxiana and “Khorasan,” and were finally exterminated by “Zingis Khan,” and his opinion is supposed to “receive countenance from the well-ascertained fact that Zingis Khan destroyed Ghulghuleh,” the ruins of which are scattered over the Bāmīān valley. The same author considers these caves to have been catacombs. Strange that we hear of no white or black Huns in connexion with “Zingis” and “the catacombs.” MOORCROFT [each rides his own hobby] was of opinion that Bāmīān was “the residence of a great Lama,” and the excavations the abodes of “Lama clergy,” and “the lower classes of the monastic society,” and that “the laity inhabited the adjoining city”! ELPHISTONE attributes these idols and the contiguous caves to “the Buddhist princes of Ghore,” but what history says that the Tājaḵ Ghūrī chiefs and rulers were Buddhists any more than that they were “White Huns”? and what are the proofs? Col. G. B. Malleson, however, makes “Ghilzai” Afghāns of them!

7 A former governor of the place: the chief whose fief it was.

8 Just previous to his flight towards Nishāpūr. Here all the copies of the text collated have Balkh—البکخ and not Balkh بکخ, as before, showing, still more clearly, that they refer to two separate places.
war, with the troops of Tūlak, proceeded to Balkh also, and presented himself before the sublime threshold [of that monarch]. He was directed to return to Tūlak, and put the fortress in order and make preparation for opposing the Mughals. After he returned from thence, in the beginning of the year 617 H., on several occasions, bodies of Mughal horsemen came to the foot of the fortress, and made raids in its neighbourhood; and, in the year 618 H., the Nū-īn, Fīkū, who was a son-in-law of the Chingiz Khān, and who commanded a force of 40,000 Mughal cavalry, and troops of other races, appeared at the foot of the fortress of Tūlak with a numerous army.

Amir Ḥabashi-i-Nezah-war agreed with him that he would become tributary to the Mughals; and came down from the fortress and paid homage to him, and returned to it again. The subsidy which he had assented to, Ḥabashi-i-Nezah-war apportioned among the people of Tūlak, and enforced its payment rigorously. This Ḥabashi-i-Nezah-war, in his younger days, in the beginning of the reign of Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, was a common man, a Nīshāpūrī, and a maker of sacks; and, in Khurāsān and Khwārazm, there never has been one so skilled in the use of the lance as he. This has been heard oftentimes from his own lips,—"If, upon occasion, I should lie down on my back upon the ground, and take a staff in my hand, I would defend myself against four men with spears." In short, he was a very excellent man, and his good works were many, and his charities countless. At this time, however, through his having apportioned this subsidy among them, the whole Tūlaki people decried him, and considered themselves oppressed in the collecting of it. One of the

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* Tūlak must have been a place of considerable size, and its dependencies populous, as, some years before, 1200 Tūlakīs, were left to garrison Tabar-hindah, just before Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī, was defeated by Rāez Pithorā at Tarā'īn. See pages 458 and 459.

At page 362, our author states that it lies in the mountains in the vicinity of Hirāt, and is in the country of Khurāsān. It is in vain to look for it in any of our maps, but it is not in "Ghor," so styled.

1 The same who was overthrown by Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn. At page 1006 the number of troops is stated at 45,000. See note 3, page 288.

2 He must not, from the similarity of part of his name, be confounded with Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ḥabashi-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād, referred to at page 1007, who, subsequently, fell, fighting against those infidels.
cleyer, of that time, composed a verse, and, as it is witty, it has been here inserted in order that it may come under the observation of the sovereign of Islām, and that the people of the Tūlak district may be remembered with an invocation. The Khwājah, and Imām, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the Khāzinchi—on whom be the Almighty's mercy!—says:

"I said: 'Ḫabashi, Nezah-war! what is this wrong? What have the Tūlākis to do with rack and prison?' He replied 'I am a leather-worker and Fīkū a dog.' The dog knows and the leather-worker knows what the wallet contains."

