SECTION XVI.

THE MALIKS OF THE KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHĪAH DYNASTY.

Respecting this notice of the Maliks of the Turks, and the Sultāns of Khwārazm, the Almighty’s humble servant, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jurjānī, states, that, as the account of the rulers of the different nations, from first to last, is now being compiled in the name of his Majesty, the Sultān of Sultāns of both Turk and ’Ajam, Naṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muẓaffar-i-Maḥmūd, son of the Sultān I yal-timish—May the Almighty perpetuate his dominion and his sovereignty!—he thinks it expedient to enter here the account of the dynasty of the Sultāns and Maliks of Khwārazm, the standards of whose sovereignty, after the decline of the Sanjarī dynasty, began to float on high; into whose possession the whole of the territories of Irān came, after the extinction of the dominion of the Maliks of Ghūr and Ghaznīn; who undertook numerous expeditions against infidels, and waged many holy wars; the monuments of the goodness of whom abound in the land of Irān; and, who, in fact, were the last of the Sultāns of Islām¹.


The ancestry of these Maliks was related by Malik

¹ What of the slave who reigned at Dihlī, who refused shelter to Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn—he who is, and whose descendants are, so often styled “Sultān over both Turk and ’Ajam,” and “Sultān of Sultāns of Islām”?

² Our author, in his account of the first two personages of this dynasty, differs wholly from other writers, and, as he has constantly made great blunders respecting other dynasties, and at times quoted authors incorrectly, his statements here, although obtained, as he asserts, from a descendant of those rulers, must be received at their worth.

Balbīṣ, quoting from Bū-Rīḥān, mentions that the territory of Khwārazm always formed a separate sovereignty from the period when a kinsman of Bahārum-Gūr, the famous monarch of ’Ajam, acquired power over it, and also after its conquest by the ’Arabs; and further, that even after the ’Arab conquest it was not considered as a dependency of Khurāsān, like Khutlān and
Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tīgīn, who came from the border of Kir-

Chaghāūtān were, even in the time of the Tāhirīs. Rulers bearing the title of Khwārzm Shāh are mentioned upwards of a century and a half previous to the dynasty now under notice, which I must briefly refer to. Our author himself advert[s] page 38] to 'Abd-ullah, son of Aḥṣān, Khwārzm Shāh, as early as 332 H.; and in the present Section farther on [page 233] again refers to them. In 386 H., mention is made of another 'Abd-ullah, styled Khwārzm Shāh, who in that year was made prisoner by the forces of Māmūn, son of Muḥammad, Lord of Jūrjānāfah of Khwārzm. 'Abd-ullah was taken in fetters to Jūrjānāfah, and subsequently beheaded; and the whole of Khwārzm passed under the rule of Māmūn, son of Muḥammad. The territories of Khwārzm and Jūrjānāfah, had, for a considerable time, been in the possession of this family, who are styled Farīghūnīs, subordinate to the Sāmānīs sovereigns. In 387 H., the same year in which Nūḥ, son of Manṣūr, Sāmānī, Amīr Sabuk-Tīgīn, and Fakhr-ud-Daulah, Dīlamī, died, Māmūn, Farīghūnī, died also, and was succeeded by his son, Abū 'Alī, who was married to a sister of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn. 'Alī died in 390 H., and was succeeded by his brother, Abū-l-'Abbas-i-Māmūn [son of Māmūn]. He despatched an envoy to Maḥmūd, asking the latter's consent to his [Abū-l-'Abbas] espousing his brother's widow, the sister of Maḥmūd, which request was acquiesced in. This Abū-l-'Abbas was the patron of Bū-Rīfān, who passed seven years in his service. The Khalīfah, Kādir Bīlāt, sent him a dress of honour, a title, and addressed him as Khwārzm Shāh; but, such was 'Abūs' attachment to [or fear of?] Maḥmūd, that he did not make this matter known. In 407 H. his nobles and troops rose against him, because he meditated acknowledging the suzerainty of Maḥmūd, put him to death, and set up his nephew in his stead. Maḥmūd marched into Khwārzm, to revenge his brother-in-law, slew Alb-Tīgīn [some call him Nfāl-Tīgīn] 'Abbas' chamberlain, and other ringleaders, and the murderers of 'Abbas, annexed the territory, and conferred the government of it upon his [own] Great Chamberlain, Altūn-Tīsh, with the designation of Khwārzm Shāh. Abū Naṣr, son of 'Abd-ul-Ḥīrī, Farīghūnī, Wāḥ of Jūrjānān and the territory of Jawsjānān, of the same family, had died in 402 H., upon which Maḥmūd had annexed that territory, and had sent a Dīwān of his own to administer its affairs.

Altūn-Tīsh, Khwārzm Shāh, presented himself at the court of his sovereign, Sultan Mas'ūd, in 422 H., and died from the effects of a wound received in battle in 424 H. His son Hārūn, who succeeded, became disaffected towards Sultan Mas'ūd, in 425 H., assumed independence, and intrigued with the Turk-māns and Saljūks. This fact our author alludes to at pages 120 and 121, but says nothing further. Hārūn was killed in 426 H., and was succeeded by his brother, Ismā'il, who held Khwārzm for a short time; but he was soon after ousted by Shāh Malik, a neighbouring chief, upon whom Sultan Mas'ūd conferred it, provided he could drive out Ismā'il. Ismā'il, accordingly, having been driven out, took shelter with the Saljūks in Khurāsān. In 434 H. Sultan Tughirl annexed Khwārzm to his dominions; and but little is said about it afterwards until 475 H., when Malik Shāh, Saljūkī, conferred the Intendancy of Khwārzm upon the slave, Nūṣh-Tīgīn-i-Gharjāh, the father of Kūṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the first ruler of the dynasty mentioned by our author.

Balkā-Tīgīn [Guzdāh and Jahān-Ārā style him Malkā-Tīgīn, but it is an error], one of the slaves and grandees of the court of Malik Shāh, who held the office of Tāshāt-dār, or Purveyor, purchased Nūṣh-Tīgīn, much in the same manner as Alb-Tīgīn, the slave of the Sāmānīs, purchased Sabuk-Tīgīn.
mān, in the year 622 H.⁴, to the aid of the sons⁴ of the Maliks of Nimroz, and arrived in that country, and the territories of Nimroz were left in his possession.

The author of this book came from Khāesār of Ghūr, on a mission from the august Malik, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, 'Uṣmān, Maragḥānī, in order to secure a compact, and arrived at Fārāh of Sīstān, and proceeded to the presence of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tīgīn.

During the conversation at the interview, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn mentioned that Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, the Turk, came, with his tribe and kindred, towards Jund and Khwārazm, from the side of Šūhārī⁴ [or Šahārī], and from among the tribes of Kifchāk⁶ and Kankuli, and, for a considerable period, dwelt in those tracts, subject to the Khwārazm-Shāhī rulers, Abū Jaʿfar and Māmūn⁷, and their posterity, and used to subsist in the wilds and pasture-lands.

upwards of a century before, at Gharjāh of Samrākand. Some consider he was of I-ghūr descent, and that he was of the Bekdāf [or Begdāl] tribe. After the decease of Balkā-Tīgīn, his slave, Nūsh-Tīgīn, who through his talents and sagacity had risen to distinction, succeeded to the office of Tashīt-dār; and as the revenues of the Khwārazm territory were assigned to defray the expenses of the Purveyorship, in the same manner as those of Khūzistān were assigned for the expenses of the wardrobe, the government of the territory whence the expenses of the Purveyorship were drawn was conferred upon Nūsh-Tīgīn, with the title of Khwārazm Shāh.

He placed his eldest son, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, with a preceptor at Marw, to be educated in a manner becoming his station, and on the death of Nūsh-Tīgīn, his father, in 490 H. [some writers say in 491 H.], the lieutenant of Sultan Barkārūk, in Khurāsān, at the recommendation of Sanjar, Barkārūk's brother—for Sanjar did not obtain the sovereignty until many years after—appointed Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, Nūsh-Tīgīn's son, after the removal of Alanjī, son of Tāghūrī [some call him Fāhkār] to the government of Khwārazm; and the title which his father had held was also conferred upon him. See page 169, and note ⁶.

⁵ See page 199.
⁴ To the aid of one only; but all the copies have "sons of the Maliks," as above. See page 200.
⁶ One copy has Ḥiṣār [쉘אר] which may be the most correct, but the majority of copies of the text have Šūhārī, or Šahārī [שאהר]. Neither of these names occurs in the Masālik-wa-Mamālik. The latter word, if not a proper name, may be the plural of 'Arabic ʿawād signifying "extending, wide [as plains], wild, desert," in which case the broad and extensive deserts of Turkistan would be meant. Yāfis mentions Šuhārī in one or two places.
⁷ In some few copies of the original, and in Yāfis, this name is written with kh—Kifchāk. It is the name of a tribe of Turks, and of a desert of Turkistan, commonly called Dāshīl-Kipchāk.
⁸ These were of the Fārīghūnī family mentioned in note ⁵, preceding page.
As Ḟuṭb-ud-Dīn was a spirited, enterprising, and high-minded chief, and of admirable temperament, the leadership of the forces of the Malikṣ of Khwārazm was entrusted to him, until, as Providence had decreed, the ruler of Khwārazm at that period died, and no son of his survived who could take his place, and his dominions were left without a sovereign. A daughter, however, survived him; and the whole of the great nobles of Khwārazm agreed among themselves, and gave that daughter in marriage to Malik Ḟuṭb-ud-Dīn. The espousals having been concluded, the name of sovereign was assigned to that daughter, and the viceroyalty was conferred upon Malik Ḟuṭb-ud-Dīn, the Turk, her husband.

He brought the whole of the territory of Khwārazm under his jurisdiction, and the tracts on the confines under subjection; and by his alertness and his sagacity, restrained enemies and tyrants from violence and sedition. He also guarded the frontiers of Khwārazm Shāh from the infidels of Saksīn, Bulghār, and Kifchāk.

The Almighty so decreed that Malik Ḟuṭb-ud-Dīn had a son born to him by that lady [the daughter of the late ruler], and they gave him the name of Muḥammad; and, after the termination of the lives of his mother and father, the sovereignty of Khwārazm devolved upon him.

II. MALIK TĀJ-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD9, SON OF I-BAK.

When the mother of Tāj-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, passed away, and his father died, he became ruler of the kingdom

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8 From what our author says, the reader would imagine that Ḟuṭb-ud-Dīn, was an independent ruler, but such was not the case. He was ever loyal to his Saljūk suzerain, and was in the constant habit of attending the court of Sultan Sanjar every other year. When he returned to Khwārazm, his son, who succeeded him, Itsiz - called Utsuz by our author, and, by his account, Ḟuṭb-ud-Dīn's grandson - took his father's place at court, nominally as his representative, but in reality as security for his father's good faith. Ḟuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, died in 521 H. [some say in 522 H.], and was succeeded by Itsiz. By no other writer is Ḟuṭb-ud-Dīn styled I-bak. Our author's account of him is confused, and he has evidently lost himself here again. At page 148 he says Sanjar "conferred" Khwārazm "upon the son of Khwārazm Shāh, who was one of his servants, who was the father of I-yal-Arsalān, who was the father of Taḵīsh, father of Muḥammad;" and, at page 169, states that he gave the throne of Khwārazm to Malik Utsuz.

9 The father of Itsiz [Utsuz of our author], according to all authors of
of Khwārazm in succession to them. He also had a brother, and of his own father and mother, younger than himself; and upon him he conferred the government of the tribes of Kankuli and Kischak, from which their own race had sprung, his brother having solicited it, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn acceded to his request.

That same brother had sons¹ who acquired great distinction, and became powerful Maliks in Khurāsān and Irāk. During the time of Sultān Takish-i-Khwārazm Shāh, and his son, Sultān Muḥammad, they were Maliks of Khurāsān, like as was Ulugh Khān-i-Abī, Muḥammad, Kān of Guzarwān². Subsequently he became Khān of Irāk under the name of Atā-bak, or preceptor, of the great Sultān, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī Shānastī, son of Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh.

Ulugh Khān-i-Abī, Muḥammad, had two sons, the eldest, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Azabar³ Shāh, and the younger, Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Kūtlagh Shāh; and there were likewise brothers' sons of Ulugh Khān-i-Abī, Muḥammad, in Hindūstān, such as Malik Firūz-i-I-yal-timish, son of Sālār, and Malik Tāj-ud Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, who left Hindūstān, and became Malik of Sīstān; and whose narrative this is.

This Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of I-bak, was an intrepid, just, and resolute sovereign; and he came to the Court of the Saljūks sovereigns, and paid homage to authority—in fact, according to all writers but our author—was Kūṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Nuṣh-Tigīn-i-Gharjah, the first of the dynasty; and no person of the above name and title is mentioned by any other writer among the rulers of Khwārazm. I suspect our author has done much the same here as he has in his account of the Saljūks of Rūm—mixed up the affairs of two dynasties.

¹ As other authors do not mention the name of any such ruler as Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Itsis being the second of the dynasty, and as our author himself gives no name to this said brother, although he gives names to his sons, it will be easily imagined that other authors do not name either the brother or his sons.

² This name is somewhat doubtful, but the majority of copies have it as above written; and, in all probability, it is the place referred to by Yāfī-i, up the valley of the Murgh-āb river, which he writes Juzarwān. The other copies of the text have Gurdwān, Gurzawān, and Gūrāwān; and one, which is generally pretty correct, has Gujzarwān—g and j are interchangeable, and j is often used for z.

³ This name too is doubtful: there are scarcely two copies alike. One has Ursuḷū, which is a proper name, as well as Hijāgrab.
them. He performed great deeds, and ruled the people with equity and beneficence.

He reigned for a long time, subordinate to the Saljuqs, and died.

III. MALIK JALAL-UD-DIN, UTSUZ, KHWAZAM SHAH, SON OF TAJ-UD-DIN, MUHAMMAD.

Utsuz-i Khwârazm Shâh, after the death of his father, Muhammam, brought the dominions of Khwârazm under his authority, and ruled over its people with uprightness, justice, and beneficence.

On several occasions he had to move from Khwârazm,

4 Written Itsiz and Itsiz by others [and Àtsiz by Guzîdah], signifying in Turkì “lean, fleshless, thin.” His title was Muzaffar-ud-Dîn, but some writers say it was Àbî-i-Muzaffar, ‘Alâ-ud-Dîn. He succeeded his father by farmân of Sultân Sanjâr, his suzerain.

5 Kôtî-ud-Dîn, Muhammmad, son of Nûsh-Tigrî, and father of Itsiz, died in 521 H. [some say in 522 H.], after a reign of thirty years, and was noted for his loyalty to Sultân Sanjâr.

6 He had really to fly, but our author softens it down. In the beginning of his career and government of Khwârazm, no one could have been more loyal towards Sultân Sanjâr than Itsiz was, and Sanjâr was also much attached to him, more particularly because Itsiz had once saved his life. This moved the envious to sow the seeds of distrust and suspicion between them. In 527 H. [some say when Sanjâr marched against Bahram Shâh of Ghaznî, but this can scarcely be, as that event occurred three years after], Itsiz obtained permission to proceed to his government, although Sanjâr suspected his loyalty; and in a short time after he openly showed his disaffection. Sultân Sanjâr marched against him in 533 H., and invested Hazâr-Asp, which was taken. Itsiz was totally defeated, and fled; and the Sultân installed his nephew, Sulîmân Shâh, son of Muhammmad, as ruler of Khwârazm. As soon, however, as Sanjâr returned to Khorasân, Itsiz again appeared; and Sulîmân Shâh, not being sufficiently powerful to oppose him, evacuated Khwârazm, and returned to his uncle’s court.

Itsiz now [535 H.] assumed independence and the title of Bâdahsh, and coined money in his own name; and this may be partly, if not altogether, accounted for by the fact that Sanjâr had sustained a defeat at the hands of the infidels of Karî-Khîjâ only the previous year. Some authors contend that Sanjâr’s defeat took place in 536 H., and that Itsiz assumed independence in 537 H. The Sultân again determined to attempt to reduce him in 538 H., on which Itsiz sought with entreaties, prayers, and costly presents, to propitiate the Sultân’s anger, and was forgiven; but soon after he again showed disaffection, treated the Sultân’s farmân with contempt, and subsequently, in 541 H., despatched two criminals, released from prison for the purpose, to assassinate his benefactor, to show his gratitude, perhaps, for “the confidence and goodwill” of the Sultân towards him, as our author says, and for pardoning his past offences. Again [in 542 H., or, according to Yâfu-l, in 541 H.] Sanjâr
sometimes out of necessity, and at others of his own free will. He marched forces against Jund, Turkistân, and Kîfchâk; and through his wisdom, abilities, and skill, he was exceedingly fortunate in all his affairs. The Court of Khwârazm, through his enlightened policy and beneficence, became the resort of the most learned men.

After obligations and stipulations had been entered into, he presented himself at the Court of Sulţân Sanjar, and for some time, in conformity with his commands, Malik Jalâl-ud-Dîn, Utsuz, continued in attendance at the Court of that Sulţân until he gained the confidence and good-will of Sanjar Shâh [Sulţân Sanjar], who gave him back the throne of Khwârazm.

After some period of time had elapsed, through the conduct of Malik 'Ali, Châtrî, who was governor of Hirât, with respect to Malik Utsuz, he [Utsuz] rebelled, and declined any longer to submit to the yoke, or to attend the Sulţân's presence. When the dominion of the house of Sanjar came to an end, the sovereignty of Khwârazm, and the whole of the territory of Şuḥârî [or Şâhârî] of Turkistân, and Jund, fell into his hands, and were left in his possession.

marched against him, and invested Hâzar-Asp a second time. After taking it, the Sulţân was about to invest the capital, when, at the intercession of a holy man, namely, the Zâhid-i-Āhû-posth, and the Sayyids and heads of the religious bodies, Itsiz again succeeded in propitiating the Sulţân, and solicited permission to present himself before him, and sue for forgiveness. This he did, after a fashion: he came forth, and appeared before the Sulţân, and from his horse bowed his head and retired. This took place Monday, 12th Muḥarram, 543 H. Sanjar was not in a position to renew hostilities, so he passed his rebel vassal's conduct over, and allowed, or rather was obliged to allow him to continue in possession of the territory of Khwârazm. Soon after Sanjar became a captive to the Ghuzz tribe. See Sanjar's reign, page 154.

7 See page 169, where our author says that Sanjar bestowed the sovereignty upon "Utsuz"; but in this Section he has said that the throne descended to him from his ancestors.

8 This person, and what he did, are not mentioned by other authors that have come under my notice, with a solitary exception. Faşîh-1 refers to it, under the year 542 H., in these exact words:"Rebellion of 'Alî jâtrî, Wâlî of Hirât, during the absence of Sulţân Sanjar, and his combining with 'Alâ-ud-Dîn, Hussain, Malik of Ghûr:;" nothing more. See reign of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn.

9 This is utter nonsense. See note 8 page 236. Itsiz merely acted according to the world's ways. When he found his suzerain weak and in difficulties he took advantage of it.

1 This name is plainly written in nearly every copy. See note 9, page 233.

Schahîr-1 says that Gûr Khân, who, in concert with Āt Khân, defeated
The greater number of the most learned men of the Court had previously attached themselves to his service; and Imām Rashīd-ud-Dīn, Watwāt, wrote, and dedicated to him, the work entitled “Hadāyik-us-Sahr fi Daḵayik-ush-Shīr” [“Gardens of Enchantment in the Subtilities of Poesy”]. At the time, likewise, that Malik Utsuz was in attendance at the Court of Sultān Sanjar, he became greatly attached to Sultān 'Alā ud-Dīn, Husain, Ghūrī, Jahān-soz, on account of his learning and talents, to such a degree, that when Sultān 'Alā ud-Dīn, Husain, returned again to assume the throne of Ghūr, the Almighty blessed him with a son, and he gave him the name of Utsuz.

Malik Utsuz reigned over Khwārazm for a long period and died.

IV. MALIK? I-YAL-ARSALĀN, SON OF JALĀL-UD-DĪN, UTSUZ.

Malik I-yal-Arsalān ascended the throne of Khwārazm after the decease of his father, and assumed authority over the whole of his late father's dominions. He ruled his people with justice and benevolence, and concluded a

Sultān Sanjar a few years before, died in 537 H., after which Sultān Itsiz reduced Māwar-un-Nahr, which Sanjar had lost, under his sway.

8 What court is not stated, but Sultān Sanjar's court, it is to be presumed. Courtier-like, finding Sanjar in difficulties, they sought a more powerful master.

4 This Rashīd-ud-Dīn, Watwāt, was a lineal descendant of the Khalfah 'Umr.

8 Al-Ḥusain ['Izz-ud-Dīn], son of Sām, Ghūrī, it is said, was made prisoner by Sanjar in 501 H.; but the person here referred to is his son, Jahān-soz, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Ḥusain, son of Sām, taken prisoner in 547 H. See note 3, page 149, note 3, page 155, and account of 'Alā-ud-Dīn.