The inhabitants of Tūlak, both the soldiery and the peasantry, having suffered extortion [at his hands], revolted against him, seized him, and delivered up the fortress of Tūlak and Ḫabashi-i-Nezah-war to Malik Ḫuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, in order that he might take charge of it, who came to the fortress of Tūlak, and he located therein his own son, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad; and the maternal uncle of the writer [of this work], which is Minhāj-i-Sarāj, and whose name was Kāẓī Jalāl-ud-Dīn-i-Majd-ul-Mulk, Aḥmad-i-Uṣmān, Nisāwī, was Ḥākim [governor], and the Khwājah [Jamāl-ud-Dīn?] directed its affairs. After Ḫabashi-i-Nezah-war fell into the power of Malik Ḫuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the latter for a time kept him in confinement, and, at length, gave him permission to proceed to the fortress of Fiwār. The Malik of that fortress was the Pah-

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3 This term, signifying treasurer, is somewhat doubtful, as it is written in different ways, and mostly without the diacritical points.

4 A tanner and a dog held near akin in those parts.

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This is an important passage, in some respects, since, without the use of two iṣāfat, both of which stand in lieu of bin son of, no sense can possibly be made of it. At page 458, our author mentions this uncle "of his maternal grandfather," but that last part of the sentence must have been redundant or an interpolation. There, his name and titles are not given in full, he being merely styled Kāẓī Majd-ud-Dīn, Tūlākī; but it now appears that Majd-ud-Dīn was his title, and Aḥmad his name, and that he was the son of Uṣmān, the Tūlākī, whose family, originally, came from Nisā. Kāẓī Jalāl-ud-Dīn was his son, and the brother of that Kāẓī of Tūlāk, named Muḥammad, entitled Ziyā-ud-Dīn, who was left, along with 1200 Tūlākīs, to defend the fortress of Tabarhindah, when, thirty-seven years before, Sūltān Muʿīzz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī, retired to Ghaznī after his defeat by Rāe Pithorā.

The son of Malik Ḫuṭb-ud-Dīn, the Ghūrī, must have been young in years, and therefore the Khwājah, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, and the Kāẓī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, directed the affairs of Tūlāk, nominally for Malik Ḫuṭb-ud-Dīn. It appears strange, however, that his own people should have put the Kāẓī to death, and our author does not give us any further particulars.
IRRUPTION OF THE INFIDELS INTO ISLĀM. 1061

lawān, Aṣīl-ud-Dīn, the Nishābūrī, and he seized Ḥabashi-i-Nezah-war and martyred him.

When the fortress of Kāl-yūn fell into the hands of the infidels [the Mughals], the inhabitants of the fortress of Tūlak, who were also kinsmen of the Khwājah, and fifteen heads of families, also kinsmen of each other, entered into a compact together,7 in the year 619 H., and caused the Khwājah to be martyred, and sent the son of Malik Ḥuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, back to the presence of his father. For a period of four years, they [the Tūlakīs] waged war against the Mughal infidels a great many times, and the author of this work, which is Minhāj-ud-Dīn-i-Sarāj, during these four years, used to join the people of Tūlak, who were all kinsmen and brethren, in their holy warfare, and, in the end, it continued safe from the hands of the infidels.

After the people of Tūlak became disobedient to the authority of Malik Ḥuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, he determined upon retiring into Hindūstān, in the year 620 H.,8 and the fortress of Tūlak remained unmolested.9

Subsequently to these events, the author of this work chanced, upon two occasions, to undertake journeys into the Kuhistān on the subject of a mission: the first time, in the year 621 H.,1 and, on the second occasion, in 622 H. Afterwards, in the year 623 H., on the part of Malik Ruḵn-

6 Mentioned at page 1003.
7 This date here given in the text, in which all copies agree, is seven—but it cannot possibly be correct, and must be a mistake for nine—because Fīwār, which held out over a year, was not captured, by our author’s own account, until the latter part of the year 619 H. The investment of that fortress was only undertaken after the fall of Ṭūḵāristān, against which Arsalān Khān of Kāiālik, and Tūlān, the Jūzbī, were despatched in the third month of 618 H., and which held out for eight months. See pages 1023 and 1055.
8 An account of what misfortunes befell him on his way thither will be found farther on.
9 At page 1069 it is stated that, on the 12th of a month, not given, in the year 620 H., the Mughals sprang an ambuscade against Tūlak, but did not succeed in their object. At page 1070 also, our author further states, that Tūlak was entered in 620 H. by the Mughals, after Malik Ḥuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, had retired from the territory of Ghūr with other Maliks, and they were making towards Hind by the route over the Arghand river.
1 At this time Khuṭrāsān was entirely clear of Mughals. These journeys are mentioned farther on in the account of the downfall of the Mulḥidahs, which see, and page 201. He undertook two journeys for Malik Ruḵn-ud-Dīn, the first was in 622 H. See page 1039.
ud-Din, Muhammed-i-'Usmân, the Maraghânî, of Khâesär [of Ghûr], the author proceeded to the presence of Malik Tâj-ud-Dîn, Binâl-Tîgîn, the Khwārazmî; and, in the same year, on the part of Malik Tâj-ud-Dîn, Binâl-Tîgîn, he went on another mission to the Bâdshâh ¹ of the Kûhistân, to Neh ² and to Sîstân. After this the author set out [on his journey] towards Hindûstân.

Tâj-ud-Dîn, Binâl-Tîgîn [subsequently ?], came to Tûlak, ³ and the people of that fortress paid obeisance to him, and he removed [some of ?] them to Sîstân. In the disaster of Sîstân, they all attained martyrdom, ⁴ and [the remainder of ?] that people continued there [at Tûlak]. The Amir of Tûlak [at that time?] was Hizâbr-ud-Dîn, Muhammed, son of Mubâarak, and he went to Kyuk Khân, ⁵ and, up to this present day, his children hold that fortress.

ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE BEFORE THE FORT OF SAIF-RÛD OF GHÛR.

The fortress of Saif-rûd of Ghûr ⁶ is the strongest of all

¹ Not a sovereign or king here, but the Muhtashîm—a sort of Abbot or Prior—of the Mulâhidah heretics, on the part of the head of that sect. See "Panjab and Dekhî," in 1857, "by Rev. J. Cave Browne," who raises up a "Badshah"—a king—by means of the poor old Aâkhûnd of Suwât [lately dead], not knowing that words sometimes have two meanings.

² The Printed Text is always wrong with respect to the name of this well-known place. See under the Malikis of Sîstân, page 200.

³ At page 201 our author says Binâl-Tîgîn took possession of the fortress of Iṣfîzar, as well as that of Tûlak, in 623 H., about the time he himself left his native country and set out for Hind, and at page 200 he states, that Binâl-Tîgîn was despatched to Neh, by Burak, the Hûjib, to the assistance of one of the rival Malikis of Sîstân, and that he took possession of Neh for himself.

⁴ Our author says "all," as contained in the whole of the MSS. collated, but this cannot be, for, otherwise, how could he have remained at Tûlak at the same time? Perhaps, as these events occurred at the period he was preparing to leave for Hind, his account became somewhat confused. At the time the Mughals invested the citadel of Sîstân—the second time of their appearing in that country—these very Tûlakîs who were removed formed part of the Sîstân garrison and made a gallant defence. Hizâbr-ud-Dîn, Muhammed, was set up by the Tûlakîs after Binâl-Tîgîn withdrew, and, having made submission to the Mughals, was allowed to continue to hold it. The siege of Sîstân is mentioned farther on.

⁵ Kyuk Khân ascended the throne in 643 H., and died in 647 H., some say in 648 H. See under his reign. It is most absurd to notice how this simple name has been written in some copies of the text—قپریکانلکف— and even کرکه only.