4 As usual, he reigned for a long period and died, according to our author, "who rarely indulges in high-flown eulogy, but narrates his facts in a plain, straightforward manner, which induces a confidence in the sincerity of his statements and the accuracy of his knowledge." Itsiz ruled over Khwārazm for a period of twenty-nine years, sixteen of which were independent, and died in 551 H.; and in the same year Türkān Khātūn also died.

7 Styled Sultān by others.

8 How good all our author's rulers are! all so just and beneficent: never were the like known before or since. Immediately on assuming the throne, suspecting his younger brother, Sulfman Shāh, he seized and imprisoned him, and put a number of nobles, Sulfman's adherents, to death. I-yal-Arsalān was engaged in hostilities with the ruler of Samrān, and subsequently, in 558 H., marched against Shād-yāk of Nīshāpūr—Sanjar had lately died—and
treaty with the infidels of Ḳarā Ḳhiṭā, whereby he stipulated to pay a certain fixed tribute yearly. He contracted an alliance with the Ḳhāns of Ḳīschāk, and guarded his dominions to the best of his power and ability. He became involved in disagreements and hostilities with some of the slaves of Sultān Sanjar who were rulers of Ḳhurāsān, and peace was brought about in the manner he could best effect.

He reigned for a long time, and died leaving sons behind him, such as 'Ālā-ud-Dīn, Takīsh, and Sultān Shāh, Maḥmūd.

V. SULTĀN TAKĪSH, SON OF I-YAL-ARSALĀN.

Sultān Takīsh was a very great monarch, and was endowed with considerable attainments, capacity, and engaged in hostilities with Rukn-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Khān, a grandson of Buγhrā Khān on the father’s side, and a nephew of Sanjar on his mother’s; and, after an engagement with Mu’ayyid-i-Āfīnah-dār [see note 4 to page 180], returned into his own territory after effecting an accommodation. Subsequently, having, in the seventh year of his reign, neglected to pay the tribute to the ruler of Ḳarā-Ḵhiṭā-ī, the former sent a force against I-yal-Arsalān, and the latter’s troops, which moved to oppose them, were routed. I-yal-Arsalān died from the effects of a disorder contracted during the war with the Ḳarā-Ḵhiṭā-īs.

8 If the Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr [see p. 179], by becoming tributary to the Mughals, “brought reproach and dishonour upon himself,” by bowing his head to circumstances which he could not remedy nor control, and when he was well aware that, at the nod of the Khān of the Mughals, his territory could be subdued and desolated; what is the conduct of I-yal-Arsalān here, and what that of the Khalifah, Un-Nāšir, when he, some years before Abū Bikr’s day, sent an agent to the infidel Chingiz, and incited him to invade the territory of Islām out of hostility to the Khwārazm Sultān, because he would not give him, Un-Nāšir, a slice of Īrāk? Our author was too pious a Musalmān to name such a disgraceful act as this. See note 4, page 242, and page 265.

1 In this instance the “long time” was only eight years. I-yal-Arsalān died, according to most authors, in 567 h.; but one or two say it occurred in 568. As Takīsh rose against his brother, Sultān Shāh, in the former year, it is natural to conclude that he could have had no occasion to do so in his father’s lifetime.

2 Styled Ḳimā-ud-Dīn, Takīsh Khān. Some call him ‘Ālā-ud-Dīn. Other authors generally, with the exception of Yāsa-ī, place Sultān Shāh, Maḥmūd, next after his father, Itsiz, and before Takīsh; and do not bring in Takīsh at all until after Sultān Shāh’s death in 589 h. Sultān Shāh succeeded to the throne according to the will of his father; and, as he was a mere boy, his mother, Malikah Türkān, conducted his affairs. She sent an agent to summon Takīsh, the eldest son by a different mother, who held the govern-
understanding, and was a proficient in the science of music.

When he ascended the throne he brought under his sway the different tracts of the territory of Khwārazm, and likewise some parts of Khurāsān, either by force of arms or by peaceful means.

He entered into union with the Khān of Kischāk, who was named Aḵrān [or Iḵrān], and married the daughter of that ruler. That lady acquired great celebrity in the world, and rose to great eminence, more particularly during the reign of her son, Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh. She was a woman of great firmness of character,

...ment of Jund [some say he retired thither] to Khwārazm. As he refused to obey, an army was sent against him. Guzdfah and Yāfa-i state that Takīgh demanded a portion of his father’s dominions, and was refused; on which he, in 567 H., rebelled, and determined to seek aid from the Khān-i-Khānān, or Great Khān of Karā-Khiṭāf. The latter’s wife, at that time, held the sovereignty, and Takīgh entered into an alliance with her; but no mention whatever is made by these or other authors as to Takīgh having taken either her or her daughter to wife, as they, no doubt, would have done, had such an alliance as our author refers to taken place. Takīgh, having reached her territory, agreed to make over to her the treasures and revenues of Khwārazm, as soon as he, by her aid, should obtain possession of it, and afterwards to pay a yearly tribute. A numerous army was accordingly sent along with Takīgh to put him in possession. Sultān Shāh and his mother, as soon as they became aware of the combination against them, evacuated Khwārazm, and joined Malik Mu-a yyid-i-Ā’fīnah-dār, Wālī of Khurāsān [Nishāpūr]. See page 180, and note 7], and Takīgh obtained possession of the Khwārazm territory. These events took place in 568 H.

Sultān Shāh, however, acquired power over a considerable portion of Khurāsān, and hostilities went on between the rival brothers up to the end of Sultān Shāh’s life. He lived twenty-one years after these events. In 569 H. Malik Mu-a yyid-i-Ā’fīnah-dār, in order to aid Sultān Shāh, marched in concert with him against Takīgh, and gave him battle; but they were defeated, and Mu-a yyid was taken and cut in two by order of Takīgh. Sultān Shāh and his mother fled to Dihiṣtān, followed by Takīgh and his troops. The mother of Sultān Shāh was killed, after which Takīgh marched against Nishāpūr, the capital of Mu-a yyid’s territory. Hostilities having afterwards arisen between Takīgh and his former ally, Sultān Shāh sought aid from the female ruler of Karā Khiṭāf, and she and Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Ghūr, both rendered him aid. The details are far too voluminous for insertion here: suffice it to say that an accommodation subsequently took place between the brothers in 585 H.; but hostilities were again renewed in 589 H., in which year Sultān Shāh died. After his death Takīgh acquired the whole power; and, according to Guzdfah, he now for the first time assumed the title of Sultān, being without a rival. These events are referred to by our author in his accounts of Khusrav Malik, the last of the Ghaznavids, and in his account of the Sultāns of Ghūr, which see.
very impetuous, and of imperious temperament; and, during the reign of her son, she had the title of Khudâ-wandah-i-Jahân [Princess of the Universe]. So great was her spirit, her haughtiness, and her resentment, when roused, that, on one occasion, she became enraged with her husband, Sultân Takish, on account of a female slave with whom he had formed a connexion, and followed him to the bath, and closed the door of the hot bath upon him, so that the Sultân very nearly perished. Information of the circumstance was conveyed to a party of the great nobles, and a number of lords and chiefs arrived, broke open the door of the hot bath, and took Sultân Takish out. He had been reduced to a state of lividness, and one of his eyes had been nearly destroyed.

Sultân Takish was a wise and sagacious monarch; and, with respect to his witticisms, they relate that on a certain occasion a necessitous person wrote to him a statement of his affairs, saying:—"If thou givest me one hundred dinârs, what difference will it make to the amount of thy treasures?" The Sultân, with his own hand, wrote at the head of the statement, "one hundred dinârs;" and this reply, in the opinion of men of learning and talent, was exceedingly clever. On another occasion a person wrote to him, saying:—"In being a Muslîm I am thy brother: give me a portion of thy treasures." The Sultân commanded that ten dinârs of gold should be presented to him. When that gift reached the indigent person, he wrote another communication to the Sultân, saying:—"I am thy brother; and yet, with all the treasures that thou possessest, not more than ten dinârs of gold do I obtain." The Sultân wrote in reply:—"If the rest of my brethren should demand their shares also, thou wouldst not have received even this much." May the Almighty have mercy on him!

Sultân Takish reduced a half of Khurâsân under his sway by force, and the Malik [kings] of Mâzandarân acknowledged his superiority. He also subdued a part of

3 It is customary, in the East, to write orders, decrees, &c., at the head of documents.
4 This anecdote, or one very similar, is related of another before the time of Sultân Takish.
the territory of 'Irāk; and Sulṭān Tughrīl, of 'Irāk, who was the nephew of Sulṭān Sanjar, fell a captive into his hands⁴.

Hostilities arose between him and the Court of the Khalīfah on account of some of the territories of 'Irāk⁴.

⁴ At page 165, which see, our author was in doubt as to who Tughrīl was. In 558 H. Kūtalgh Īsānaj, son of the Atā-bak, Jahān Pahlawān, Muḥammad, sent envoys, one after the other, to Sulṭān Takīsh informing him of the escape of Sulṭān Tughrīl, Suljūk, from the fortress in which he had been immured, and inviting him to invade 'Irāk, promising to support him. For further particulars of these events, see note ⁸, page 167, and note ⁸, page 172, where our author entirely contradicts this statement respecting Sulṭān Tughrīl.

The Khalīfah, Un-Nāṣir, on Takīsh overrunning 'Irāk, and possessing himself of the strong places, was desirous that Takīsh should let him have some share of that territory, and make over some portion of it to his Dīwāns. Envoys came and went between them; but, as Takīsh in the end refused to give up any portion, Un-Nāṣir, in 590 H., despatched Mu’ayyid-ud-Dīn, Ibn-ul-Kassāb, or the Butcher’s Son, with robes of honour, valuable presents, and the like, in hopes that on his appearance at Hamadān he would be favourably received, and that Takīsh would come out to receive him, and do him honour as the Khalīfah’s envoy, and humble himself before him; but, on his reaching Asad-ībād, the Sulṭān despatched a force to compel him to retire. Mu’ayyid-ud-Dīn fled, and speedily placed the river Dājhāh between himself and Takīsh’s troops. After this, Takīsh pushed on to Dīnawr, and plundered the place and country round, and returned to Hamadān laden with dirams and dinārs, and other booty beyond compute.

In 593 H., shortly after his son, Kūṭ-bud-Dīn, Muḥammad, had been entrusted with the government of Khurāsān, after the death of his elder brother, he was recalled to proceed at the head of an army against Ghā-Īr Bukhā Khān, the Īghūr ruler. He conducted the campaign successfully, and Ghā-Īr Bukhā was made prisoner, and brought to Khwārazm, in Rabi‘-ul-Awwal of the following year. Another expedition was undertaken shortly after against the successor of Ghā-Īr Bukhā, which Takīsh conducted in person.

At the end of the year 594 H. Takīsh marched into Khurāsān again. After three months’ halt at Shād-yākh he proceeded into ‘Irāk against Mīnjuḵ, the Atā-bak of his son, Yūnas Khān, who was disaffected. He passed the cold season in Māzandarān, and in the following spring pursued Mīnjuḵ from one end of ‘Irāk to the other. Mīnjuḵ and his party were pounced upon and most of them put to the sword, and the rebel took shelter in Fīrūz-koh, from which stronghold he had ousted the Sulṭān’s seneschal some time before. It was invested and taken, and Mīnjuḵ was placed on a camel and brought to Kāzvin. He was imprisoned for a year, and subsequently exiled for life on the hostile frontier of Jund. After this Sulṭān Takīsh is said to have received a dress of honour from the Khalīfah, with the investiture [which he could neither give nor withhold] of ‘Irāk, Khurāsān, and Turkistān!

In the following year, 595 H., the Wazīr of the Khalīfah, who was at Hamadān with an army, drove out the Khwārazmī troops, upon which Takīsh again entered ‘Irāk from Khwārazm, and hostilities were renewed. The Wazīr, however, who commanded the Khalīfah’s troops, had died a few days before the forces came into contact; but the fact was kept concealed, and was not
and Ibn-ul-Ḳaṣṣāb, who was the Wazīr of the Dār-ul-Khilāfat, entered 'Irāk [with an army] to repel Sultān Takish; but he was defeated, and retired to Baghdaḍ again.

This disloyalty towards the Khalifah was a disaster’ to the empire of Takish, as Maulānā Zahir-ud-Din, Fāryābī, says in the following strophe:—

"Oh, Shāh! since 'Ājam, by the sword, to thee has been consign'd, Towards Muṣṭafā's place of repose, an army send. Then lay the Ka'bah desolate, and a fan bring, And like unto useless atoms, to the winds the dust of the Haram send. Within the Ka'bah the drapery crumbleth away; place it in thy treasury, And, for the Prophet's tomb, two or three ells of matting send. When thou shalt have a perfect infidel become, rush on Karkh, And, then, the Khalifah's head to Khiṭā send."

Although Sultān Takish had entered into a treaty with the Sultāns of Ghūr, nevertheless, through the hostility of [the Court of] Baghdaḍ, Ibn-ur-Rabbi' came from Baghdaḍ into the territories of Ghūr and Ghaznī; and, on another occasion, Ibn-ul-Khaṭīb came to the Court of Firūz-koh, and one Friday read the Khutbah, and, whilst reading it, he made use of these words in the presence of Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Din, Muḥammad-i-Sām:—“Ayyahu-l-Ghiyāṣ al-Mustaghāṣ min ul Takish uṭ-ṭāghī ul-bāghī." "Hail! prop of defence against Takish the traitor and the rebel!"

At the time of Ibn-ul-Khaṭīb's returning to Baghdaḍ, made known until after the Khalifah's troops had been defeated and put to the rout. The body of the Wazīr was exhumed, and the head cut off, and sent to Khwārazm. Faṣīḥ-ī mentions this affair, but places it several years earlier, and calls the Wazīr, Abū-l-Faṣīḥ-Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, styled Ibn-ul-Baḥīṣ; and further states that, Takish being absent from 'Irāk at the time, the Wazīr, with the aid of Kuttāgh Ínānaj, drove out the Khwārazmī troops, and pursued them as far as Būṣṭān. After this Takish again entered 'Irāk, and overthrew the Khalifah's troops.

The ascendency and power which Takish acquired by this success, instead of being a blow to the prosperity of his rule, had quite a contrary effect. It became noised abroad throughout both 'Irāks, and thereby his affairs attained a greater grandeur than before. Possibly our author may refer to the inveterate hostility of the Khalifah towards his son and grandson, and his refusing aid to the latter when hard pressed by the infidel Mughals.

The Malik-ush-Shu'arā' [Prince of Poets], Khwājah Zahir-ud-Din of Fāryāb, who died in 598 H.

A treaty with the Sultāns of Ghūr is out of the question; in fact the author's own words disprove it. See also following note, and note 4, page 265.

A correspondence found when the son of Takish acquired possession of
the father of the author, Maulānā Sarāj-ud-Dīn-i-Minhāj, was despatched to the Court of Baghdād along with him, and, on the confines of Mukrān, the Maulānā was martyred. This intimation arrived from the Court of the Khalīfah, Un-Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Ullah, about it, saying:—

"Furthermore, Sarāj-i-Minhāj perished in an affray on the road: the Almighty recompense him!"

Sultān Takīsh-i-Khwārazm Shāh was in firm alliance with Khiṭā; and trustworthy persons have stated that Sultān Takīsh had enjoined his son, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, never to quarrel or embroil himself with Khiṭā, if he desired to preserve the safety of his dominions; and it turned out as this wise monarch had said. They also relate, with respect to this subject, that the Sultān often used to say that there would be two judgment-days—one, that time which Almighty God has ordained; and the other, that which would happen when he should be removed from this world, through his son’s bad faith towards the infidels [of Chīn].

Sultān Takīsh reigned for many years, and died.

Ghāzīn confirms these hostile intentions. See note 4, page 265. In his account of the Khalīfah, Un-Nāṣir, our author states that three envoys arrived from the Khalīfah’s court to solicit aid from the two brothers, Ghīyās-ud-Dīn of Ghūr, and Muʿizz-ud-Dīn of Ghāzīn; and that they were named respectively, Imām Shams-ud-Dīn, Turk, Ibn-ur-Rabbī, and Ibn-ul-Khāṭīb; and that his father was sent along with them when they returned to Baghdād.

Some copies merely mention that he died.

4 Yazīf says that Takīsh’s last request was that his son should neither clash with, nor show resistance against, Gūr Khān, nor depart from the agreement previously settled [the tribute], because Gūr Khān was as a bulwark of defence in his rear against enemies in that quarter which he should not break down.

4 During his reign Takīsh became involved, upon more than one occasion, in hostilities with the Khiṭā-īs and the rulers of Turkistān; and, towards the close of his reign, waged war upon the Mulāḥhidah heretics in 'Irāk and Kuhistān. He gained possession of their stronghold of Arsalān-Kushāne, the strongest fortress in Asia, it is said. He then left his son, Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, in 'Irāk, with Isfahān as his place of residence, and set out on his return to Khwārazm, and reached it in Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 596 H. The heretics supposed the Wazīr, Nīgām-ul-Mulk, to have been the author of their disasters; so they assassinated him. Sultān Takīsh resolved to avenge him. An army was despatched against them under his son, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, who laid siege to Turshī. Our author chronicles his own father’s death. But says nothing of the time or place of the decease of the sovereign whose reign he is supposed to be giving an account of; and, although Takīsh reigned so near his own time, our author does not appear to have known that he reigned for twenty-five years and six months, the last six and a half years being over 'Irāk.
VI. SULTĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN, MAḤMŪD ⁴, SON OF I-YAL-ARSALĀN.

Maḥmūd, son of I-yal-Arsalān, Sultān Shāh-i-Jalāl-ud-Dīn, was a rash and impetuous monarch. When his brother, Takīsh, assumed the throne of Khwārazm, dissension arose between them, and he [Sultān Shāh] went from Khwārazm towards Khurāsān, and from thence came into the states of Ghūr, and presented himself at the Court of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām. Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and his Malik ⁴, treated him with honour and deference.

Between the Sultāns of Ghūr and Sultān Takīsh a firm compact existed; and some parts of Khurāsān had fallen into the possession of the Amir of the Ghuzz tribe, and some to the slaves of the Sanjari dynasty, whilst others had become dependencies of the Court of Ghūr and Firūz-koh, and of Bāmlān.

Sultān Shāh solicited assistance from the Ghūrī Sanjars to enable him to liberate Khurāsān from the hands of his brother and the Ghuzz Amirs. They assigned him a fief for the present, and he was furnished with all things necessary as a guest; but they continued to observe the treaty between themselves and his brother, Sultān Takīsh, and hesitated to furnish him with the aid he sought ⁷.

also. Having despatched his son against the Mulāhidahs, Sultān Takīsh was organizing forces at Khwārazm to follow, when he was suddenly taken ill. He recovered, and was advised not to undertake so long a journey, but he would proceed. He was taken ill again, and died on the way, in Ramaḍān, 596 H. See note ⁴, page 254. Many eminent and learned men flourished during his reign, and numerous works on poetry, medicine, and other sciences, were written and dedicated to him.

⁴ Styled Sultān Shāh, Maḥmūd, by others.
⁶ In a few copies there is a slight difference in this clause of the sentence, which, in them, is—“and the Maliks of Ghūr.”
⁷ After his defeat along with Mu’ayyid-i-ʿĀmah-dār, and the latter had been cut in two [see note ⁶, page 180], and Sultān Shāh’s mother had also been put to death by Takīsh. Sultān Shāh went to Shād-yākh to Mu’ayyid’s son, Tughān Shāh, who had succeeded his father, and took up his quarters in the territory of Nishāpūr. As Tughān, however, had not power to help him, he left his territory and went to the Sultāns of Ghūr [after obtaining written promises of favourable treatment], who received him well. Hostility having arisen shortly after between his brother Takīsh and the Karā Khiṭār-ī ruler, Sultān Shāh was delighted, and entered into negotiation with that sovereign,
Sultan Shâh [consequently] left the territory of Ghûr, and proceeded to Mawar-un-Nahr and Turkistân, and sought assistance from the Great Khan of Khitâ; and brought an army, and freed Khurasân from the oppressive grasp and possession of the Ghuzz chiefs, and their tyranny. He made Marw his capital, and marched an

who, to spite Takish, invited him to his Court. On leaving the Ghûrfân territory he observed to the nobles of his party that it occurred to him, although he had had to put up with some annoyance and mortification from him, that man [Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn, Ghûrf] would cause much sedition in Khurasân; and so it turned out.

He stated to the Khitâ-î ruler that the Khwârazmîs and the troops generally were well inclined towards him, and thereby induced the Khan to send forces along with him to reinstate him. On their arrival before Khwârazm, the Khitâ-îs were undeceived, and, finding that no advantage was likely to accrue by investing it, determined to retire again. Sultan Shâh now solicited that a portion of the Khitâ-î army might be sent along with him into Khurasân, against Sarakhsh. This was assented to, and Sultan Shâh and his allies suddenly appeared before it. Malik Dinâr, one of the Ghuzz chiefs, held it at that time; and most of his followers were put to the sword, and Malik Dinâr himself was dragged out of the ditch of that fortress, by the hair of his head. The rest of his followers sought shelter within the walls. After this, Sultan Shâh marched to Marw and there took up his quarters, and dismissed the Khitâ-î troops to their own territory. He continued after that to make constant incursions against Sarakhsh, until most of the Ghuzz were dispersed and driven from it, but Tughân Shâh got possession of it. In 71 Hijjah, 576 H., hostilities arose between Sultan Shâh and Tughân Shâh about the possession of Sarakhsh; and an engagement was fought between them, in which the former was victorious and obtained possession of that place, and Tûs likewise. From this success Sultan Shâh acquired considerable power, because he, contrary to Tughân Shâh, was not taken up with cymbals and lutes, and such like frivolous pursuits. He made constant raids upon Tughân's territory, until his nobles and troops became greatly harassed and distressed; and they had mostly gone over to Sultan Shâh, and no power was left to Tughân. He applied for aid both to Takish and to the Sultan of Ghûr, and once went to Hirât, in person, to solicit assistance from Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn, Ghûrf; but all was of no avail. Disappointed and depressed, he lived on miserably till Mu'ârram, 581 H., when he died. See our author's account of him at page 181, where he says "all rulers refrained from molesting him." The same night in which Tughân Shâh died, his son, Sanjar Shâh, was raised to his father's masnad, and Mangulf Beg, his slave, was made his Atabak. The latter afterwards went over to Sultan Shâh, who acquired sway over the greater part of Tughân's territory. Malik Dinâr, the Ghuzz chief, went off to Kirmân, and established himself as ruler therein; and everywhere the Ghuzz Turks were reduced to subjection, or rooted out. See page 182, note 1.

In the beginning of 582 H., Takish having entered Khurasân, Sultan Shâh marched against Khwârazm with a large army, in hopes of seizing it; but Takish, in return, marched to Marw, Sultan Shâh's capital, and sat down before it. As Sultan Shâh found he could not gain admittance into Khwâ.
army against Hirāt, and invested Fūshanj; and made raids
razm, and that Marw was in danger, he abandoned the attempt; and, on
reaching Amūfah, left his army, and taking fifty picked men with him, made
for Marw, passed through Takīsh’s army, and succeeded in throwing himself
into Marw. Next day, on hearing of this feat, Takīsh marched away to
Shād-yākh, and, in Rabī’-ul Awwal, 582 H., invested Sanjar Shāh, and his
Atā-bak, Mangulf Beg, therein. After two months an accommodation was
entered into, and several men of rank were left there by Takīsh to carry out
the terms, and he departed for Khwārazm. Mangulf Beg, as soon as Takīsh
had marched away, seized his officers and delivered them over to Sultan Shāh;
and they were kept in durance for a long time by him, until a truce was brought
about between the brothers, which, however, was but of short duration.

After the truce, Takīsh again moved against Shād-yākh, secured Mangulf
Beg, and then returned to his capital, Khwārazm. Sultan Shāh, being
ambitious of possessing Shād-yākh, now seized the opportunity and marched
against it. He invested it for a time, but, finding the defenders had the best of
it, he raised the investment and set out for Sabzwar, and invested that place.
It capitulated on terms on the intercession of a holy man, and Sultan Shāh, in
conformity with those terms, entered it, remained an hour, and departed for
Marw again. In Muḥarram, 583 H., Takīsh again appeared before Shād-
yākh, and it was forced to submit, and Mangulf Beg came forth and capitula-
ted. Sultan Takīsh entered it in Rabī’-ul-Awwal of that year. Mangulf
was compelled to disgorge the wealth he had deprived others of, and was
afterwards delivered over to the son of an Imām, whose father he had put to
death unjustly, to suffer death according to the law of kišās or retribution.
Three months afterwards, Takīsh having set out for Khwārazm, Sultan Shāh,
finding the coast clear, made another effort to get possession of Shād-yākh;
but, although the walls were for the most part destroyed, the place was obsti-
nately defended. Takīsh marched into Khurāsān again on becoming aware of
this movement on Sultan Shāh’s part, and the latter, hearing of Takīsh’s
entering Khurāsān, burnt his battering-rams and made off. Takīsh remained
all the cold season in Khurāsān, preparing for a campaign in Aṣārḵājān, and
nearly all the Amīrs of Khurāsān, who had hitherto not presented themselves,
now joined him. In the spring he returned from Aṣārḵājān, and encamped in
the plain of Rādakān of Tūs, an accommodation having been come to
between the brothers in 585 H., whereby Sultan Shāh was left in possession of
considerable territory in Khurāsān, such as Jām, Bakhurz, and other districts.
Takīsh ascended the throne at Rādakān of Tūs [but not before], and soon after
set out for Khwārazm. Peace continued between them until after the affair at
Marw-ar-Rūd with the Ghūrīs, with whom Sultan Shāh had previously been
on the most brotherly terms, in which Sultan Shāh was compelled to retire,
and his power became much broken, when, having infringed some of the stipula-
tions with his brother in 586 H., Takīsh again marched to Sarakhs, which
Sultan Shāh had made the depository of his treasures and military material.
It was taken; but, subsequently, another accommodation having been
arranged, it was restored to Sultan Shāh, who again repaired it. In 588 H.,
Takīsh having entered ‘Irāk at the solicitation of Kutlugh Inānaj [see page
167, and note 4], against Sultan Tughrīl, Saijkī, Sultan Shāh seized the
opportunity, marched with his forces against Khwārazm, and invested it; but, hearing of the return of his brother from the ‘Irāk expedition, he abandoned
the investment, and retired into his own territory. Takīsh, having passed the
winter at Khwārazm, marched against his brother, Sultan Shāh, in the follow-
upon the frontiers of the territory of Ghūr, and created tumult and disorder.

Some of the nobles and slaves of the Sanjarī dynasty joined him—such as Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughrīl, who was governor of Hirāt, and used constantly to harass and afflict the frontiers of the kingdom of Ghūr. Sultan Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, gave instructions so that his Sultanī, namely, Sultan-i-Ghāzi, Muʿizz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, from Ghaznīn, Sultan Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, from Bāmlān, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, from Sistān, all assembled, marched, and joined Sultan Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, after which they set out for the purpose of repelling Sultan Shāh.

They advanced into the valley of the river of Marw, and pitched their camp between Dazāk [Dajzaḵ?] and Marwar-Rūd, while Sultan Shāh moved his forces from Marw farther up; and, for a period of six months, the two armies, Ghūrīs and Turks, were arrayed confronting each other. Sultan Shāh used to display great audacity and boldness, and was in the constant habit of cutting off the foragers [of the Ghūrīán army], whence it arose that Malik Šuṭb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, the Turk, of Hindūstān, who, at that time, was Amir-i-Akhūr [lord of the stables—master of the horse] of the Ghaznīnī [ruler], was taken prisoner by the troops of Sultan Shāh.

Matters went on in this manner, until, at the expiration of six months, an engagement took place, and Sultan Shāh had not the power to resist his opponents, for the troops of Ghaznīn crossed the river Murghāb and attacked the army of Sultan Shāh, who, unable to repel them, or make a stand

As soon as Takīš reached Ahlward, negotiations for a peaceable settlement of their differences were entered into, and letters passed between the brothers; but, through the folly and precipitancy of Sultan Shāh, the negotiations were in abeyance, when he was betrayed by Badr-ud-Dīn, Jaʿfar, an officer in his service, who held Sarakhs for him. Jaʿfar delivered up the fortress to Takīš, together with his master’s treasures; and two days after, at the end of Ramaẓān, 589 H., Sultan Shāh died. He had reigned for twenty-two years.

* His brother, his kinsman, and his vassal.

1 To Muʿizz-ud-Dīn, Sultan of Ghaznīn, whose slave he was, and subsequently ruler of Dihīf.

2 Five copies have “attacked the camp.” Yāsā-1 barely alludes to this affair on the Murghāb.
before them, was defeated; and, perplexed and distracted, he retired towards Marw again.

Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughril, of Hirāt, who was with Sultān Shāh’s army, fell into the hands of the troops of Bāmlān; and they brought his head to the presence of Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, and he commanded them to take it to Hirāt. Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn of Bāmlān [likewise], on that day, was assigned a chattri (canopy); and he was honoured with the title of Sultān.

When they brought the head of Tughril to Hirāt, a Poet repeated these lines:

"The head of Tughril, which he carried higher than the altitude of the heavens,

And which possessed the jewel and diadem of haughtiness and pride,

Without a body, hath to Harī, a spectacle come,

For this reason, that he had an inclination for Harī in his head."

Sultān Shāh, having been thus defeated, and his army routed and dispersed, retired to Marw; and this affair and this victory took place in the year 588 H.

Sultān Shāh was [it appears] troubled with a complaint, for which every year he used to take a small quantity of a certain poison, in order to cure it; and, in that same year, the complaint increased, and as a remedy against it he took somewhat more of the antidote, and it killed him, and he died.

VII. Yūnas Khān, Son of Takish, Khwārazm Shāh 3.

Yūnas Khān was the son of Sultān Takish; and, when Sultān Takish subdued the territory of 'Irāk, and wrested it out of the hands of the Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr, the son of

3 The seventh ruler and successor of Takish was his son Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad; and neither Yūnas Khān, Malik Khān, nor 'Alī Shāh, were ever rulers of Khwārazm, but merely held subordinate governments under their father. When Sultān Takish entered 'Irāk in the beginning of 590 H., and Sultān Tughril was slain in battle [see page 167, and note 9], Takish, after securing 'Irāk, conferred Iṣfahān on Khatlāgh Inānaj, son of the Atā-bak Jahān Pahlawān, leaving the Amirs of 'Irāk with him, and the territory of Rai and its dependencies was conferred upon Takish’s son Yūnas Khān, with Mīnjuq as his Atā-bak and the commander of his troops. The whole of 'Irāk he never held. Takish did not take 'Irāk from the Atā-bak Abū-Bikr, son of Muḥammad, for a very good reason that no such Atā-bak ever held it in the reign of Takish.
the Atâ-bak, Muḥammad, and a second time caused its deliverance from Sulṭān Tughril, he conferred it upon his son, Yūnas Khān.

He was a monarch of good disposition, and used to live on good terms among his people, and brought 'Irāk under his sucession. He began to enter into contention with the troops of the Court of the Khalifah, and that untoward circumstance became a source of misfortune to the sovereignty of his father, and to their dynasty.

He reigned for a considerable time over 'Irāk, and died.

VIII. MALIK KHĀN ⁴, SON OF TAKISH, KHWAΖRAGM SHĀH.

Malik Khān was the eldest son of Sulṭān Takish, and was a mighty and arrogant monarch. He was endowed with great sagacity, wisdom, knowledge, and understanding, nobleness of mind, and intrepidity.

When his father wrested Nishāpur and other parts of that territory out of the hands of the Sanjari slaves, such as the descendants of Malik Mu-ayyid were, Sanjar Shāh, who was the son of Tughān Shāh, the son of Malik Mu-ayyid, he induced, by treaty, to come out of Nishāpur, and gave the throne of Nishāpur to his son, Malik Khān.

When he assumed the throne of that territory, he brought under his sway the tracts of country around as far as the

⁴ Whilst his father was absent on the expedition against Ghā-îr Būka Khān, the I-ghur, in 591 H., Yūnas Khān turned his arms [or rather his Atâ-bak for him] against the Khalifah’s troops in ‘Irāk. Yūnas sought help to carry out this hostile purpose, from his brother Malik Shāh, who held the government of Marw and its dependencies. Yūnas, however, before being joined by his brother, had defeated the troops of Baghdad, and had acquired great booty. The brothers met at Hamadān, where they made some stay; and, after they had passed a jovial time together, Malik Khān—or Shāh, as he is also styled—set out on his return to Khurāsān.

⁵ His title was Nāṣir-ud-Dīn.

⁶ When Sulṭān Takish entered Khurāsān in 590 H. on his way back from ‘Irāk, he heard of the illness of his son Malik Shāh, who held at that time the government of Marw. Takish directed that his son should be brought to him; and, when they reached Tūs, Sulṭān Shāh recovered. His father transferred him to the government of Nishāpur, which he had previously held, with Shārd-yāk as his residence in place of Marw, from the unwholesome climate of which his health had suffered; and an appanage was conferred upon his other son, Kūṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, in Khurāsān; and he was made his father’s companion and favourite.

⁷ For the fact, see note ⁸ to Sulṭān Shāh’s reign, page 246.
gate of 'Irāk; and a great number of eminent men assembled at his Court. He reigned for a considerable time, and died, leaving a son named Hindū Khān.

He [Hindū Khān] was an exceedingly intrepid, high-minded prince, and was endowed with a poetical genius. After the decease of his father and his grandfather, he began to collect forces in Khurāsān, and, in consequence, his uncle, Sultān Muḥammad, son of Takīsh, reprehended him. Hindū Khān composed a few elegant lines, and sent them to his uncle:—

"A hundred treasure-hoard be thine: the keen poniard mine. The palace thine: the steed and the battle-field be mine. Shouldst thou desire that hostility cease between us, Be Khwārazm thine, King! the country of Khurāsān mine."

1 Alike in all the copies. The Ḥulwān Pass may be called the "gate" of 'Irāk.

2 Malik Shāh having returned from Ḥamadān, as related in note 1, preceding page, as soon as he entered Khurāsān, despatched Arsalān Shāh, one of the nobles, to act for him at Shād-yākh, and set out himself for Khwārazm. During his absence great disorder and sedition arose in the Nīshāpūr territory in consequence of disaffected persons inciting Sanjar Shāh, son of Tughān Shāh, who had previously been relieved of the cares of independent sovereignty, to rebel against Sultān Takīsh. He had been treated with the utmost kindness, the Sultān had married his mother, and after his daughter's decease, who had been espoused by Sanjar, he had also given him his sister in marriage, and was regarded as a son. He was accordingly summoned to Khwārazm and deprived of his sight, and his fief was taken from him. This was in 591 H., and in 595 H. he died. After Sanjar Shāh's threatened outbreak, Sultān Takīsh had to march into 'Irāk against the 'Irākī nobles, in consequence of his son Yūnas Khān's acts. It was on this occasion that the Khalīṣfah's troops, after the death of their leader, the Wazīr, were defeated. Takīsh returned into Khwārazm by way of Isfahān, and conferred the government of Khurāsān upon Malik Shāh, with directions not to go to Marw because of its unhealthiness. His partiality for it, however, was so great, that it drew him there. He was taken ill soon after, and returned to Nīshāpūr; but his illness increased, and he died at the close of the year 593 H.

1 Yāsāfī, which contains so much information respecting this dynasty, merely states that Sultān Takīsh had to delay his departure on an expedition against infidels [heretics], fearing an outbreak on the part of Malik Shāh's sons. Accordingly, the Wazīr, Šadr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, Ḥarawī, was despatched to Shād-yākh to assume charge of affairs. He contrived to prevent any tumult, and sent the eldest son, Hindū Khān, to Khwārazm. Subsequently Sultān Takīsh conferred the government of Khurāsān upon his son, Ḥujj-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, who proceeded thither; and, two days after he reached Shād-yākh, the Wazīr set out to join the Sultān, in Zī-Ḥijjah, 593 H. Hindū Khān subsequently took service with his country's enemies, the Ghurīs. See note 7, page 255.

2 This line, according to two copies of the original, might be read:—"Be Khwārazm thine: mine alone the realm of Khurāsān."
Sultān Muḥammad-i-Takish wrote the following lines in reply:

"Soul of thine uncle! this ambition takes the path of insanity:
This monition will take effect neither on thee nor on me,
'Till blood, to the hilt, shall the sword's blade smear:
'Till, of one of us two, triumph's fire shall the highest blaze."

Hindū Khān was not powerful enough to offer opposition to his uncle and his armies, and he came to the territories of Ghūr, and sought assistance; but he was unable to obtain it, and he pressed onwards for Khītā. He possessed mettle, but he was not favoured by fortune; and he was martyred on the confines of Bāmiān.

IX. 'ALI SHĀH, SON OF TAKISH, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH.

Sultān 'Ali Shāh was a very great and illustrious prince; and, when the period came for his brother to assume the sovereignty, he made 'Ali Shāh ruler of Nīshāpūr. When the Sultāns of Ghūr conquered 4 Nīshāpūr, Malik 'Alī Shāh, with other Maliks of Khwārazm, under terms of treaty, came out of that city, and presented themselves before Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, and the victorious Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn; and they brought Sultān 'Ali Shāh [with them] to Ghaznīn. When Sultān Muḥammad [of Khwārazm] appeared, the second time, before the gate of Nīshāpūr, and Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn 6, under terms of convention, came out [and surrendered the city], the Sultān sent him back to Ghūr 7, and the Sultāns of Ghūr sent back Malik 'Ali Shāh also, to his brother, Sultān Muḥammad.

3 His title was Tāj-ud-Dīn. He had been placed in charge of a part of 'Irāk, with Isfahān as the seat of government, some time before the accession of his brother Kūtīl-ud-Dīn, and when the Ghūril Sultāns appeared before Shād-yāk, in Ṣajar, 597 H.—particulars of which are given under his brother's reign - Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, who had recently left 'Irāk, chanced to be there, together with a number of his other brothers' nobles and officers.

4 Nīshāpūr capitulated on terms only. They were not observed fairly; and 'Alī Shāh and the Khwārazmī nobles and officers with him were treated with great indignity by the Ghūrīs. See note 7, page 255.

5 The titles Sultān and Malik are used here indiscriminately.

6 A kinsman of Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn and his brother.

7 Together with his garrison; and they had dresses of honour given to them, and were treated with the utmost consideration, in order to show the Ghūrīs how to behave to fallen foes.
The latter bestowed the throne of Şafahān and 'Irāk upon his brother, 'Alī Shāh, and, for a considerable period, he continued in that country; when, suddenly, he became overcome with fear and apprehension from some cause or other, and left it, and came into the territories of Ghūr, and presented himself at the Court of Firūz-koh.

At that period, the throne of Firūz-koh had passed to Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, son of Muḥammad-i-Sām; and Sulṭān Muḥammad despatched envoys from Khwārazm to the presence of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, so that 'Alī Shāh was seized and placed in durance. At length, a party of 'Alī Shāh's followers devoted themselves to the cause of their master, and martyred Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Muḥammad-i-Sām.

When the throne of the kingdom of Ghūr had passed to the sons of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, son of [Muḥammad-i-]Sām, an army from Khurāsān* arrived there in order to take possession of Ghūr, as will subsequently be related; and the Ghūrlāns caused 'Alī Shāh to be set at liberty, on the day that the Khwārazmī forces gained possession of Firūz-koh.

'Alī Shāh proceeded to Ghaznīn, and there he continued as Malik for a considerable time*. Subsequently, Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, despatched persons who entered into engagements with him on favourable terms; so much so that 'Alī Shāh, placing faith therein, was induced to leave Ghaznīn, and join the Khwārazmī army and reached Tīgīn-ābād of Garmsir. A party was [subsequently] appointed and despatched from Khwārazm, and in the year 609 H., they martyred 'Alī Shāh.

X. SULṬĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF TAKISH, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH.

Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, had five sons; the

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* Khwārazmī troops, though no doubt chiefly natives of Khurāsān—the Khurāsānī contingent.
* One copy alone of the original contains the word "Malik." For a correct account of these matters, see the reign of Maḥmūd, in Section XVII., for our author seems to have been determined not to relate anything not tending to the glorification of the Ghūrlīs, and often distorts facts to suit his purpose.
* Before he came to the throne his title was Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, but on his accession he assumed that of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the title borne by his father.
first, Har-roz Shāh; the second, Ghūři Shānastī; the third, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī; the fourth, Arzalū Shāh; and the fifth, Āk Sūltān.

He was a great and potent monarch, wise, valiant, munificent, a patron of the learned, a conqueror, and impetuous; and, whatever qualifications it was desirable a great sovereign and just ruler should possess, the Almighty had endowed him with.

During the lifetime of his father, he bore the title of Kuṭb-ud-Dīn; and, when his brother, Malik Khān, died, his father conferred upon him the throne of Nishāpūr, and Malik Sharaf-ud-Dīn, Masʿūd-i-Hasan, was appointed to be his Atā-bak or governor; and, after some time, the command of the forces of Khwārazm was conferred upon him.

On the side of his mother, likewise, he was a prince of [the house of] Kishchāk and very great, his mother being the daughter of Kadr Khān of Kishchāk; and, from the days of his boyhood, the marks of intelligence and cleverness shone clearly and conspicuously on his brow. Every expedition on which his father sent him, in the direction of Jund and Turkistān, he brought to such a successful issue as was desirable, in fact even a better than could have been anticipated.