⁶ This is the fortress in which Bahram Shâh, son of Khusraw Malik, the last of the Maâmüdshân dynasty of Ghaznîn, was immured. See page 115.
the strongholds of the jibāl [mountain tracts], and the
foundation of it had been laid by the father of the Sultāns
Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Mu’izz-ud-Dīn—Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn,
Sām,⁸ son of ’Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Ḥusain.

When Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, retired from
before Balkh towards Māzandarān, he commanded so that
Malik Ḥuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, should put the fortress in a
state of repair. There was but little time [to do it in], and
he was unable to construct more than a reservoir in the
upper part of it; for, two months after the command was
given, the Mughal army entered [that part], and the possi-
bility of constructing anything more did not offer itself.
In that reservoir he collected sufficient water for about
forty days' supply for the people of the fortress. The
Mughal troops carried their depredations into all parts of
Ghūr; and the whole of the quadrupeds of every kind,
from all parts, fell into the hands of the infidels, and the
people of Ghūr attained martyrdom, through a diram of
four dāngs.⁹

Malik Ḥuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, with his troops, sought
shelter within that fortress, and the Nū-īn Mangūtah, the
Nū-īn ʿArāchah, and the Nū-īn Utsuz,¹ with a numerous
army, advanced to the foot [of the walls] of the fort, and,
when they understood that the defenders had but a small
supply of water, they fixed their camp at the base of the
stronghold, and commenced hostilities. For a period of
fifty days they assailed it with great vigour, and, on both
sides, a great number of Musalmāns attained martyrdom,
and Mughals beyond compute went to hell. There was an
immense number of quadrupeds in the fortress; and as

⁸ Four forts are mentioned as having been constructed by him, but this one
is not mentioned. See page 341. The jibāl of Ghūr has already been noticed.

⁹ This appears to be some proverb or trite saying. It might be read "four
dāngs out of a diram"—four fourths. A diram has four dāngs or tāngs. Or
it may mean that many people lost their lives in attempting to save their
cattle.

¹ This name is very doubtful in the text, no two copies being alike; but
this is, at least, Turkish, and is plainly written—ئرـل—in one copy. The
others may be Albar, Alsar, Absar, Atar, Aṣār, Albasar, or Alburz, and thus,
in three copies, the second letter is ʿ, and in three other copies the last letter
is ʾ. This leader's name does not occur in other histories, because they do
not contain any account whatever of the attacks upon, and determined defence
of, these strongholds, nor is his name to be found in a long list of the Chingiz
Khān's Nū-īnās.
many as they were able to cure by drying they slaughtered, and the remainder, amounting to the number of 24,400 odd, perished for want of water. The whole were thrown from the ramparts of the fort on to the glacis on the side of the hill [on which it stood], and the whole face thereof, for a depth of some forty gas [ells], was completely strewn with the carcases of the dead animals, so that not a yard [of space] of the whole hill could be seen for them.

Orders were given so that, for the people of the fortress, a stated allowance of water, grain, and other provision was fixed, to each man half a man [about a gallon, or rather less] of water, and a man of grain; and to Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, one man of water—half for [his own] drinking, and half for the purpose of his ablutions. There was no horse in the fortress but one, the private horse of Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, for the use of which the water expended in the Malik’s ablutions used to be set aside, and was collected in an open vessel so that the animal might drink it. When a period of fifty days had expired, the party which had been stationed to guard the reservoir of water gave intimation that not more than one day’s supply remained in it; and a person, from the fortress, went away, and informed the Mughal troops of that circumstance. Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, when he ascertained the fact, convened the males of the people of the fortress at the time of afternoon prayer, and proposed that, the next morning, at break of day, they should put all the females and children to death with their own hands, and throw open the gateway of the fortress, and that every man, armed with a naked sword, should conceal himself in some place within the fortress, and, when the infidel Mughals should enter it, they [the Musalmāns], with one accord, should fall upon them with their swords, and should continue to fight them until they should attain the felicity of martyrdom.

All pledged themselves to this, and submitted their

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\(^2\) About 8 lbs. This weight varies in the different countries and districts of Persia, Afgānistān, and India, from 8 lbs. to 40 lbs.