At the period when death overtook his father, Sūltān Takish, Muhammad was absent in the direction of Jund and Turkistān, and, when he obtained information of that

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3 This name is very doubtful. Three copies of the text, in two or more places, agree in the above reading; but others, again, have Nashānastī, Bashānastī, Bashastī, and Shansafī, all of which are unintelligible; whilst other authors, such as Guzīdah, Jahān-Ārā, and others, have Ghūrf Sānjī, which, they say, signifies "the Ghūrf fled."

4 The name of the first son here mentioned varies considerably in different copies. The majority have Har-roz Shāh, but the St. Petersburg copies have Bīrūz [Brūz?], Nīmroz, and Pīr Shāh, respectively. This last name is confirmed by other authors, as will be mentioned farther on. The name of the fourth also is written Azarlı, Arzalı, and Uzurlı. The whole of these names are omitted altogether in most copies of the text. Other writers say he had seven sons, three only of whom attained sovereign power. Guzīdah mentions their names as follows:—Āk-Sūltān, Aẓlāk [one copy, Üzlāk], Kurjā [one copy, Būja; Yāfā has Kūjāe] Tīğn[?], Uḡūl Malik, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn [Pīr Shāh], and Kukan-ud-Dīn, Ghūrf Shānastī. See note 3 above. Yāfā mentions another, Tīmūr Malik. See note 3, page 285.

4 Nothing of the kind: our author commences this reign with a totally incorrect statement. He was engaged in the siege of Turshīz when the news of
circumstance, he returned to Khwārazm, and assumed the throne; and, in the year 595 H., he brought the dominions of his father under his own jurisdiction.

He conferred the throne of Nishāpūr upon his brother, 'Ali Shāh, as has been already stated; and despatched an envoy to the Courts of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and sought for peace; and I, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, heard from one of the trustworthy [persons] of the Maliks of Ghūr the statement, that one of the messages and requests of Sulṭān Muhammad was this:—"I, Muḥammad-i-Takīsh, who am their ser-

his father's death was received, and another week would have been sufficient to have taken it. His father's ministers kept the matter secret, and sent off to acquaint Sulṭān Muḥammad of it. He concealed the matter from his army, and, feigning illness, prepared to retire. The Mulāḥidahs sent him valuable presents, and offered an additional sum of 100,000 dinārs as tribute. The Sulṭān proceeded to Sharistānāh, performed the funeral ceremonies of his father, and set out with all haste for Khwārazm. This is a most important reign, and such events as our author has related—a number of most important ones have been passed over—are either incorrectly stated, or moulded to the glorification of the Ghūrs: hence the notes here will be found, I fear, voluminous, and, were I to notice every thing, I might almost fill a volume.

6 Not so: his father died in Ramāzān, 596 H., and Sulṭān Muḥammad ascended the throne in Shawwāl of that year.

7 See note 3, page 251.

8 This statement is ridiculous, and totally unworthy of credit; moreover, the events which follow prove the contrary. No sooner had the Sulṭāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn obtained information of the death of Sulṭān Takīsh, "than the devil," as one of the authors from whom this extract is taken says, "excited their envy and ambition; and they, without loss of time, despatched a force to Marw under Muḥammad-i-Khānak, whilst they followed at the head of an immense force, including ninety great elephants like mountains in appearance." On reaching Tūs they plundered and devasted the country, and slaughtered the people, and then marched to Shād-yākh. The Sulṭān's brother, Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, who had lately returned from 'Irāk, happened to be there, and the Ghūrīs obtained possession of the place by capitulation, a tower having fallen from the number of spectators in it, which they took as a good omen. This our author turns into a miracle in the account of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, who, by his account, was a miracle-worker. This was in Rajab, 597 H. The place was given up to plunder, and 'Alī Shāh, the Sulṭān's officials, and the chief men of the place, were inhumanly treated and sent off with the garrison to the capital of Ghūr. By the fall of this place the Ghūrīs acquired temporary possession of the whole country, as far as Būstān and Jūrjān. This effected, the brothers left a strong force at Nishāpūr [Shād-yākh was a portion of that city, or rather a fortified suburb] under Malik Žiyā-ud-Dīn; and Ghiyās-ud-Dīn repaired to Hirāt, and Shihāb-ud-Dīn into the Kuhistān against the Mulāḥidahs of that part, and afterwards returned to Hirāt likewise. As soon as Sulṭān Muḥammad heard of these troubles in Khurāsān, he, in Šī-Ḥijjah of the same year [597 H.], set out at the head of his troops, and early in 598 H. encamped before Shād-yākh. After some skirmishing outside, the
vant, make this request, that the Sultāns would be pleased to accept my services; and, although I am not possessed of the worthiness of being a son, it behoveth that the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu‘izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, should take to wife my mother, Khudāwandah-i-Jahān, and that he should accept me, Muḥammad-i-Takish, as his son and servant, in order also that I, his servant, may, by the name on the coin* of that august monarch, and the Khuṭbah of that sovereign of exalted dignity, conquer the whole world; and, for the servants of the Court of the Sultāns—the asylum of the world—draw the sword, and become one of those servants."

When this overture had been delivered, the purport coincided with the inclinations of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, but did not accord with the sentiments of Sultān Mu‘izz-ud-Dīn [the person chiefly interested], and he declined to ratify it*. The latter Sultān assembled his troops, and marched into Khurāsān, and subdued the whole of that territory; but, when he subsequently set out on his return, Sultān Muḥammad brought an army, and again recovered Khurāsān.

Whenever the Sultāns of Ghūr [and Ghaznīn] used to march into Khurāsān, Sultān Muḥammad used to retire [as they advanced] to the distance of two or three marches before them; and when they fell back he would follow them up at the distance of two or three marches'. In

Ghūrīs retired within the walls "like mice to their holes," and the battering-rams were placed in position, and the ditch filled, when the Ghūrīs capitulated. They were treated honourably, and sent back to Ghūr, "with dresses of honour, in order to show the Ghūrīs how to treat fallen foes." The Sultān, after this affair, directed that the walls of Shād-yākh should be razed. All these events certainly look as though Sultān Muḥammad had solicited the Sultāns of Ghūr to accept his vassalage. After this the Sultān proceeded to Marw and Sarakhs, which last mentioned place was held by his nephew, Hindū Khān, and held by him for the Sultāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn. On the approach of his uncle Hindū Khān fled to Ghūr; but, as the governor in charge of Sarakhs refused to open the gates, Sultān Muḥammad left a force to take it, and continued his march to Khwārasm by way of Marw to prepare for a campaign against Hirāt. In Zīl-Hijjah of that year he encamped in the plain of Rādakān; and having mustered his forces, both Turk and Tājīl, he commenced his march, and in due time his tents were pitched in sight of Hirāt.

* The text differs here in some copies. Some have "by the name and coin," others "by the name of the coin," &c., both of which are meaningless.
* Not desiring to be roasted in a bath. His first title was Shihāb-ud-Dīn.
1 The reader would imagine, from the above, that the Ghūrīān Sultāns were
short, he never sustained a complete overthrow, and he used to give proofs of his skill and bravery; but, as those Sulṭāns were monarchs of great power and magnificence, he was unable to cope with them effectively.

When the Sulṭāns of Ghūr died, Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, appeared before the gates of Hirāt, and

in the constant habit of invading Khurāsān; but the facts are mentioned in the preceding note 7, page 255.

Any one reading the above would imagine that Hirāt sustained one siege only by the Khwārazmī forces during this reign, and that one after Shihāb-ud-Dīn’s decease; and our author, whose idea of epitomizing events appears to have been to leave out three out of four, or combine three into one, has done the latter here. Hirāt sustained no less than three sieges, and one of these occurred before the death of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and the second long before the death of Shihāb-ud-Dīn. The first occurred at the close of 598 H., upon which occasion, the Khwārazmī army having invested it, after the battering-rams had been freely piled on either side, the governor, ‘Īzz-ud-Dīn, ‘Umr, Maragḥānī, a man of experience, saw no other remedy than to submit. He sent his son to the Sulṭān’s presence, and the terms were agreed upon, and a large sum of money was paid as ransom.

Hearing of the investment of Hirāt, the Sulṭāns of Ghūr and Ghaznī made all haste to endeavour to relieve it, and recover what they had lost in western Khurāsān; and Shihāb-ud-Dīn, at the head of a large army, advanced by way of Tāl-ḵūn for that purpose. Sulṭān Muḥammad thought it advisable to retire, which he did, and proceeded towards Marw by way of Marw-ar-Rūd. When he reached Sarakhs he halted, and negotiations went on between him and the Ghūrīs, who sought the cession of some portion of Khurāsān, the details of which are too long for insertion here. These events took place in 599 H.

Shihāb-ud-Dīn, shortly after, however, heard of the death of his brother, and he hastily withdrew from Khurāsān, leaving Muḥammad Khamrak, the greatest of the Ghūrī nobles, and the champion of Ghūr, to hold Marw. The latter, however, having been overthrown by a body of Khwārazmī troops, threw himself into that place, but it was captured, and his head was struck off and sent to the Sulṭān at Khwārazm.

This success so greatly elated the Khwārazmī nobles and ministers that they advised the Sulṭān to march again against Hirāt, and to take possession of it, whilst the Ghūrīs were fighting among themselves about the late Sulṭān’s inheritance, as the Hirātīs would receive him with open arms. In the month of Jāmādī-ul-Awwal, 600 H.—Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn had died in the previous year [some say he died in 598 H., and others in 597 H.]-the Sulṭān appeared before Hirāt for the second time; and, after immense stones had been poured into the bāzārs and streets of the place, negotiations for surrender were again opened by Alb-i-Ghāzī, the governor, sister’s son of the two Ghūrfān Sulṭāns; and after stipulations had been entered into for the safety of life and property, and the payment of a large sum of money, the place was given up.

Some years passed between this affair and the next investment of Hirāt, during which time Shihāb-ud-Dīn invaded Khwārazm, and had to beat a precipitate retreat, particulars of which will be found under his reign farther on. Shihāb-ud-Dīn had subsequently entered into a treaty of peace with Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and had been assassinated, Khwārazm Shāh had
Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Husain-i-Kharmil, Ghüri, came out and paid homage to him; and the Sultân brought all Khurâsân under his sway. When, by his command, Husain-i-Kharmil was seized by his troops, a Khwâjah of Hîrât, named Sa'd-ud-Din, a native of Tirmiz, succeeded in getting away from the Khwârazmî army, and threw himself into annexed the Ghaznîn territory, and the successor of Sultân Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn had acknowledged Sultân Muhammed's suzerainty before the next investment of Hîrât took place, on which occasion the waters of the Harf-rûd were dammed up; and 'Izz-ud-Dîn, Husain-i-Kharmil, one of the Ghûrfân nobles, had in the meanwhile become Wâli of Hîrât and its dependencies, which he held of Sultân Ma'hmûd, son of the late Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn. Kharmil, being suspicious of the upshot of the affairs of Ghûr, sent to the Sultân repeatedly tendering his allegiance to him. The Sultân was occupied with the affairs of Khitâ-î at the time, and could not proceed to Hîrât, as Kharmil solicited him to do, and to take possession of it and its dependencies. At length the Sultân set out for Khurâsân, and, having taken possession of Balkh by the way, he marched by way of Jazûrân to Hîrât. He entered it in Jamâdî-ul-Awwal, 607 H. After this Ma'hmûd of Ghûr acknowledged his suzerainty, and read the Khutbah, and coined money in the Sultân's name, and sent him costly presents, including a white elephant. Kharmîl was continued in the government of Hîrât with a salary of 250,000 gold dînârs yearly out of the revenues of Khurâsân.

After the Sultân returned to Khwârazm, and became occupied in the affairs of Khitâ-î, and a rumour had spread abroad that the Sultân had been taken prisoner by the Khitâ-îs, Kharmil became disaffected, and began intriguing with the Ghûrfân ruler, and again coined money in his name [from this it would appear that the governor of every province had a mint, or rather coined money, at the provincial capital], and apologized for the past; but the Ghûrfân, being enraged at his past conduct, resolved upon hostility, and determined to try and oust him from Hîrât, and advanced with an army towards it. Kharmil, who in the meantime had heard of the Sultân's safety, fearing the consequences of his acts, and in order to palliate them, called upon the Khwârazmî nobles stationed in eastern Khurâsân to aid him in resisting the Ghûrfân. They came to his assistance with a body of troops, and, after oaths and stipulations of safe-conduct, Kharmîl came out, and in combination they routed the forces of Ghûr; and this blow quite broke the little power still possessed by them. The Khwârazmî nobles now wrote to Sultân Muhammed, saying that Hîrât was like a forest, and Kharmîl like a lion within it, and thought the time propitious for getting rid of him. They kept on good terms with him until the Sultân's reply reached them, after which they invited him to a consultation. When the council broke up, the Malik of Zawzan, Kâwâm-ud-Dîn, invited Kharmîl to his quarters to a feast and drinking bout. He excused himself under plea of want of leisure. Kâwâm-ud-Dîn seized his bridles as though determined to take no denial, and gave a sign to the rest of the nobles and chiefs along with him, who drew their swords, dispersed Kharmîl's followers, and dragged him on foot to their tents. He was sent away a prisoner to the fortress of Salomad of Khwâf (another historian says "of Zawzan"); it is probably the Salâ-Mîhr of our author; see page 283), and his effects were seized, and a short time afterwards his head was sent to Khwârazm.
the city, and, for a period of eleven months, he continued
to hold the place.

The Khwārazmī army, by a contrivance devised by
Husain-i-Kharmīl, dammed up the water of the river of
Hirāt above the city, and all round became like unto a sea;
and matters assumed such an aspect, that, if the city had
not been entirely surrounded by walls, the water, which
rose higher than the housetops, would have overwhelmed
it. As it was, upon one or two occasions the ground opened
in the middle of the city, and water issued forth from the
midst, but it was diverted [and the danger obviated].

For a period of eight months hostilities continued
between the defenders of the city and the Khwārazmī
forces in boats; and, when eleven months of the invest-
ment had passed, Sultān Muḥammad-i-Takish arrived from
Khwārazm, and gave directions that the dyke [which
kept the water in] should be opened; and, when the water
flowed out, it carried along with it about three hundred

8 The steward or deputy in Kharmīl's employ, Zaydī by name, a man of
acuteness and cunning, managed to throw himself into the fortress. Seeing the
state of affairs, and shut himself up there. He was joined by Kharmīl's fol-
lowers and all the vagabonds and rascals of the city, among whom he distributed
the wealth in Kharmīl's treasury, and defied the Khwārazmī forces. It so
happened that the Sultān, on account of the disaffection of a relative of his
mother, who held the government of Shād-yākh, had come into Khurāsān at
this juncture, and had reached Sarakhs on his return. Zaydī now began to
fear the consequences of his temerity, and to plead as an excuse that he could
not place any confidence in the Khwārazmī nobles for his safety, and that he
was merely awaiting the arrival of the Sultān at Hirāt to give it up. This the
nobles communicated to the Sultān, and solicited him to come. He did so,
and, on being made acquainted with Zaydī's doings, his anger was so much
kindled, that he ordered that the waters should be dammed up. When the waters
had accumulated sufficiently the dam was opened, the waters rushed in, and one
of the principal bastions fell. The ditch near was filled up with trees and
rubbish, and rendered practicable for the troops; and one day, whilst Zaydī
was entertaining his vagabond followers, the Khwārazmī soldiers planted the
Sultān's standards on the walls, rushed in, slew them, and carried the place.
Zaydī sought to get away unnoticed, but was seized, and dragged before the
Sultān by the hair of his head. After this the Sultān directed that plunder
should cease, and the shops were again opened; and thus was Hirāt freed from
the tyranny of Zaydī and his gang. As Kharmīl had been put to death some
time before, his having advised the damming up of the Hāf-Rūd is, like many
other of our author's statements, purely imaginary.

4 Boats are not mentioned in all the copies.

5 Two paragraphs before this our author states that Sultān Muḥammad
appeared before the gates of Hirāt and invested it, but now says quite dif-
ferently.
ells of the walls of the city, and a breach was thereby effected; and, after fifteen days' fighting, the city was taken by assault.

After this success the Sulṭān marched to Balkh, and gained possession of that place likewise; and Malik 'Imād-ud-Dīn, 'Umr, Fiwārī⁶ [native of Fiwār], who was governor of the province of Balkh, on the part of the Sulṭānīs of Bāmiān, was sent away [as a prisoner] to Khwārazm. From thence the Sulṭān set out towards Māwar-un-Nahr and Turkistān; and the whole of the Malikīs and Sulṭānīs of the Afsāsiyābī dynasty, who held territory in the countries of Māwar-un-Nahr and Farghānāh, presented themselves before him.

He then turned his face towards Ḫūlij⁷ Khān of Khītā-i,

⁶ In some copies he is called Malik Imād-ul-Mulk, Āhwāzī; and in some it is stated that he went, in others that he was sent, and in others that he was taken. Balkh was surrendered before the last investment of Hirāt, as mentioned in the preceding note. Imād-ud-Dīn, having been found acting perfidiously, instead of being put to death, was removed from the government of Balkh and sent to Khwārazm, and was employed elsewhere.

⁷ Our author has misplaced the order of these events and related them incorrectly, as well as confused one with another. After the death of Sulṭān Shīhāb-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, in 602 H., Sulṭān Muḥammad, having no cause for anxiety respecting the safety of his dominions in Khurāsān, turned his attention to Māwar-un-Nahr, which had remained in subjection to the infidels of Khītā-i since the defeat of Sulṭān Sanjār. The chiefs of that territory had repeatedly solicited him to deliver them from the yoke of those infidels, and, being quite wearied and disgusted with the constant arrivals of agents from Gūr Khān demanding payment of the tribute, which he had purposely kept in arrears, and which his father, Takīgh, had agreed to pay to the sovereigns of Khītā-i for assistance rendered to him against his brother, Sulṭān Shāh, he now readily acceded to these requests, considering himself powerful enough to ignore all future payments, which he had long considered dishonourable to his sovereignty.

Bukhārā at this time was held by a mean upstart named Sanjār Malik. It was annexed, and the upstart met with his deserts. The Sulṭān then despatched an agent to 'Ugmān, Sulṭān of Samākand, of the race of Afsāsiyāb, and of the family of Bukhārī Khān, the antagonist of the latter Sāmānīs princes. He was already disaffected towards Gūr Khān, for he had solicited the hand of a daughter of the latter, and had been refused; so he became secretly a zealous ally of the Sulṭān. This was in 606 H.; and, after consulting with the Sulṭān of Sulṭānīs—as 'Ugmān had been hitherto styled—and his chiefs, Sulṭān Muḥammad returned to Khwārazm to prepare for the campaign.

In the eastern parts of Gūr Khān's dominions, his great vassals at this period began to act rebelliously; and Kojak [called Koshlak and Kūshlak by some writers, but not Kaghlu, as our author writes it], son of Tān-nāk [also written Tayā-nak] Khān, the Nāmān ruler, who had fled from the power of Chīnīgiz Khān, and had sought Gūr Khān's protection, was at his court, and ready to take advantage of any outbreak against his protector.
and, throughout the territories of Khiṭā-ī and the country of Turkistān, as far as Bīlāsā-ghūn and Kāshghar, the Khwābah was read for him, and the coin was impressed with his name. The forces of Khiṭā-ī, which, in point of numbers, were beyond account and computation, advanced to encounter him. At the head of these forces was Bānīko of Ṭarāz, a Turk of great age and wisdom, but victorious in battle. He had fought forty-five engagements, in the whole of which he had been victorious; and he had defeated Sulṭān Sanjar, son of Malik Shāh, and overthrown Sulṭān Muʿizz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-ī-Sām, before Andkhūd; and, at this time, he was at the head of that army.

When the battle ensued, Sulṭān Muḥammad received divine succour and heavenly assistance, and overthrew the host of Khiṭā-ī, and took Bānīko of Ṭarāz prisoner, and he was converted to the true faith by means of the Sulṭān himself, and was treated with respect and honour.

Sulṭān Muḥammad thought this opportunity propitious, and such as he had long sought. He accordingly marched to Samrkan, and, being joined by Ḥusmān and other vassals, set out to invade Gūr Khān's dominions, reached the Jāfūn of Fanākat, and crossed. Having advanced into the territory of Ṭarāz, the Khwārazmī forces found Bānīko [several writers call him Ṭānīko], of Ṭarāz—famous as Jai-tūmūr, son of Kaldūz, elder brother of Burāḵ, the Chamberlain, who subsequently usurped the government of Kīrmān—the commander-in-chief of Gūr Khān's troops, at the head of a numerous, brave, and well-equipped army, drawn up to receive them. An obstinate and bloody battle ensued, in Rabiʿ-ut-Āwwal, 607 H., which terminated in the complete overthrow of the Khiṭā-ī forces. Bānīko, of Ṭarāz, was wounded and taken, as related on the next page, and booty to a vast amount fell into the hands of the victors. This victory filled all the neighbouring rulers with fear and awe of Sulṭān Muḥammad's power, and he now assumed the title of "The Second Alexander."