\(^3\) The I. O. L. MS., No. 1952, the Hamilton MS., and the Ro. As. Soc. MS. have instead of "should put them to death"—"should strip them naked." ! This shows the danger of trusting to a single MS., or even two, and the absurd mistakes made by ignorant scribes, who, in this instance, wrote the adjective qualifying sword twice over.
hearts to martyrdom; and this determination became fixed in their minds, and they were taking leave of each other, until, at the time of evening prayer, Almighty God, the Most High and Holy, unclosed the door of His mercy [upon them], and, out of His boundless beneficence, sent clouds, so that, on the summits of the mountains around about, and parts adjacent, until midnight, the rain of mercy descended, and the snow of compassion fell, in such wise, that, from the army of the infidels without, and the champions of the faith within the fortification, a hundred thousand exclamations and cries arose in wonderment at the succour of the Most High God. The people of the fortress, who had withdrawn their hearts from existence, and washed the hand of hope of life, and who had endured the thirst of fifty days, and during that time had not drunk the sharbat of their fill of water, drank from the coverings of the tents and sāyah bāns, so much snow water, in satisfying their longing, that, for a period of seven days after, smoke issued from their throats along with their saliva.

When the Mughal forces beheld that Divine assistance, and witnessed the bountifulness of the Creator, they knew that the people of the fort had saved at least a month's supply of water, or even a two months' supply, that the month of Tīr [the fourth solar month] was come to its close, and that, without doubt, in the winter season, snow would fall successively. The following day, therefore, they abandoned their position before the fortress and raised the investment, and went to hell until the following year.

When the new year, 619 H., came round, again the Mughal forces from Khurāsān, Ghaznin, and Sistān, entered the different parts of the mountain tracts of Ghūr. After the disaster which befell Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh, a force from the Mughal armies, amply equipped

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4 In most copies of the text بَلْمَ—a cooking-place, a kitchen, etc.—and in the printed text بَلْمَ has been used for طُقُبٍ.

5 The greater number of the copies of the text have 618 H., but, as Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's defeat happened, not in the seventh month—Rajab—of that year, as generally stated, for the reasons already given in note 3, page 1049, but in Shawwāl, the ninth month, the second attack on this fortress, if it happened in the beginning of a year, must have happened in the beginning of that of 619 H.; and it is subsequently stated that, with a winter intervening, it was taken in 620 H.
and provided, and [consisting of] cavalry, and infantry, and Amîrs, beyond computation, appeared at the foot of the fortress of Saîf-rûd, and pitched their camp; and hostilities commenced. As Malik Kutb-ud-Dîn, Hûsain, had had opportunity, and had constructed reservoirs, and collected vast store of provision, he fought many encounters with the Mughal troops, and used strenuous efforts against them; and, the greater the efforts and endeavours the infidels put forth, the stronger became the affairs of the fortress, and the more intrepid grew the warriors of the faith. On this occasion, the fighting continued, and they kept up the investment, for a further period of two months, and, in no way, could they obtain possession of the fortress.

After that [period of time], the infidels turned their faces towards treachery and deceit, and entered into the gate of peace, and propounded words of amity. As the people, for a considerable time, had suffered the disquietude and care of a fortress, out of eagerness for gold, and clothes, and cattle, at a cheap rate, they were agreeable to an accommodation. Malik Kutb-ud-Dîn, Hûsain, used to dissuade them greatly from entering into a truce with infidels, but the people had become wearied and exhausted, and the fate of some of them was near at hand. His expostulations were of no avail; and, in the end, a truce was agreed to, on the stipulation that, for a period of three days, the people of the fortress should come into the Mughal camp, bring the commodities they possessed and dispose of them, and take away the gold and silver the price thereof, and purchase such cattle and woollen garments as they required; and that, after the expiration of three days, the Mughal troops should march away from before the place. When the truce had been ratified, the people of the fortress conveyed all such commodities as they possessed into the camp of the accursed ones, and for a period of two days bought and sold what was necessary, and not a Mughal infidel, or any one else, afflicted any person whosoever. When the night of the third day came, the infidels concealed a great number of armed men behind rocks, [bales of] clothes, pack-saddles of animals, and in the old gullies and ravines.

* The contingent of the Kârlûgh chief, Arsalân Khân of Kâsilik, is doubtless referred to here.
about their camp; and, when the morning of the third day broke, the people from above descended from the mountain and mingled as before among the infidels in their camp. All at once they [the Mughals] beat kettledrums and raised a shout, and every Mughal infidel and renegade, who was buying and selling with the Musalmāns, seized, on the spot, those Musalmāns and slew them, with the exception of the persons whose lives Almighty God had spared; and all who had arms with them, or displayed knives, them they first deprived of their weapons, and then slew them.

At this place an incident occurs, and a piece of advice for observers and readers offers; and it is this: There was a leader among the soldiery [in the fortress], a Nishāpūrī, a thorough man, whom they were wont to style Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Arzīz-gar [the worker in tin], one among the followers of Amir Ḥabashī-i-Nezah-war, who was, at this time, in the fortress of Saif-ūd, in the service of Malik Ḵūṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain. He [Fakhr-ud-Dīn] also had gone into the camp of the Mughals, and was buying and selling; and, in the leg of his boot, he had a knife in shape like a poniard. A Mughal, who was trafficking with him, desired to seize him, but he laid hand on his knife, and drew it out of the leg of his boot. The Mughal stayed his hand from him, and Fakhr-ud-Dīn again placed his foot to the mountain, and returned in safety to the fortress.

The warning [here conveyed] is, that it behoveth not a man, in any case, to be passive in the matter of his own safety, particularly when in a place he may be holding parley with a foe, or be in the company of an enemy; and he should see to his own preservation for some useful purpose, and not be without a weapon: for the rest, the protection of the Most High God is sufficient to preserve whom He wills.

Trustworthy persons have related that two hundred and

7 Workers in tin are not generally "leaders" of soldiers, and the word here used, viz., "Sipah-Sālār," is that also applied to the commander of an army; but, of course, the context shows what is meant here.

8 Here is a good proof how wrong are the ideas of some persons as to the Musalmāns and their religion, that all must be, and is left to fate, and that no effort must be made on their own parts to help themselves. Our author here describes the teachings of his religion.
eighty men of note and heads of families, valiant men, fell captive into the hands of the Mughals [upon this occasion]; and, such a disaster having befallen the people of Islam, there was not a dwelling [in the place] in which there was not mourning. On the occurrence of this misfortune the Mughal Nū-Ins employed emissaries to propose that they [the people of the fort of Saif-rūd] should ransom their own people; but Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, did not consent. When the Mughals understood that, on this occasion, the people of the fortress would not take the bait of treachery, they, on the following day, bound all the Musalmāns who had become captive—ten and fifteen together—and killed them with sword-wounds, stones, and knives, until they made martyrs of the whole of them. The next day, the Mughals made preparations to renew the attack; and Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the night before the attack, gave directions so that all the great [blocks] of stone [lying about] on the face of the hill near the khāk-rez of the fortress were speedily placed in such a manner that the touch of a child would move them from their places and send them rolling down. More than a hundred great stones as big as mill-stones, and hand-millstones, fastened to beams of wood, at the extremity of each beam a millstone, they had drawn out; and those beams were fastened to the battlements of the fortress by ropes. The whole of the men of the fortress were divided into two bodies: one half were concealed on the top of the ramparts, behind the battlements, and the other half outside the fortress, at the foot of the ramparts, behind the great blocks of stone. Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, enjoined that, until the sound of the kettledrums of the fortress arose, not a person should show himself.

All things having been arranged in this manner, at dawn the next morning, all at once, the Mughal forces—great and small, Amirs and common men, infidel Mughals and renegades, armed at all points—issued from their camp,