In the previous year Māzandarān had been annexed, and in this same year [607 H.] Kīrmān was also added to his dominions. Who Kūltj Khān was it would be difficult to tell; he is a totally different person to Kojljak [Košljak], by our author's own account, and cannot be intended for Gūr Khān, as he mentions that ruler subsequently. Kāshīūl is evidently mistaken for Kojljak. Bānīko, of Ṭarāz, was Gūr Khān's general, as stated above.

* How absurd, or rather deceptive, our author's statements are, compared with the accounts of writers who state facts, or who, at least, knew what they were writing about! Bānīko was wounded in this severe encounter, and was left on the field with only a slave-girl standing over him. A Khwārazmī soldier coming up was about to cut off his head, when the girl cried out to him not to slay him, for it was Bānīko. He was taken accordingly to the Sulṭān's presence, and afterwards sent to Khwārazm as a trophy with the bulletin announcing the victory. When Sulṭān Muḥammad returned to Khwārazm, on the termination of this campaign, he ordered Bānīko to be put to death, and
A reliable person among the trustworthy has related, that, when Bānīko of Tarāz became a Musalmān, Sultan Muḥammad was wont to show him great deference and respect, and used constantly to send for him, and was in the habit of questioning him respecting the past events [in the history] of Khiṭā-i, and the previous Malikūs [kings] who had fought with him in the forty-five encounters he had been engaged in, the whole of which the Sultan made inquiry about of him. Upon one occasion, when engaged in such conversation, the Sultan inquired of him, saying:—

"In all these battles which you have fought, and amid the monarchs you have defeated, which among the whole of them was the most valiant and the sturdiest in battle?" Bānīko replied:—"I found none more valiant, more impetuous in battle, or more intrepid than the Ghūrī⁹; and, if he had had an army along with him refreshed and not worn out, I should never have been able to beat him; but, he had retreated before the army of Khwārazm, and but a small number of cavalry remained with him, and their horses had become thin and weak." Sultan Muḥammad replied:—"You speak truly." The mercy of God be upon them!

Sultan Muḥammad having gained such a great success, the second year after, again assembled an army, and led a force of 400,000 effective cavalry, both horses and riders arrayed in defensive armour¹, into Khiṭā-i, and completely his body was cast into the river. There is not a word as to his having been converted to Islam. This was the "deference and respect" he received. What follows, as to the conversations about the Ghūrīs, must be taken at its true value. See also note ⁹, page 283.

⁹ Here again we see the determination to glorify all things Ghūrī. One of the oldest copies has "if his army and himself had been refreshed," &c. For a correct account of this affair, see the reign of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, otherwise Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, Section XVII.

¹ After the victory gained over Bānīko, the Sultan marched against the Malik of Utrār, who, notwithstanding the Sultan had invited him to sever his connexion with Gur Khān, refused. His chiefs, however, on the approach of the Khwārazm-Shāhī troops, forced him to submit. He came out clothed in a winding sheet, and with a sword hanging about his neck, but was pardoned on the understanding that he should be removed together with his family, kinsmen, and dependents to Nisā, in Upper Khūrāsān, and Sultan Muḥammad placed a governor of his own in Utrār. After this, the Sultan returned to Samarkand, and bestowed a daughter in marriage upon Sultan Uṣmān, and leaving an intendant of his own at Samarkand, returned to Khwārazm. It was at this time that he gave orders to put Bānīko to death; and ambassadors
overthrew Gür Khān, who was the Great Khān of [Kārā] Khiṭā-i. The whole of the horses, camels, and other

from all parts hastened to tender their masters’ submission; and it was at this period that dissatisfaction showed itself at Jund among the remaining vassals of Kādir Khān [called Kadr Khān by our author, and some few other writers, who appear to have copied from him], and therefore Sulṭān Mūḥammad did not rest long at his capital, but put his forces in motion and marched to Jund. After exterminating those rebels, Sulṭān ‘Uṣmān and his family took up their residence in Khwārazm; and some authors state that he was soon after, in the year 609 H., put to death. Having disposed of the affairs of Jund, information reached the Sulṭān that 30,000 of Gür Khān’s troops had appeared before Samrķand, and invested the city.

The Khiṭā-i forces used their utmost endeavours to take it, but their incessant attacks were of no avail. The Sulṭān was hastening his preparations to relieve it, when the Khiṭā-i forces were recalled to act against Kojlak, the Nāemān, who was now making head again. The Sulṭān marched to Samrķand, and, having been joined by additional forces from various parts, set out from Samrķand against A’ nak [or I’nāk, or Igānāk?], the ruler of which was in alliance with Gür Khān. He had been summoned to submit to the Sulṭān upon very favourable terms, but, trusting to the strength of his fortress, refused. A force was detached against him, and he was compelled to submit.

The Sulṭān, who had heard of Kojlak’s successes, became more ambitious than ever, and Kojlak entered into secret negotiations with him, and incited him to another invasion of Gür Khān’s territory. The agreement was, that whoever could first dispossess Gür Khān of the territories of Kāshgār and Khūtān as far as the Jiṅān should have them; and, in case the Sulṭān did so, Kojlak was to have the remainder. Gür Khān, having obtained information respecting the Sulṭān’s movements, also prepared to oppose him.

The Sulṭān had traitors also in his camp. Two of his great vassals, the governor of Samrķand, and the Aṣfahād [also written Asfahed, the title borne by the Malik of Źabariştān and Rustamdar], despatched agents to Gür Khān secretly, and offered to desert the Sulṭān with their troops on the day of battle, if, in case of success, the former should have Khwārazm and the latter Khūrāsān assigned to him as the price of his treachery. This was guaranteed; and on the day of the engagement, when the ranks of the two armies were drawn up in array, the left wing of the Khiṭā-i attacked the right of the Khwārazms; and, as agreed upon, the two nobles with their troops, who appear to have been stationed in the right wing, retired from the field, and the Sulṭān’s right wing was forced back and broken. In the meantime, the latter’s left wing broke the right of the Khiṭā-i and routed them, and the centres of both armies fell upon each other. The wings on either side began to plunder, and neither party knew whether they were the conquerors or conquered. It was usual with the Sulṭān to disguise himself on the day of battle, by dressing in the costume of the enemy; and on this occasion, in the utter confusion which ensued, the centres of both armies having become disengaged from each other, the Sulṭān got mixed up with the enemy’s troops, and not being recognized by his attendants, for some days he was in the greatest danger in the very camp of the enemy. Finding an opportunity, however, he succeeded in getting away, reached the river of Fanākāt, and restored fresh life to his troops. The news of the Sulṭān’s disappearance, however, had spread into all parts of his dominions. Some said he had been killed, some that he had been
cattle, baggage, and followers of the army of Khiṭā-ī were captured, and the Great Khān retreated discomfited before him. Suddenly Kašlū Khān, the Tātar, who had come from Turkistān, fell upon Gūr Khān, attacked him, and made him captive; and the whole of the dominions of Khiṭā were left in the possession of Sultān Muḥammad-i-
made prisoner; for no authentic account had been received, and the ambitious were ready to take advantage of it.

As soon as he joined his army, messengers were sent out into all parts to intimate his safety; and the Sultān returned to Khwārazm to prepare for a fresh campaign. It was on the occasion of the Sultān's disappearance, that Kharmīl of Hirāt became disaffected, and began intriguing with the Ghūrās.

The Khiṭā-ī troops on their retreat through their own territory slew and plundered their own people, and devastated the whole country until they reached Bilās-ghūn, called Ghū-bālīgh, by the Mughals. On reaching that city they found the gates closed against them, for the inhabitants made sure that Sultān Muḥammad would annex that part, and that he must be following Gūr Khān's troops with his army, and therefore refused to admit them. All the promises and oaths of Gūr Khān and his Wazīr were of no avail; and the place was attacked and defended for sixteen days, in expectation of the arrival of the Khwārazmī troops. At last it was taken and given up to plunder and massacre, which went on for three days and nights, and a vast amount of booty was taken by the troops.

Two or three writers mention these occurrences immediately after the first defeat of Gūr Khān's troops, when Bānīko was taken; but this is impossible, as, very shortly after the sacking of Bilās-ghūn, Gūr Khān was seized by Kojlak, and his dynasty terminated after it had lasted ninety-five years. The cause of it was this:—Gūr Khān II.—for he was the second of the name—was desirous of enriching himself and replenishing his coffers, by making his nobles and chiefs disgorge the booty they had acquired by the sacking of Bilās-ghūn and country round. This caused great disorders, which Kojlak becoming aware of, and finding that Gūr Khān had been almost deserted by his troops, suddenly surrounded his camp. Kojlak treated him with respect, but possessed himself of great part of his territory. This took place in 610 H., and two years after Gūr Khān was put to death—some say he died.

Most works are, more or less, defective with respect to the Sultān's campaigns against Gūr Khān, and dates are not often mentioned. The Raṣāmat-uss-Safā only mentions one battle, others mention two; but Guzīdah says there were three battles in all, but gives no details. Here, I regret to say, my excellent guide, Vāfa-ī, which gives full details of two battles, already mentioned, becomes somewhat abrupt with respect to the affairs of Gūr Khān, and, possibly, there may be an hiatus in the MS., as, from the context, a third and more decisive battle is implied; and it must have been after a third encounter that Bilās-ghūn was sacked, and Kojlak was enabled to seize the person of Gūr Khān. The second encounter took place in 610 H., and Fašīl-ī, under the events of 612 H., mentions that, in that year, Sultān Muḥammad acquired sway over the whole of Māwar-un-Nahr, which had continued in the possession of the infidels of Karā-Khiṭā-ī, and the Mughals, since Sultān Sanjar's defeat. On the other hand, however, most writers state that Gūr Khān was taken prisoner in 610 H., and died in 612 H.

2 Gross exaggeration, as shown by the notes.
Takish. The Sultan of Samarkand, and the Afrasiyabi Sultan, he directed should be removed from Samarkand, and some of them were martyred.

From thence [Samarkand?] Sultan Muhammad advanced into Iрак, and the territories of Iрак, Azarbajian, and Fars fell into his hands. He took the Ata-bak Sa'd captive in battle, as has already been stated, and the Ata-bak Yus-bak was likewise put to flight. He placed his son, Sultan

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3 All the copies, except one of the oldest, are minus the words “from Samarkand.” Our author inverts the order of most of the events of this reign, as the previous notes show.

4 Our author, on a previous page, has mentioned the hostility existing between the 'Abbasi Khalifahs and Sultan Takish, Muhammad’s father; and the arrival in Ghur of ambassadors from Baghdad to negotiate with the brothers, Sultan's Ghryga-ud-Din and Shihab-ud-Din, and his own father’s return to Baghdad along with them; and, likewise, the Khalfah’s continued enmity towards the son of Takish also. No sooner had Sultan Takish died, than the Sultan’s of Ghur and Ghaznī hastened to take advantage of the Khalifah’s recommendation, notwithstanding our author’s absurd statement at page 255. He was too orthodox a Musalman, of course, to mention such a horrid circumstance as the Khalifah, Un-Nasir’s, despatching an agent to the infidel Chingiz Khan, prior to the period of this expedition into Iрак, inciting him to make war upon Sultan Muhammad—a Musalman, and of which faith he [Un-Nasir] was himself the patriarch and head! It was upon this occasion that, fearing to send a letter, the communication addressed to the traitor Muhammad, Yalwaj, the minister of Chingiz, was written or rather tattooed [there is a precisely similar story in Herodotus] on the agent’s shaven head. The hair was left to grow over it before he was despatched, lest even that mode of communication might be discovered. Among other causes of hostility was this:—The Sultan’s flag, borne by the karrwan of pilgrims to Makkah, was placed behind that of Jalal-ud-Din, Hasan, of Alamut, the Mulhidah heretic, lately turned orthodox; and another was that the Khalifah borrowed, so to speak, several Fidais [volunteers, or disciples rather, of the head of the Mulhidahs are so called] from the former, intending to despatch them to assassinate the Sultan; and had sent some of these disciples to murder the Sherif of Makkah, but, instead, they assassinated his brother. Further, when Sultan Muhammad acquired possession of Ghaznī, after the death of Tij-ud-Din, I-yal-duz [styled Yal-duz, and Yal-duz by some], in 611-12 H., and gained possession of the treasury of the late Sultan Shihab-ud-Din, Ghurfa, a document was found therein, from the Khalifah to the Ghurfan Sultan, urging them to hostility against him [Muhammad], which accounted for the persistent hostility of the brothers towards him, notwithstanding our author’s ridiculous statement referred to above. At length, in 613 H., the Sultan, having sufficient excuse, obtained the necessary decree from the chief ecclesiastic of his dominions, issued a proclamation to the effect that as long as a descendant of Fatima lived the A'baid had no right to the Khalifat, and that the then Khalifah was to be considered dethroned. His name was omitted from the Khatbah and the coin, and the name of Sayyid 'Ali-ul-Mulk [some few call him 'Ali-ul-Din] of Tirmid, a lineal descendant of Imam Husain, was inserted instead, and he was to be considered as the rightful Khalifah.
Rukn-ud-Din, styled Ghūrī Shānastī, on the throne of 'Irāḵ, and appointed Ulugh Khān-i-Abī Muḥammad, his Atā-bak and Lieutenant; and the Malikīs of Ghūr were directed to proceed into that territory.

Sultān Muḥammad now left 'Irāḵ, and set out on his return to Māwar-un-Nahr; but, turning suddenly off from

The Sultān assembled an army accordingly for the purpose of proceeding to Baghdād, ousting Un-Nāṣir, and placing Sayyid 'Alā-ul-Mulk in his place.

On reaching Damghān, Sultān Muḥammad found that the Atā-bak Sa'd, ruler of Fārs, with an army, had reached Rai with hostile designs against the territory of 'Irāḵ. He pushed on without delay, and at once attacked him. The troops of Shīrāz were broken and overthrown at the first onset, and Sa'd was taken prisoner. The Sultān was for putting him to death, but Sa'd, having made interest with the Malik of Zauzan, was admitted, through him, to the Sultān's presence. Sa'd was released on the agreement to give up two of the strongest fortresses of Fārs, one of which was Iṣṭakhr, and to pay one-fourth of the revenues as tribute. Faṣih-i states that this took place in 603 H.; but Vāfa-i and Guzīdah say it happened in 613 H.; while Rauzat-ūs-Šafā, Khulāṣat-ul-Akhbār, and some others, say in 614 H. It is somewhat strange that Sa'd did not attempt to shake off the yoke and break the treaty after the disasters which befall the Sultān soon after, if the two latter dates be the more correct. Sa'd made over his son Zangī as a hostage and was allowed to depart, as already related; see page 176 and page 177, note 2.

At this same time the Atā-bak Yūz-bak, ruler of Aẓarbājān, had also marched from that territory with the object of invading 'Irāḵ, and had reached Hamadān. The Khwārazmī forces advanced against him, but, on their reaching Hamadān, Yūz-bak decamped. The Sultān's nobles urged pursuit, but that monarch refused his sanction, saying that it would be a bad omen to take two kings in one year; so Yūz-bak got safely back to his own territory. As soon as he did so, however, he sent envoys with rich presents to the Sultān, and acknowledged his sovereignty.

In the meantime, the advance of the Sultān into 'Irāḵ had filled Un-Nāṣir and his people with terror. Un-Nāṣir despatched an agent to Hamadān to endeavour to deter him by remonstrances and threats, but found them of no use with the Sultān with 300,000 horse at his back, who was resolved to persist. When he reached the Ḥulwān Pass [the town of Asad-ābād] it was autumn, and, whilst there encamped, he encountered a heavy fall of snow, which rose even higher than the tent walls; and nearly the whole of the cattle of his army, and a great number of men, perished. This was the first disaster he had ever met with, and he had to abandon the expedition and return to Hamadān. When the cold season drew towards a close, he thought it advisable to retrace his steps. He returned to Rai, and remained in that part for a little while to repair his losses and reorganize his forces, and arrange the affairs of that territory. He was on his return from thence, where he had left his son, Rukn-ud-Dīn, in charge of the government, when a messenger reached him from the governor of Utrār, intimating the arrival there of a number of Tatār spies, as he termed them, with a large amount of valuable property. For details see farther on.

1 To serve with their contingents. They were subordinate then.
the banks of the river Jazār⁶, he pushed on towards Bāmtān, and, suddenly and unawares, pounced upon Sultān Jalāl-ud-Din 'Alī, son of Sām, ruler of Bāmtān, seized him, and martyred him, and then returned [to Khwārazm].

In the year 612 H., Sultān Muḥammad advanced from Māwar-un-Nahr and came to Ghaznīn, and suddenly and unexpectedly possessed himself of the Ghaznīn territories likewise. Sultān Tāj-ud-Din, Yal-duz, retired towards Hindūstān⁷ by the way of Sang-i-Sūrākh; and the countries of Ghaznīn, Zāwulistān, and Kābul, as far as the banks of the Sind, came under the jurisdiction of the Khwārazmī nobles. The Khān-sālār [the Sewer of the imperial household], Kurīz⁸, was stationed at Ghaznīn; and the countries of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, the Bilād-i-Dāwar [Zamin-i-Dāwar], Jarūm, and the throne of the two Sultāns, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Din, and Mu'izz-ud-Din, sons of Muḥammad-i-Sām, was conferred, by the Sultān, upon his eldest son, Sultān Jalāl-ud-Din, Mangbarnī, after which he himself returned to Māwar-un-Nahr.

In the year 615 H., he pushed on towards Turkistān in pursuit of Kadr Khān⁹, who was the son of Yūsuf the Tatār, and penetrated as far as Yīghur¹ [I-ghūr] of Turkistān, so far to the north, that he came under the North Pole, and reached a tract where the light of twilight did not disappear at all from the sight; and, to the vision, in the direction of the north, the glow seemed merely to incline [change over] from the west to the east, and the light of dawn appeared and the day broke.

The matter was accordingly referred to the 'Ulamā and Muftis of Būkhārā respecting the obligation to repeat the last prayer at night¹, [question being asked] to this effect:—

⁶ In most copies this part of the sentence is left out altogether. The name is also written Fowār.
⁷ I-yal-duz [or Yal-duz] was taken prisoner and put to death by I-yal-timish in 611 H., before the Sultān entered the Ghaznīn territory.
⁸ This name differs considerably in some copies of the text.
⁹ There is no expedition against any ruler styled Kadr Khān mentioned by other writers at this period, for it was in this very year that the Sultān fled from the Mughal invaders. Our author has evidently lost himself again. At page 254, he says the Sultān's mother was the daughter of Kadr Khān of Kīchāk, and he, incorrectly, styles the governor of Utrār by the same name; and thus no less than three Kadr Khāns are mentioned.
¹ All the copies of the text are somewhat at variance here with respect to this name; but it is mentioned again farther on, and is quite plain in several copies.
² Prayer before retiring to rest, repeated some two or three hours after sunset.
As the light of twilight did not disappear at all, whether the prayer before sleep was necessary or not? They, with one accord, wrote a reply, that the prayer before sleep was not necessary, when the prescribed time for it could not be found with the people inhabiting such region.

Kādr Khān, the Tatār, having in this expedition been overcome, the calamity of the infidels of Chīn arose, and the darkness of the night of sedition and tumult showed its head from the mantle-collars of actuality, and was the beginning of dire misfortunes to the true faith, and the commencement of calamities and afflictions upon the Muḥammadan people. That circumstance occurred after this manner:—Chingiz Khān, the Mughal, had a son, the eldest of all his sons, Tūshī by name. At this time, this

3 Having noticed in the month of June at St. Petersburg that the light did not leave the sky during the whole night, and being desirous of discovering as nearly as possible how far north of the Shīhūn the Sulṭān may really have penetrated, as the territory of Tarāz is the most northern tract reached by the Sulṭān, according to Yāfā, I referred the paragraph to the Rev. Robert Main, M.A., Radcliffe Observer, at Oxford; and to the kindness of that gentleman I am much indebted for the following explanation:—

"It is usually considered that twilight exists as long as the sun is not more than 18° below the horizon, and hence we shall readily find that the lowest latitude which will have twilight all night, at midsummer, will be 48° 30' (= sun's solstitial N. P. D. = 18° = 66° 30'—18°). As we go northwards, of course the twilight will continue longer, till, at the Arctic circle, the sun does not set on midsummer-day.

"I presume, therefore, that the Sulṭān's expedition was towards the north, and the time not far from midsummer; and, from the expressions used, he must have been getting into rather high latitudes, where the sun, after dipping for a little while, would soon transfer the twilight glow from the west to the east. It would appear also that the Sulṭān and his army had never seen this phenomenon before, by their apparent surprise at it, and by his sending for advice concerning the evening prayer."

From the above remarks it would also further appear, that Sulṭān Muḥammad could not have had any people in his army who had ever been so far north before, and he and they were so much surprised that they concluded [or, rather, our author concluded] that they must be "under the North Pole." It also seems strange that he should see the necessity of writing to Bukhārā for advice, since we might suppose that the people of Khwārazm would have been aware of the fact of this phenomenon.

The territory of Tarāz lies between 46° and 49° N. lat.

4 Also called Jūfī. This affair took place a considerable time after the merchants had been put to death, and subsequent to the Sulṭān's return from 'Irāq, and, of course, our author has put it before. See note 3, page 272. Whilst delaying at Samrāk, intimation was brought to Sulṭān Muḥammad that Tūk-Tughān, one of the chiefs of Turkistān, of the tribe of Takri, was retreating before the Mughals towards Karā-Kuram, the locales of the Kaškulī tribe, and that he,
Tūshī, by command of Chingiz Khān, his father, had come out of the territory of Chin, in pursuit of an army of Tatārs, and Sulṭān Muḥammad, from Māwar-un-Nahr and Khurāsān, had likewise pushed on in the same direction; and the two armies fell in with each other.

A battle ensued between them, and the fighting, slaughter, struggle, and conflict, continued and was maintained from the beginning of the day until the time of

with some troops, had turned his steps in the direction of Jund. The Sulṭān now moved from Samarkand towards Jund, by way of Bukhārī, to guard his own territory, and prevent their entering it; but, hearing that they were pursued by a numerous army of Chingiz Khān's, under the leadership of his son, Jūfīr Tūshī, the Sulṭān again returned to Samarkand, and taking with him the remainder of his forces, previously left there, advanced with great pomp at the head of a large force to Jund, thinking, as the author from whom a portion of these extracts are taken says, "to bring down two birds with one arrow." [In the meantime, in 615 H., Kojlak had been overthrown by Chingiz, and slain.] He pushed on [from Jund] until he reached a place in Kāshgar, lying between two small rivers, where evidences of a late conflict, in the shape of fresh blood and numerous dead bodies, were discovered. Search was made, and one among those who had fallen was discovered to be still alive. From information gained from the wounded man, it was found that Chingiz Khān's troops had there overtaken Tūk-Tughān and his followers, who had been defeated and put to the sword, after which Jūfīr and his Mughals had set out to rejoin his father. Hearing also that the Mughals had only marched that very day, the Sulṭān pushed on, and by dawn the next morning came up with them, and at once prepared to engage them. The Mughal leaders were not willing to fight, saying that they had been sent in pursuit of prey, which they had already entrapped, and had not permission from Chingiz Khān, but that they could not retire if the Sulṭān should attack them; and, at the same time, advised that he should not make matters worse than they were already between himself and Chingiz Khān, by any fresh act of hostility. Sulṭān Muḥammad's good star was on the wane, and he attacked the Mughals, who stood their ground manfully. The right wings of either army, as is often the case in eastern as it has frequently been in western battles, broke their respective opponents, and the Mughals at last attacked the Sulṭān's centre, and forced it back some distance. The Sulṭān was in some danger, when his gallant son, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, who had been victorious on the right, charged the Mughals in flank, and saved the centre from defeat. The fight was maintained with great obstinacy until night came, when each army retired to a short distance, confronting each other. The Mughals lighted an immense number of fires to deceive the Khwārzmīs, and decamped quietly during the night, and set out to join the camp of Chingiz, who was hastening his preparations for the invasion of the Sulṭān's territories. The Sulṭān halted on the field for a few days, and, after this occurrence, his mind, already much changed, appears to have given way entirely; and, having with his own eyes witnessed the vigour and tenacity of the Mughals, he became filled with apprehensions and misgivings, and retreated to Samarkand without attempting anything more. Irresolution and bewilderment now marked all his proceedings. For further particulars, see page 274 and note 1.
evening prayer, and the ranks of both the armies assumed the form of a circle. The right wing of the Musalmān forces routed the left wing of the infidels, and pursued after them; while the right wing of the Mughal infidels routed the left wing of the army of Islam and pursued it, and, in this manner, the armies assumed the form of a circle. This battle was maintained from the dawn of day; and, when night came, the two armies separated from each other, and withdrew to a short distance. There was a small stream of water between them; and the two armies halted, facing each other, on the banks of that stream and bivouacked. When the morning broke [it was found] that the Mughal army had marched away. They had lighted great fires, and had decamped, and left them burning.

Sultān Muḥammad having thus witnessed and beheld with his own eyes, in this encounter, the warlike feats, the activity, and the efforts of the Mughal forces, the next day retired from that place; and fear and dread of them took possession of his heart and mind, and he never again came against them. This was one of the causes of the miseries and troubles which befell the people of Islam.

The second reason was this. When Chingiz Khān broke out into revolt in the land of Chin, and Ṭamghāj, and the Greater Turkistān, and Altūn Khān of Ṭamghāj, who was sovereign of Upper Turkistān, and the lineal monarch of Karā Khiṭā-i, was overcome by him, and the territories of Ṭamghāj, Tingit, and Yīghur [I-ghūr], and Tatār, all fell into his hands; the news of these successes having come to the hearing of Sultān Muḥammad, his mind became filled with ambition [for the possession] of Chin, and he became desirous of obtaining authentic information respecting the forces of the Mughals, and the condition of Chingiz Khān. Accordingly, the most excellent Sayyid, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Rāżī, with a party of other persons, were despatched on a

5 Or, Upper Turkistān: the original word will serve for either.
6 For our author's further and more detailed account of Chingiz Khān's proceedings, see last Section of this work.
7 Probably Ahmad, Khujandī, is the person whom our author has mistaken here; but I am rather inclined to think that this "excellent Sayyid" can be no other than the Badr-ud-Dīn referred to by Guzdah, who was the chief Dīwān in Sultān Muḥammad's service, and who became suspicious and disaffected on some account or other, and fled and took service with Chingiz.

For account of further proceedings of this arch-traitor, see note 1, page 274.
mission to Chīn; and, when these agents reached that country, Chingiz Khan sent trustworthy and confidential persons of his own, bearing numerous rarities as presents to Sultān Muḥammad.

I heard from the Sayyid Bahā-ud-Din—the mercy of the Almighty be upon him! [who said: —] “When we reached the presence of Chingiz Khan, the accursed, the Wazir of ʿAmghāj, and the son and the uncle of Altān Khan, were brought in, and we were summoned. Then, turning his face towards them, Chingiz said: — Behold, my affairs and my sovereignty have attained to such a pitch of grandeur,

Be this as it may, our author differs wholly from other writers here. I have only space for a few details. A person named ʿAbdūl, a merchant of Khujand, and two others, with a considerable quantity of merchandise suitable for the purpose, set out for the great camp of Chingiz Khan. At this time he had reduced under his yoke most of the nomads tribes of Mughalistan and Turkistan—Tataars, Mughals, I-qhūrs, and others—and a portion of Chīn and Ma-chīn. The merchants were well received and liberally treated. Subsequently, Chingiz directed his sons, the great nobles, and others, to despatch servants of their own with merchandise into the territory of Sultān Muḥammad, to accompany ʿAbdūl of Khujand and the others on their return journey. A large party of merchants, numbering about 450, Musalmāns it is stated, left Chingiz Khan’s territory with property of immense value, and set out, accordingly, for the Sultān’s dominions. At the same time, Chingiz Khan sent three agents of his own to the Sultān, intimating the despatch of these traders with the object of purchasing merchandise suitable for his camp; and, further, to state that he had reduced the refractory around him to subjection and considerable tracts under his sway, and that, in place of estrangement and distrust, intercourse and confidence might arise between them; that merchants and traders might be free to go and come; that their subjects and dominions might be secure and open to each other’s people; and that they might aid and assist each other under any circumstances that might arise. When they reached ʿArtā on the Sūhūn, the frontier capital of the Sultān’s dominions in that direction, the governor, ʿAnfāl-juḵ by name, a kinsman of the Sultān’s mother, who bore the title of Ghā-īr Khan [not Ḳādīr Khan, as our author states], being offended at the impertinence of one of ʿAbdūl Khujandī’s party,—said to have been a Hindū—who addressed him in too familiar a style; and his cupidity likewise being excited by the arrival of all this treasure and valuable property brought by the merchants, sent off a messenger to the Sultān, announcing the arrival of a number of spies of the Tataar, Chingiz, on their way into Irān, and asked permission to put them to death and confiscate their property.

The Sultān, whose mind was already disquieted at the successes of Chingiz, deceived by the perfidious message of Ghā-īr Khan, and his temper still ruffled at the disaster he had so lately sustained, without thought or consideration most unfortunately gave his consent. The merchants, numbering about 450 Musalmāns, including Chingiz’s messengers, were put to death, with the exception of one person, who eventually escaped, and told the tale to Chingiz; and the whole of their property was confiscated.

* Most of the MSS. are defective here, and do not contain the last sentence.
that the monarch of the [empire of the] setting sun has sent envoys unto me.' In short,” said the Sayyid, “when he sent us away, he requested that envoys on both sides, and merchants, and kārwāns, should constantly come and go, and bring and take away with them choice descriptions of arms, cloths, and stuffs, and other articles of value and elegance of both empires; and that between the two monarchs a permanent treaty should be maintained.”

He despatched merchants along with the envoys of Sultān Muḥammad, with about five hundred camel-loads of gold, silver, silks, and ṣarghū [a description of woven silk of a red colour], together with other precious and valuable commodities, that they might trade with them. They entered the territory of Islām by way of Utrār.

At that place, there was a governor named Ǧadr Khān9, and he sent an account to Sultān Muḥammad respecting the importance and value of the merchandise; and solicited permission from him, in a pernicious manner, to stop the party of merchants. Having obtained permission to do so, he seized the envoys and the whole of the merchants, and slew them, and took possession of all their property, and sent it to the Sultān’s presence. Of that party, there was one person, a camel-driver, who had gone to one of the [public] hot baths, and he succeeded in making his escape by way of the fire place. He, having taken to the wilds, returned back to Chin, and made Chingiz acquainted with the pernicious conduct of Ǧadr Khān of Utrār and the slaughter of the party1.

Chingiz Khān prepared to take revenge2; and he caused

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9 For his correct name and title, see preceding note7. At page 254, Ǧadr Khān is said, by our author, to have been the name of the ruler of Kīşchāk, and, at page 267, we have another Ǧadr Khān, son of Yūsuf the Tatār. This is a third.

1 From our author’s account of the putting the merchants to death, one would imagine that Chingiz Khān marched without the least delay, but a considerable time elapsed between that unfortunate act and the appearance of the Mughals before Utrār. The first took place in 614 Ḥ., and the second in 616 Ḥ.

2 As soon as Chingiz became aware of this outrage, he despatched an envoy [some say, envoys] calling for redress for Ghā-īr Khān’s perfidy, and demanding that the latter should be delivered over to him, to punish according to the Muhammadan law of ḵiṣāq; but, as Ghā-īr Khān was related to many of the chief officers of his troops, the Sultān was powerless to comply, even had he so desired, and, in an evil hour, gave orders to put the envoy to death likewise. The rage of Chingiz knew no bounds: he collected his troops to
the forces of Ch'in and Turkistān to be got ready for that purpose. Trustworthy persons have related, that, at the place where he then was, seven¹ hundred banners were brought forth, and under every banner one thousand horsemen were arrayed. Every ten horsemen were directed to take with them three dried⁴ Mughalī sheep, and an iron cauldron; and he set out on his way.

From the place where Chingiz was at this period, to the boundary of Utrār, was a three months' journey through the wilderness; and, along with his hosts, he despatched horses, mares, and geldings, without number, to supply them with milk, and for riding. The journey through the wilds was got over in a short time⁴, and he issued forth on the Utrār frontier; and that fortress and city was taken, and

take revenge, and, according to a few authors, even despatched another envoy to announce his coming; but he took care in the first place to quell all disorders in his own dominions.

The Sultan having disposed of the affairs of Irāq, and having left his son, Rukn-ud-Dīn, in charge of the government of the province—nominally, it must be understood, for Rukn-ud-Dīn was only in his fifteenth year—set out for the purpose of proceeding into Māvar-un-Nahr. On reaching Nişāpur, on the 8th of Shawwāl, 614 H., contrary to his wont, he gave himself up to wine and women. After delaying there more than a month, on the 10th of Shabān, he marched to Bukhārā; and, it being spring, pitched his tents in the pleasant meads near that city. Having given himself up to pleasure there also for some time, he assembled the troops of that part, and determined to move against Kojilak, who had been extending his dominions to the territories towards the head of the Shīhūn, and marched to Samrīkand, after reaching which the same infatuated course of pleasure was followed. It was at this time that, hearing of the movement of Tūk-Tughān [the Taka Khan of some European authors and translators] of the tribe of Makrit, the Sultan advanced towards Jund, and the engagement with the troops of Chingiz took place, which our author has related, out of its proper order, at page 268. For a correct account of that battle see note ⁴ to the page referred to.

¹ In two or three copies “three,” but seven hundred is the more correct number.
⁴ Sheep's or goat's flesh salted and dried in the sun, called “ländaeey” by the Afghans.
⁵ One or two copies of the text have “in three months,” but the majority have “in a short time.” Utrār was, however, taken after five months. When the Sultan retired to Samrīkand, after the encounter with Tūshī, he had a force of 400,000 men. The greater part of these was left in Māvar-un-Nahr and Turkistān; 50,000 men were detached to Utrār to join Ghār Khan; and when report followed report of the advance of Chingiz, 10,000 more were sent to reinforce Ghār Khan, under the Ḥājib, Karājah. On reaching Utrār, Chingiz pushed on to Bukhārā, after leaving a force to invest the former place, which was not the first that was captured, as our author makes it appear. Faṣīb-ī says he reached it on the last day of Ẓī-Ḥijjah, 616 H., and entered it the following day.
the whole of the inhabitants were martyred. From thence Chingiz Khān marched towards Bukhārā; and, on the day of the Festival of the Sacrifice, 10th of the month Zī-Hijjah, in the year 616 H., he captured the city, and martyred the whole of the inhabitants, put the 'Ulamā to the sword, and gave the libraries of books to the flames. They have related that the Imām-zādah, Rukn-ud-Dīn—the mercy of the Almighty be upon him!—when they were martyring him, repeated the following lines:

"I said, that my heart said, 'It is murder committed by us?.'
I said, my soul said, that 'It is the carrier away of us.'
I said, that 'Thy powerful dog has fallen on me.'
It [my soul?] said, 'Thou shouldst not draw breath, for it is brought upon ourselves.'"

Chingiz Khān, after the catastrophe of the city of Bukhārā, marched towards Samṛkand, in which city Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, had stationed 60,000 horse, fully equipped and furnished, consisting of different races of Turks, Ghūrīs, and Khurāsānis, together with the Malik's and troops of Ghūr, who were all included among that body of troops. After a few days, on the 10th of the month of Muḥarram, 617 H., Samṛkand was also captured, and the whole of the inhabitants were martyred.

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6 Abraham’s offering up of his son Isaac.
7 That is "it [viz. this fact] is murder committed by us," in the sense, as it were, "we have done for ourselves."
8 These four lines are with difficulty translatable or intelligible, nor do the various texts enlighten us. Generally it seems a mere amplification of "we’re undone," or "I’m undone." The first two lines are apparently the expression of the inner consciousness. The third line is the man’s summary judgment. The fourth line is the reproof of conscience again, that he should spare his words. The latter part of the second line might be translated "the tearer of our curtain [honour]."
9 Yāfā-ī says the Sulṭān only left 30,000 men to garrison Bukhārā, and that 110,000, among whom were some of the greatest of his nobles and leaders, were left at Samṛkand; and that 60,000 Tājiks [the forces of Ghūr], each of them a Rustam in valour, were stationed in other fortresses.
1 When the Sulṭān left Samṛkand, dispirited and hopeless, he set out, by way of Nahshab, towards Khurāsān. As he proceeded, he told the people of the places he passed by the way, to shift for themselves and provide for their own safety. Swift messengers were also despatched to Khwārazm, to tell his mother, to take with her all his family and effects, and proceed towards Māzandarān. Before doing so she caused all the state prisoners there, and such as were supposed ambitious of sovereignty, to be cast into the Jīfūn. See page 279.
When the accounts of these disasters came to the hearing of Sultan Muhammad, the forces, then along with him before the gates of Balkh, consisted almost entirely of Tartar and Khita-i troops, whilst his own old soldiers and vassals had been left behind by him in Mawar-un-Nahr; and those people, on whom the most implicit trust and confidence could be placed, were also all away in those parts. The troops who were along with him [now] conspired together to seize him, and to make that act of perfidy and treachery the means of their own deliverance; and, having seized the Sultan, to take him and deliver him over as an offering to Chingiz Khan.

declare that the stars prognosticated his downfall, and that he would be unable to apply himself to any measures for effective opposition to the enemy. His chief men and his sages ministers were paralyzed at all these misfortunes. The most experienced among them in the world's affairs urged that it was hopeless to attempt to preserve any hold over Mawar-un-Nahr, but that the utmost efforts should be directed to the preservation of Khurasan and 'Iraq; to concentrate all his available forces, and raise the whole people to arms; to make the Jihan their ditch, and defend the line of that river. Others, craven-hearted, advised his going to Ghazin, there to raise troops and make a stand, and, if unsuccessful, make Hindustan his rampart. The latter advice the Sultan proposed to follow, and he came as far as Balkh with this object, when Imam-ul-Mulk, who had great influence over him, arrived from 'Iraq, from Rukn-ud-Din, the Sultan's son. 'Imad-ul-Mulk, who was a native of that part, advised the Sultan to retire into 'Iraq, and assemble the forces of that country to oppose the Mughals. The Sultan's eldest son, Jalal-ud-Din, who had often before entreated his father to adopt vigorous measures, now again protested, and entreated his father to concentrate his troops, as far as lay in his power, and advance to meet the enemy; but, if his heart would not permit him to do so, to proceed into 'Iraq, and leave the troops with him, that he might hasten to the frontier and attack the invading hordes, and see what Providence will, that he himself, at least, might be exonerated before men. "If fortune favour me," he said, "I will carry off the ball of desire with the Chaugan of Divine aid; but, if fortune favours me not, neither will the finger of reproach be pointed at us, nor the tongue of malice curse; and the world will not be able to say: 'They have collected taxes and tribute from us for so long, and at a time like this they renounce our affairs, and abandon us to be captive to infidels.'" This counsel he continued to urge, and burned to receive his father's consent. All was of no avail: the Sultan's panic was so great that the sage advice of his son was considered the mere lisplings of an infant.

The Sultan left Balkh with the object of retiring into 'Iraq; and with this intention was encamped on the bank of the Tirmid river [the Jihan], when news of the fall of Balkhar reached him, and, very soon after, that of Samarkand also. He now gave up all hopes of preserving his dominions. The majority of the troops with him then—and they were not numerous, and were in a disorganized state—were Turks of the tribe of his mother and her kinsmen, called Uransan; and, during the confusion and distraction which had now arisen,
One of the party, however, presented himself before Sultan Muhammad, and told him all about the plot. The Sultan kept his own counsel; and, at night, he left the camp, in order to test beyond a doubt the perfidy of the conspirators. At midnight the party drew near to the imperial pavilion, formed a cordon about it, and completely surrounded it. Not finding him within the tent, they came upon the camp at that untimely hour, and the whole army fell into utter disorder and confusion. Sultan Muhammad was forced to fly, and set out towards Nishapur, and wrote mandates to the Amirs and Malikis in every part of his dominions, commanding them to put the fortresses of Khwārazm, Ghūr, Khurāsān, and 'Irāk in a posture of they conspired against him. One of the Sultan's own ministers, the Dīwān, Badr-ud-Dīn, previous to this, had fled, and had entered the service of Chingiz. Not satisfied with this, he had forged letters, as though the Sultan's nobles had written, tendering their services to the Mughal chief, and urging him to hostility against their sovereign; and also forged replies, as coming from Chingiz, promising them aid and assistance. These letters were made over to a spy, with instructions to let them fall into the hands of the Sultan's trusted followers. This caused suspicion to arise between the Sultan and his nobles; and, having been warned by one of them of the meditated treachery of the troops, he left his pavilion that very night, and changed his place of repose. The mutinous troops, in the night, took to their bows, and the next morning the pavilion was found like a sieve from the holes made by the volleys of arrows discharged into it. Finding, however, that the Sultan was safe, and their object discovered, these disaffected troops dispersed, and finally joined Chingiz. The Sultan now began to suspect his nobles, along with him, and they were mostly sent away, on some duty or other; and he then set out for Nishapur with all haste, and the greater part of his forces dispersed. On the way, he urged the people of the places he passed through, to see to their fortifications and means of defence, which filled them with perplexity and fear, and rendered easy matters difficult. On reaching Kalat, near Ṭūs, he was induced to consent to make a stand there—it is a place of great strength, the upper part of which was said to be seven leagues round, and capable of an energetic defence [it is a valley, so to say, enclosed within lofty hills; Nādir considered the position so strong that he deposited his treasures there]—and to erect fortifications there. Some of the Sultan's effects were removed thither accordingly, and provisions were collected. This, however, was also abandoned; and, on the 12th of Safar, 617 H., the Sultan reached Nishapur, where he abandoned himself to pleasure—if such can be so called—more than ever, for he considered that fate was against him, and all state affairs were abandoned. Whilst thus occupied news reached him, in the following Rabī-ul-Ākhir, that an army of Mughals under Yamah Nū-yān, Sahtae, and Taghajah [some authors say Jabah Nū-yān, Swidāe Bahādur, and Tūkjar; the first some European authors call 'Hubbe'], and other leaders, had, after the fall of Bukhara, crossed the Jīlūn at Tirmiz, in Rabī-ul-Awwal, in pursuit of him. He left Nishapur without delay, and fled by way of Isfārāfn to Rai.

3 The words "at that untimely hour" are contained in one MS. only.
defence; and throughout the empire of Islām disorder and tumult arose.

Chingiz Khan, having received information of the disorganization and dissolution of the army of Sultān Muḥammad, after the capture of Samrkan, nominated a force of 60,000 Mughal horse, which was placed under the command of two Mughals, chiefs of high rank, one of whom was Yamah Nū-in, and the other Sahūdah Bahādur, to proceed in pursuit of the Sultān. When this force had passed over the river [Jihūn], the Sultān retired from Nišāpūr, and set out towards Māzandarān, and his camp was pitched at the top of the Darah or Pass of Tamīshāh⁴, when the Mughal troops came upon him. The Sultān was obliged to fly from thence, and entered the hills on foot, and got away; and, going from one range of hills to another, entered Māzandarān⁵. The son of the chief of Māzandarān,

⁴ Only a single copy of the texts collated gives this name correctly.
⁵ Any one reading the above would imagine that the Sultān proceeded direct from Nišāpūr into Māzandarān, but such was not the case; he took a much longer circuit, as already shown. When he reached Rai news came to him from Khurāsān that a strange army had reached it, which report made him regret the haste he had shown in coming into Irāq. He left Rai accordingly, and proceeded to the fortress of Kazwīn [some say Kārūn], at the foot of which his son, Sultān Ruḵn-ud-Dīn, was encamped, with an army of 30,000 Irāqīs. The Sultān sent his other son, Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, and his mother, and some of the ladies of his family, to the fortress of Kārūn-dujs for safety, and his own mother and the rest of the family to L-lāl, a fortress of Māzandarān. He was advised by the Amirs of Irāk to take shelter at Shirān-koh, and there concert measures and assemble troops, and oppose the Mughal army which was in pursuit of him. Again he declined, saying that it was not safe, and could not be defended against the Mughals; and this disheartened his followers still more. He was advised by some to start that very hour. Between Luristān and Fārs, they said, was a range of mountains, called Tang-Talū, after they had passed which they would enter a rich country, and could take shelter there, collect troops, and, in case the Mughals should arrive, be ready to encounter them. Whilst considering this advice, which he thought good, news arrived from Rai of the Mughals having reached it; and now his followers began to desert him, as is the nature of the world, and to seek their own safety and interests. Almost deserted, the unfortunate monarch set out with his son, Jālāl-ud-Dīn, and with scarcely any followers, for the fortress of Kārūn-dujs, whither he had previously sent Ghīyās-ud-Dīn and his mother and the ladies of his family. On the way he was actually overtaken by the Mughal advance; but the smallness of his party led to their not recognizing him. They gave them, however, a volley of arrows, which wounded the Sultān's horse, but it brought him safely to Kārūn. He only stayed one day, and, after providing a fresh horse, made off in the direction of Baghdad. The Mughals appeared before Kārūn, which they attacked, and fighting went on as long as they thought the Sultān was there; but, finding this was not the case, and that he
who had joined him, was in attendance on the Sulṭān, and his own son, Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Māng-barnī, was also with him. Sulṭān Muḥammad embarked on the Sea of Khurz [the Caspian], and for a considerable time he continued on an island therein, in distress and affliction.

had set out towards Baghdād, they followed on his tracks. They came up with a small body of his party, who acted as a rear-guard, and slew them; but the Sulṭān having changed his route—he had found shelter in a fortress—they missed him, and at last gave up the pursuit. Having remained a few days at the latter place, the Sulṭān set out towards Gīlān, and then on to Asdār, where what remained of his treasures was lost. He then entered the district of Āmul. His family had reached that part, and had taken shelter in its strongholds. The Mughals were in pursuit, however; and he, having consulted with the chief men of those parts, it was determined that the Sulṭān should seek refuge for a time in one of the islands of the Sea of Khurz, named Āb-i-Sugūn.

[A few words may not be out of place here respecting this island and its name. An old writer states that it was the name of an island [one of several], and of a small town of Ṭabaristān, in the district of Astarābād, three days’ journey from Gurgān or Gūrgān, called Jurjān, and Jurjān by Muḥammadans, who change the g’s to j’s according to the ’Arabīc custom; and that it was also the name of a considerable river, which formerly came from Khwārazm [the Oxus; but more probably the river of Gurgān or Jurjān], and fell into the Sea of Khurz—the Caspian. When this river approaches the sea, it flows very slowly and quietly; hence its name, Āb-i-Sugūn, the tranquil or quiet river. Some, however, say the place where the river enters the sea was called by this name. The islands in question, for there were several, were situated near the river’s mouth. That on which the Sulṭān took refuge, and where he died, has long since been swallowed up by the sea. The Introduction of the Žafar-Nāmah says the sea is called Āb-i-Sugūn, and the island on which the Sulṭān took shelter, Āb-gūn.

The Sulṭān, having taken shelter on one of them, moved occasionally, for safety’s sake; and well he did, for a party of Mughals did actually come to the first island in search of him after he had left it. The army of Mughals under Yamah Nū-yān and others, who had reached Rai in pursuit of him, had returned on not finding him there, and invested the fortresses of Kārūn and Ī-lāl, in which his mother and wives and children had taken refuge, and soon took them. The males were all slaughtered, even the infants, and the females were sent to Chingiz’s camp. The thoughts of the dishonour of the females of his family, the slaughter of his children and his servants, and the miseries of his country, afflicted him to such a degree that he died of a broken heart, and in great misery, in one of the islands above mentioned, and was there buried. So great was the distress of the party, that his son, Jalāl-ud Dīn, could not procure even a winding-sheet to bury him in, and he had to be consigned to the grave in part of the apparel which he had on at the time of his death. Subsequently, however, Jalāl-ud-Dīn removed his father’s remains from the island to the fortress of Ardas [7]. The Mughals, some time after, gained possession of this place likewise, and they exhumed his remains, and burnt them. That the Sulṭān died on his way to Khwārazm is like many other of our author’s statements. He never left the island alive. His death filled Islām with distress; and this event took place in Shāhwāl, 617 H.
The Mughal troops, not finding the Sultān in the province of Māzandarān, passed out of it, and entered 'Irāk, on which Sultān Muḥammad, with the few horsemen who still continued with him, left the island; but he was prostrated with disease of the bowels, and melancholy supervened, and he became quite out of his mind. He urged his son, Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, saying:—"Endeavour to take me to Khwārazm; for from thence was the commencement of our dominion." These lines, also, he often repeated:—

"When men become distracted about their own affairs,
Than that, it will be better that the thread of life were sever'd."

When his disease increased, he was totally unable to ride on horseback, and camels were procured for him; and he was placed in a camel-litter, and they sent him off towards Khwārazm. He died on the road, in the year 617 H.: and Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn brought his father's remains to Khwārazm, and buried them by the side of Sultān Takīsh, his father. Sultān Muḥammad's reign extended over a period of twenty-one years. May the mercy of God and His pardon be on him!

XI. KUṬB-UD-DĪN ARZALŪ SHĀH, SON OF MUḤAMMAD, SON OF TAKIŠH, KHWAΖRZM SHĀH.-

Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, was the son of Sultān Muḥammad, and his mother was a kinswoman of his father's mother, and of the family of ʿKadr Khan of Kifchāk; and he was the heir-apparent to the throne of Khwārazm.6

When the calamities consequent on the irruption of

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6 The name of this young prince is written in various ways—not only in our author's text, but also by other writers—Azlāk, Arzāk, Üzlāk, Arzalū, and Arzalāk; the last seems the most correct. Certain it is that he was not heir-apparent to the Khwārazmī empire. The word Shāh or Sultān affixed to his other name signifies that it was not his title as sovereign, but merely one of his names. Other writers, with whom I am acquainted, do not account him as a ruler at all. It was through the influence of Turkān Khātūn, Sultān Muḥammad's mother, that this boy, of very ordinary intellect, was set up at Khwārazm, during Jalāl-ud-Dīn's absence with his father. Arzalāk's supporters imagined, that, in case Jalāl-ud-Dīn should ascend the throne and establish his power, they would not be permitted to do as they liked, as was likely to be the case with Arzalāk Sultān as sovereign; and, as long as their objects were gained, they cared nothing for their country. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the Mughals met with little or no opposition.
Chingiz Khan arose, and Sultan Muhammad was obliged to fly from the banks of the Jihun and the vicinity of Balkh, and retired to Nishapur, the grandmother of Arzalu Shaah, the mother of Sultan Muhammad, and the people of Khwārazm, the Maliks, and the Amirs, concerted together, and raised Kutb-ud-Din, Arzalu Shaah, to the throne of Khwārazm, and the whole of them applied themselves to his service.

The Sultāns and Maliks, from both the east and west, and of the countries of Irān and Tūrān, who were imprisoned at Khwārazm, were all drowned in the Jihun; and not one of them was left alive, by the time that one of the sons of Chingiz Khan, Tūshī by name, with a numerous army, from Māwar-un-Nahr, was nominated to march into Turkistān and Khwārazm, and arrived before the gates of the latter-named city.

As Arzalu Shaah did not possess the power to oppose him, he took along with him his dependents, his sisters, and mothers, the ladies of the Haram of Sultan Muhammad, his father, together with the Khudāwandah-i-Jahān, his father’s mother, and brought them into Tabaristān and Māzandarān, and threw himself into the fortress of Lāl in Tabaristān.

7 Turkān Khātūn, the consort of Takīah, the strong-minded woman, who roasted her husband.
8 All the copies of the text collated, with one exception, are defective here.
9 When Chingiz arrived at Utrār, he left a force to invest it, but pushed on with the bulk of his forces to Buhārā; and it was only after the fall of Samrānd that troops were sent against Khwārazm. In the first place, he despatched his three sons, Tūshī [Jūjī], Uktāe, and Chaghatae, with several tumāns or hordes thither; but, having quarrelled on the road, they came to blows, and a number of the Mughal troops were slain by each other. Chingiz then recalled them, and Tūlf, his other son, was sent in command in their stead.

1 Other writers state, that after Jalāl-ud-Din left Khwārazm for Khurāsān, as mentioned in note 4, page 286, which see, his brothers, Arzalaḵ Sulṭān, Ak Sulṭān, and two others, followed after him, escorted by a body of troops, to endeavour to induce him to return. They did not overtake him, but encountered on their way the same body of Mughals their brother had so recently opposed and escaped from. They were all taken and, with their followers, put to the sword.
2 The mothers of the different brothers of Arzalu [Arzalaḵ Sulṭān]—the other wives of his father, Sulṭān Muhammad, and his grandmother are meant here.
3 See latter part of note 4, page 277. Alīf calls it the fortress of Lār-jār.
THE KHWAÑRAZM-SHĀHIAH DYNASTY.

When Tūshī, son of Chingiz Khān, appeared with his troops before the gates of Khwārazm, the people of the city [the troops quartered there] came forward to resist them, and fighting commenced; but, in the course of a very few days, Khwārazm was taken, and the inhabitants were martyred, and the whole city was razed to the ground, with the exception of the Kūšk-i-Akhjuk, which was the ancient palace, and the sepulchral vault of Sultān Takish, Khwārazm Shāh, which was allowed to stand; but all else was overthrown.

After this, Tūshī pushed on in pursuit of the dependents and ladies of Arzalū Shāh’s family, captured them all, and martyred the whole of them. The mercy of the Almighty be upon them†!

XII. SULTĀN RUKN-UD-DĪN, GHŪRĪ SHĀNASTĪ, SON OF MUḤAMMAD, KHWAÑRAZM SHĀH.

Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn was another of Sultān Muḥammad’s sons, and his birth took place on the night preceding the day on which Sultān Mu’izz-ud-Dīn Muḥammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī, retreated from before the gates of Khwārazm in the year 601 H.; and, on that account, he was named Ghūrī Shānasti, that is to say, “The Ghūrī Breaker.”

When the territory of ‘Irāk fell under the sway of Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, he conferred the throne of that country upon Rukn-ud-Dīn‡. The daughter of Malik Ulugh Khān-i-Abī Muḥammad, who was

† Most of the copies of the text are defective here: only three have the last paragraph, and, of these, but two appear correctly written.
‡ Rukn-ud-Dīn was younger than his brothers, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and Ghīyās-ud-Dīn; but, having acquired greater ascendancy, the government of ‘Irāk was conferred upon him, when his father left ‘Irāk on his last expedition into Māwar-un-Nahr. Yāsā-ī says he gave himself up to excess—he was only fifteen—and his father had just become aware of his misconduct, when the Mughal troubles began. On the death of his father, the Amirs of that territory became disaffected. He moved against them, reduced them, and gave them their lives, and overlooked their misdeeds, thinking kindness would be returned with gratitude. But, after a short time, finding he could not hold his own, he retired, after his father’s death, accompanied by only a few followers, towards Kirmān. He reached Gawāghīr, and was subsequently joined by the chiefs and partisans of the Malik of Zawzan [Kawām-ud-Dīn, Mu-ayyīd-ul-Mulk, Abī-Bikr, son of ‘Alī, Az-Zawzānī. His son, ‘Izz-ud-Dīn, held Kirmān and its dependencies after his father’s death but he was removed,
a descendant of one of the paternal uncles of the Khwārazm Shāhs, was given him in marriage, and the father-in-law was made the Lieutenant of Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, by Sultān Muḥammad; and the whole of the Maliks of Ghūr, and the troops of the Jibāl [of Khurāsān], were left to serve under him. When [his father], Sultān Muḥammad, retired from the territory of 'Irāk, the Turks of 'Irāk, who were slaves of the Atā-baks, assembled [their troops] together, and gave him battle, but the Khwārazm Shāhīs gained the victory, in the year 614 ʿH.

Rukn-ud-Dīn reigned in 'Irāk for a considerable period; and, when the Mughal troops reached that country, and tribulation befell the Musalmāns, the whole of the Khwārazm Shāhīs fell into captivity, in the year 617 ʿH., and were, in all probability, martyred.

XIII. MALIK GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN, ĀK SULTĀN?, SON OF MUḤAMMAD, KHWĀRAZM SHAḤ.

Āk Sultān was another of the sons of Sultān Muḥammad; and, when the latter obtained possession of the throne of

and the government was conferred upon Rukn-ud-Dīn.), who were in those parts. He divided the treasure, accumulated by the Malik referred to, among his followers, and advanced to Iṣfahān to endeavour to gain a footing in 'Irāk again. When he entered it, the Kāẓī kept aloof, and Rukn-ud-Dīn thought it advisable to leave the city, and pitch his tents outside. He was soon attacked by the Kāẓī’s adherents, on a hint from their master, who slew 1000 of Rukn-ud-Dīn’s followers, and lost many themselves. When the Mughals had disposed of other matters in Khurāsān, a force was sent against Rukn-ud-Dīn. He had given up all hope of acquiring possession of 'Irāk, and had retired to Fīrūz-koh, and the Tatār forces invested him therein. He held out for six months, at the end of which period he had to come down and yield. All the threats of the infidels could not induce him to bend the knee to their leader, and he was put to the sword, along with his followers and dependents, and the people of the fortress. This took place in 619 ʿH.; but some writers say it happened in 618 ʿH., and others, in 620 ʿH.

6 Here, also, considerable difference occurs in the various copies of the text, and the style is different, as in several other places. Some have, “and the whole of them were martyred.”

7 Fīr Shāh bore the title of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and he was ruler [nominally] of Kirmān, after the Malik of Zawarān, and his son. Āk Sultān was never put in charge of any territory whatever. Our author has perpetrated another great blunder here. Āk-Sultān was killed at the same time that Sultān Arzalāk and two other younger brothers were massacred by the Mughals. See note 6, page 286.
Kirmān, and the masnad of Gawāshīr, he placed the Khwājah of Zawzan upon the throne of Kirmān. After some years, the Khwājah of Zawzan died. He was an excellent man, and founded colleges of great repute, and rabāţs [hostels for travellers], and erected the fortress of Salā-Mihr of Zawzan.

When he died, Sultān Muḥammad had conferred the throne of Kirmān upon his own son, Āk Sultān; and he proceeded into Kirmān, and brought under his jurisdiction that territory as far as the sea-shore, and the frontiers of Mukuṛān. When the calamities caused by the Mughal

8 Utter nonsense: the Malik of Zawzan was merely governor on the part of the Sultān, and never ascended a "throne."

9 Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn, Pīr Shāh, had been named ruler of Kirmān by his father; "but what help is there, when man’s proposals chime not with destiny’s disposals?" When the convulsions arose at the outset of the Mughal troubles, Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn determined to proceed into Kirmān. At this time, Shujaʻ-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Kāsim, who had held the government on the part of the son of the Malik of Zawzan, was acting as the Prince’s deputy. The "world being filled with tumult and sedition," he would not receive him, and the Prince was compelled to retire into ʻIrāk, where he stayed a short time. A party of his father's troops, which had remained in concealment, now joined him, and Burāk, who was a native of Ḫara-Khīṭā-I, also became his adherent. He was a relative—some say a younger brother, some the son—of Bānīkō of Ṭarāz, and had been converted to Islām, and had risen in Sultān Muḥammad’s service to the rank of Ḥābib; and some writers state that he had been nominated preceptor to the young Prince. Be this as it may, on being joined by Burāk and his followers, Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn marched into Fārs against the Atā-bak Sa’d [see note 4, page 266], who was routed. Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn and his forces committed great devastation in Fārs, after which he retired. Burāk, however, being aggrieved with him for some reason, deserted Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn one night, and set out with his adherents, intending to proceed by way of Kīch and Mukuṛān into Hindūstān, "to take service with I-yal-timish, ruler of Dīlf, who was also a native of Ḫara-Khīṭā-I." On reaching the frontier of Kirmān, Shujaʻ-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Kāsim, who had been made governor of Gawāshīr for Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn, but who had refused to receive him, was induced by some of the youths among his followers, who sought to plunder Burāk’s party and carry off the "moon-faced Ḫīṭā-I damseleṣ" among them, to intercept Burāk by the way. They came into contact at Rūbdār of Jīfrat, and, during the fight which ensued, a party of Turks, serving with Shujaʻ-ud-Dīn, went over to Burāk. Shujaʻ-ud-Dīn was taken and put to death, and Burāk acquired power over Kirmān. This was in the year 621 H. Shujaʻ-ud-Dīn’s son continued to hold the citadel until Jalāl-ud-Dīn arrived. After his separation from Burāk, Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn had taken up his quarters at Rai; and, when his brother, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, reached ʻIrāk, after his return from Sindh, Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn had joined him, had misconducted himself, and, finally, deserted his brother in an engagement with the Tatārs, and finally retired into Ḫūṣistān. See note 6, page 297. He then sent an agent to Burāk to tell him of his arrival there. Burāk pretended to be overjoyed; and, after oaths and pro-
irruption befell the empire of Islam, and Chingiz Khan became triumphant over Irân, a body of Khîţâ-is, and some troops of Sulţân Muḥammad, along with Burâk, the Chamberlain, a native of Khîţâ, a newly converted Musalman, proceeded into Kirmân, and contention and strife arose between them and Sulţân Ghîyâṣ-ud-Dîn-i-Åk Sulţân. The latter, not being powerful enough to repel the Khîţâ-is, out of necessity, left Kirmân and proceeded into 'Irâk to his brother, Sulţân Rukn-ud-Dîn, leaving the Amir, Shujâ'-ud-Dîn, Abû-l-Ḳâsim, in the city of Gawâshîr, which was the seat of government and capital of Kirmân, with the name of Deputy and Seneschal of the city.

Burâk, Khîţâ-i, the Chamberlain, with a numerous army, appeared before the gates of Gawâshîr, and took up his position there; and contention went on between them, which continued for a considerable length of time, until the period when Sulţân Jalâl-ud-Dîn, Mang-barnî, marched from the land of Sind, by way of Mukrân, into Kirmân. As soon as he arrived in the vicinity of the latter territory, Burâk, Khîţâ-i, the Chamberlain, having obtained news of the coming of Sulţân Jalâl-ud-Dîn, proceeded to wait upon him, and pay him homage; and Shujâ'-ud-Dîn, Abû-l-Ḳâsim, likewise, came out of the city of Gawâshîr to pay homage to the Sulţân.

When Sulţân Jalâl-ud-Dîn reached the city, he had but a small following with him, and, therefore, he became anxious with respect to Burâk, the Chamberlain, and made over the country of Kirmân to him as governor, and proceeded into 'Irâk himself. After Burâk, the Chamberlain, had acquired possession of Kirmân, Åk Sulţân, having

mises had been entered into by both parties, Ghîyâṣ-ud-Dîn set out for Kirmân with about 500 followers, and Burâk came forth to receive him with a large following. They got on well together for some time, until Burâk began to treat the Prince with great arrogance, and finally demanded his mother in marriage. She gave a reluctant consent for the sake of her son. Two kinsmen of Burâk's now became partisans of the Prince, warned him of Burâk's designs against him, and asked his permission to kill him. Ghîyâṣ-ud-Dîn, remembering his promises and oaths, refused. A few days after, Burâk became aware of all this; his two kinsmen were cut to pieces, Ghîyâṣ-ud-Dîn strangled, and his mother and all their followers and dependents were put to death, every soul, even to the infant at the breast. Burâk sent the head of Ghîyâṣ-ud-Dîn to Uktâse, son of Chingis, and obtained from the Mughal the investiture of Kirmân, which he held for eleven years, when it passed to his descendants.

1 His son came out and presented the keys of Gawâshîr to the Sulţân.
quarrelled with his brothers, in 'Irāk, returned again into Kirmān, and obtained martyrdom at the hand of Burāk, Khiṭā-i, the Chamberlain, and died.

XIV. SULTĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN, MAŇG-BARNĪ, SON OF SULTĀN MUḤAMMAD, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH.

Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, was the eldest son of Sultān Muḥammad, and was endowed with great heroism, valour, and high talents and accomplishments.

When his father, Sultān Muḥammad, acquired possession of the territories of Ghūr and Ghaznī, he conferred them on Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and made over both those kingdoms to his charge; and deputies of his were placed in those countries. Ghaznī was given to Malik Kurīz; Fīrūzkoh was entrusted to Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, Sabzwārī; and the Wazārat was entrusted to Shīhāb-ud-Dīn-i-Ālb, Sarakhshī. Khármān was given to the Malik-ul-Umrā [Chief, or Noble of Nobles], Burshor [Peshāwar?] and Bū-bikrpūr [or, Abū-

Ghiyās-ud-Dīn was murdered in the fortress of Gawāshīr in 627 H. There is some discrepancy as to dates, which I have not space to discuss, but the former appears the most correct, as Burāk evidently took advantage of Jalāl-ud-Dīn’s defeat, mentioned in note 9, page 297, to make himself independent, and would scarcely have dared to put his brother to death while Jalāl-ud-Dīn had the power to chastise him.

In one of the oldest copies of the text where the vowel-points are given, he is called Mang-barnī, and was so styled from having a mole on his nose. He was, according to Yāsā-I, and other trustworthy writers, the greatest, the most noble-minded, the most warlike, and the most devout of the sons of his father, and most worthy of the diadem of sovereignty. His valour rivalled that of Rustam and Isfandiyār, and he was able, skilful, and sagacious. If there was any man in those days capable of coping with Chingiz successfully, it was he; and, from his subsequent heroic actions, there can be little doubt but that his efforts would have been crowned with success, if his advice had been acted upon, or he had had the direction of affairs, and had been seconded by his brothers, nobles, and subjects, with that unity of purpose so essential in the hour of danger. His brothers, however, were selfish beyond measure, and cared for naught but their own interests and worldly pleasures and excesses, whilst Jalāl-ud-Dīn was kept in constant attendance upon his father, contrary to his own inclinations.

Possibly, Kurbuz. The majority of copies are as above, but others have Kurbuz and Kurbuz [?] all of which seem meaningless.

This may refer to Peshāwar, which was called Bagrām up to Bābar’s time, but there is a place named Burshor [Burshur], much farther south, between Kandahār and the Indus; and our author, in his account of Maḥmūd of Gharmīn, when referring to the idol-temple which fell at his birth, says it was near Barshābūr [Barshābūr]—quite a different mode of spelling. See page 76.
Bikrpūr] were conferred upon Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dbīn, Muḥammad Alt-i-Khrār-post.

When the irruption of Changiz Khān occurred, Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, was in attendance upon his father, as has been previously recorded; and, when he brought his father's remains to Khwārazm and interred them, his brother [Arzalū Shāh] was seated on the throne of Khwārazm, although he was a [much] younger brother; and both the brothers were apprehensive of each other. Kütb-ud-Dīn, Arzalū Shāh, conspired against Jalāl-ud-Dīn, who, having obtained information of his design, came out of Khwārazm, and departed by the route of the wilds of Shāristān. From thence he proceeded to the westward of Nishāpūr, and entered the desert between Khurāsān and Kirmān, with the determination of proceeding to Ghaznīn.

After his father had breathed his last and had been buried, Jalāl-ud-Dīn left the island of Āb-i-Sugūn with a few followers, and set out for Khwārazm, where were his younger brothers, Arzalāk Sultān, Āk Sultān, Ṭīmūr Malik, Aghūl Shāhīb, and Kajāc Tigūn, with 90,000 Kankūlīs. He had vast difficulties to encounter from the confused state of affairs at that time, the successes of Chingiz and his sons, and from his own countrymen, who considered that the glory of the house of Takīkh had departed. It may be as well to mention, that the following notes give a consecutive account of Jalāl-ud-Dīn's life.

All men of experience, and the soldiery generally, were desirous of the sovereignty of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and, although the most solemn agreement had been entered into by the two brothers not to injure or molest each other, the ill-disposed Amirīs of Arzalāk's party, who desired a weak and inexperienced Prince at the head of affairs for their own selfish purposes, combined to fall suddenly upon Jalāl-ud-Dīn and slay him. He, finding such acts could be contemplated at such a time, and knowing the state of utter misery in which the country was now overwhelmed, considered it advisable to leave Khwārazm in the hands of his brother and his party, rather than weaken the little power still remaining by civil strife. He determined to proceed, attended only by a small following, by way of Nisā to Shād-yākh [of Nishāpūr]. As it was, an army of Mughals had already reached the Khwārazm territory, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn was closely pursued [near Astawah, according to Alī] by a portion of that horde, on his way to Shād-yākh, and had great difficulty in effecting his escape. His brothers—four in all—who had followed after him to try and induce him to return, or, more probably, because they could not stay any longer, fell into the hands of this band, and were all put to the sword. See note 1, page 280.

Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn only remained two or three days at Shād-yākh, in order to get together as many men as possible; and, on the 12th of Zi-Hijjah, he set out quietly at night, by way of Zawzan, towards Ghaznīn, to the government of which part he had been nominated by his father. The Mughals were close at hand, and he had not left more than an hour before they appeared before the place. As soon as they found he was not there they set out in pursuit, and pushed on until they came to a place where two roads branched off. At
Trustworthy persons have related, that Jalāl-ud-Dīn, in that desert, saw Mihtar Khizr, who foretold his sovereignty, but, under this compact, that the blood of no Musalmān should be shed by his hand. From thence, Jalāl-ud-Dīn proceeded into the territories of Nimroz, Bust, and Dāwar, and came to Ghaznīn.

Malik Khān of Hirāt, who formerly bore the name of Amin-i-Ḥājib[Amin-ul-Mulk?], and had killed Muḥammad Kharnak, Ghūrī, and who had, before the arrival of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, set out towards Hindūstān, at this time, that the Sultān came to Ghaznīn, likewise, joined him. Chingiz Khān detached an army, from his Mughal following, in search of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, towards Ghaznīn, and Fikū Nū-yān, this place the Sultān had left a small party of his followers, under an Amīr, with directions, in case of his being pursued, to resist the Mughals for a short period, to give him time, and then to take the other road. This was done; and the Mughals, thinking they were on the Sultān’s track, took the wrong road. The Sultān on this occasion is said to have made a march of forty farsakhs without a halt.

On reaching Zawzan he wished to enter and take some repose, and give rest to his horses; but admittance was refused, the excuse being, that, in case of attack by the Mughals, the people could not hold out the place for an hour, and that any attempt at opposition would bring vengeance upon them. He, therefore, continued his route as far as Mābarn-ābād [?]. He left that place at midnight, and at dawn the next morning the Mughals reached it. They followed in the track of the Sultān as far almost as Yazdawīlah [also called Zaudīlah—Jezdoun of the maps?], a dependency of Hirāt [about seventy-five miles s.w. of that city], and then abandoned the pursuit.

Another of our author’s childish tales, certified by “trustworthy authorities.”

The Sultān, without further trouble, reached Ghaznīn, on the 17th of Zī-Ḥijjah, 617 H. Amin Malik, called also Amin-ul-Mulk [he is styled Yamin-ul-Mulk in Raṣṣat-uṣ-Safa and Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, and Yamin Malik by Alī], the governor, who had 50,000 men with him, came out to receive the Sultān, and both the troops and people rejoiced at his arrival, for the government of the territory formerly possessed by the Sultāns of Ghūr had been previously assigned to him by his father. He encamped on the Maidān-i-Sabz of Ghaznīn; and, as soon as the news of his arrival spread abroad, chieftains and troops [who were in those parts previously, no doubt] began to flock to his standard from all parts around, and among the number was Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāk, with 40,000 men, Kankulis, Khalj, and Turkmāns; and the Amirs of Ghūr also joined him from the parts adjacent. His affairs now assumed considerable grandeur and magnificence, and a large army assembled around him.

Some copies of the text, but they are those least to be depended upon, differ considerably here. They have,—“Malik Khān of Hirāt, who was named Amin-i-Ḥājib, at the outset of the events respecting Muḥammad Kharnak, Ghūrī, before Jalāl-ud-Dīn had come into Hindūstān,” &c. The correct name of this chief was Amin Malik, and he is also called Amin-ul-Mulk.

In some copies Fitkū.
who was Chingiz Khān’s son-in-law, was the commander of that force.

Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn advanced against the Mughal army as far as the limits of Barwān, and overthrew the Mughal

* Early in the spring of 618 H. he put his forces in motion, and advanced to Barwān. Having encamped there, he received intimation that a Mughal army, under Bak-chak and Yam-ghūr [these leaders are somewhat differently called by some writers—Kam-chak, and Yīghūr, Tamghūr, and even Balghūr], was pressing the siege of Wāmīfān [Bāmfān, w and b being interchangeable]; and that it was in danger of falling into their hands, if not speedily relieved.

[With regard to these places—the town and fortress referred to—I must here make a few remarks. The town, or position, of Barwān, is likewise called Parwān, Fawwān, Bārān, and Barwān on the Āb-i-Bārānī, by as many different writers. The letters b, f, and j are interchangeable. The two first are undoubtedly incorrect. Bābar and Abū-l-Faṣl call the upper portion of the Kābul river the “Āb-i-Bārānī,” and, in my humble opinion, this proves the correctness of the situation of this place, as given by Bāhākī, Yāfī-Ī, and Jāmī'-ut-Tawārikh—which latter work also states that it lies on the “banks of the Āb-i-Bārānī”—as situated between Ghaznī and Wāmīfān, but nearer Ghaznī. What modern writers and travellers in Afghānistān call the Logurh [the Lohgar] river, the historians above quoted, and many others, call the Āb-i-Bārānī, and consider it, very properly, as the main stream of the upper portion of that river which, ultimately, enters the Indus above Ātak. Barwān is also to be found in many maps, although the position may not be quite correct, at about five or six stages north of Ghaznī. With respect to the fortress invested by the Mughals, the Introduction to the Zafar-Nāmah, an excellent and trustworthy authority, says it was “Bāmfān, also called Wāmīfān;” and this last seems to be the name which some writers have mistaken for Wālfān. Certainly there is a place mentioned in the Masālik-va-Mamālik named Wālfān, but one syllable less than Wālfān and Wāmīfān, as being “the same distance from Khulum as the latter is from Balkh.” There is also a Parwān or Farwān, on the Panj-hīr river; but those who have seen the Parwān valley, north of Kābul, describe it as very tortuous, and, in many places, a mere rocky defile; and there is also the pass of the same name over Hindū-Kush, not the easiest by far. If Barwān, or Parwān, north of Kābul, could possibly be the place referred to, and Wālfān—the Wālfān of Masālik-va-Mamālik, and which Mr. Thomas, R. A. S. J., vol. xvi. p. 86, calls “Wāwālīn,” and considers to have been situated near the “modern Kunduz” [Kundus, by ‘Arabs, Kunduz, is described as a very ancient place, by oriental writers, who say the correct name was Kuhandujz, signifying a fortress, but by constant use shortened into Kundus. Bāhākī repeatedly refers to Kuhandujz, and constantly mentions Walwālij also, but neither “Wāwālīn” nor Wālfān—be the place to which the Mughals were laying siege, Jalāl-ud-Dīn would have had to cross and re-cross the Hindū-Kush on this occasion, a rather difficult matter at any time, even for travellers, much more for an army of about 100,000 horsemen, in early spring, and a dangerous one too, considering that Chingiz, with his main force, was before Thī-kān, only about twenty miles from Kundus, while the Parwān Pass, and Sar-i-Ulang Pass, connected with it, and the other passes of Hindū-Kush, were no less than eighty miles off, or more. Jalāl-ud-Dīn might have been cut off from the passes easily by a force from Chingiz’s army whilst he was engaged with the
infidels. He encountered them upon three different times in that quarter, and on all three occasions success and victory

Mughal forces before Wämiän, or Wällän so called. Besides, we are plainly told that Barwan, on the banks of the Āb-i-Bārānī, was a town or city between Ghaznī and Balkh. Chingiz himself came in pursuit of the Sultān, by way of Andar-āb, Kābul, and Bāmīān.]

Leaving his heavy material and baggage at Barwan, Sultān Jālāl-ud-Dīn marched to the relief of the fortress; and, having come upon the advanced force of the Mughals in that direction, made a dash upon them, and inflicted a loss of 1000 men. The Sultān’s troops being the most numerous, the Mughals retired across the river, destroying the bridge after them [this shows the river, whatever it was, was not fordable], and took up a position on the opposite side. Vollies of arrows were discharged on either side until night closed, and during the darkness the Mughals, according to their favourite manœuvre, seemingly, decamped. [If Wāllän lay where Kundus does now, a messenger would have brought Chingiz with his whole army, or a large portion of it, from Tāe-kān before night.] The Sultān now caused a great quantity of food and other necessaries [scarcely brought over the Parwan Pass] to be sent to the fortress of Wämiän, after which he returned to his camp at Barwan.

Chingiz, having heard before Tāe-kān of this reverse, despatched another force of 30,000 picked troops, under Shabkl Kōti [according to Yāna-I, but by our author and some others, Fīkū Nū-yān; by the Zafr-Nāmah, Kankūd and other leaders; and by others, Kūbur] to take revenge, and prepared to follow in person; and one morning, in the early forenoon, about a week after his return to Barwan, intimation reached the Sultān that the Mughals were approaching. He at once put his troops in motion, and advanced about a league to meet them, and drew up his ranks in readiness to receive them. [If the modern Parwan be the place, a position they were not likely to venture into with such a large force able to attack them within it, and a strong fortress in their rear, the Mughals must have been about to issue from the pass, and the Sultān must have advanced towards its entrance to receive them; but I doubt very much whether those who have seen those passes would consider such to be probable or possible.] Amīn Malik had the right wing, and Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāk, the left, while the Sultān took post in the centre. He gave orders for the troops to dismount, and hold their horses’ bridles in hand. [Thrown over the arm probably, but scarcely to “bind the reins of their horses round their waists.” What if the horses had taken fright? Even with the reins thrown over their arms, the men would have had to fight in a single rank—a strange mode of fighting. The probability is that the bridles of the horses were fastened at the saddle, to, or round, the horses’ waists, which would enable a few men comparatively to look after them.] This they obeyed, determined to do or die. The right wing, under Amīn Malik, being the strongest division of the Sultān’s army, the Mughals directed their chief efforts against it, and it was forced back; but, prompt aid being afforded from the left and centre, the Mughals, in their turn, were compelled to give way. Not a man on either side turned his back: great valour was shown on both sides, and the fighting only ceased with the light.

Next morning preparations were made to renew the engagement, but the Sultān’s troops, having noticed the ranks of another division [the “wood and felt” ranks of the Raqsat-ūs-Ṣāfā], apparently drawn up in rear of the Mughal ranks, conceived that reinforcements must have reached them during the night, and they seemed disinclined to encounter them. Counsel was taken as to the
rewarded him; but, on the news of these successes of his reaching Chingiz Khan, he, being at Tāl-kān of Khurāsān [Tāe-kān of Tūkhāristān?] at the time, marched his armies towards Ghaznī. Sultan Jalāl-ud-Dīn was unable to offer advisability of falling back to and taking shelter near the foot of the hills, and retiring to the high ground and spurs; but the Sultan would not hear of such a prejudicial movement. The troops were directed to dismount as on the previous day [ordering them to dismount would indicate ground impracticable for cavalry, but dismounting to fight also indicates a determination to conquer or die]; and, on this occasion, the enemy’s efforts were directed against the left wing under Sa‘īd-ud-Dīn, Ḫārāk, the valour and spirit of whose men they had had such recent proof of, and their best men were pitted against it. The troops of the left wing, however, stood their ground so determinedly, and plied their arrows with such effect, that the Mughals were hurled back. They having turned their backs without venturing to renew the attack, the Sultan directed that theymbals should sound the charge, upon which the whole force mounted and charged the Mughals [I fancy the Parwān Pass is not a nice place for a general charge by a numerous army of cavalry], who turned their backs and made off. Again they rallied, charged the Sultan’s advanced troops, and inflicted a loss of 500 warriors; but the Sultan flew to the rescue, and again charged the Mughals and put them to final rout, making great slaughter among them. The two leaders returned with the remnant of their forces to Chingiz’s camp at Tāe-kān.

The Sultan’s troops, having defeated the Mughals, took to plunder; and, most unfortunately, a dispute arose between Amin Malik and Sa‘īd-ud-Dīn, Ḫārāk, about a horse, and Amin Malik, in the heat of the dispute, struck the latter over the head with his whip. The Sultan was unable [not “unwilling”] to investigate the matter, because he doubted whether the Khanuls [Amin Malik’s followers] would submit to any decision. In consequence of this untoward event, Sa‘īd-ud-Dīn, Ḫārāk, smiting under the insult, stayed with the Sultan but for the day; and, when night set in, “with the instinct [and cunning] of the wild beasts,” he marched away with his whole force towards the mountains of Kārūn and Sanā‘ūn [some say, Shanūsān].

This event completely broke the power of Jālāl-ud-Dīn, having deprived him of nearly half his army; and, under the circumstances, he thought it advisable to retire to Ghaznī.

4 Chingiz Khan, who had now disposed of Tāe-kān, having become aware of this division among, and partial dispersion of, the Sultan’s army, hastened to take revenge. Leaving his heavy material behind at Būklān, he advanced with his whole available force, by way of Andar-āb, it is said, against Wāmīn or Bāmīn. [This certainly must be the Wālīn, as he would scarcely have left it un molested.] He was detained a month before it, and, having taken it, he put every soul to the sword, and then set out against Sultan Jalāl-ud-Dīn.

The Sultan, on becoming aware of Chingiz’s intentions, being far too weak to make a stand against such forces, which no ruler of that time could outnumber, resolved to cross the Sindh, and retire into Hindūstān [the reason probably was, that he claimed the western parts of the Panjāb, and also of Sindh, as successor to the dominions of Mu‘izz [Ṣhihāb]-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, and, leaving a garrison at Ghaznī, he set out. Öx Khān was left at Kajjā [Čajja, probably, the name of a place on the route to the Indus by the Pāwār Pass, with the rear-guard of the Sultan’s small force, to endeavour to
resistance to these forces, and retired towards Burghor [Peshá-
hold Chingiz’s advance at bay, and give him time to send his family and
effects across, and to get his followers across also, on the appearance of the
Mughals, but Üz Khan was defeated and forced back. Chingiz, who saw through
the Sultan’s object, and knew that he had left Ghazvin fifteen days before his
reaching it, pushed on with all possible celerity, and, after crushing the Sultan’s
rear-guard, made a forced march during the night. It was in the month of
Rajab, 618 H. [corresponding to September, 1221 A.D., although a few writers
mention Shawwal—December]; and, when the morning dawned, the Sultan,
who was encamped near the bank of the river nearly opposite the Nil-áb ferry
[the place where Tirmír is said, subsequently, to have passed the Indus, but
he crossed at Dínkot], and who had along with him his family, dependents,
and treasures, found the Mughals on three sides of him—they were in his front
and on both flanks, and the river was in his rear. Notwithstanding the extreme
danger of his situation, he was not to be daunted, and determined to stand his
ground. The Mughals began by attacking his right wing [the odds were
more than fifty to one], under Amin Malik, a body of them having advanced
along the river’s bank to take him in flank; and they overpowered him, and
most of his party were slaughtered. Amin Malik, with the few men remaining
of the right wing, made for Baráhwar; but, as the Mughals had occupied the
route, he and they were all slaughtered by the way. The left wing, under Khan
Malik, was likewise overwhelmed. The Sultan had kept up this unequal
combat from dawn to noon, and was now left with the remains of his centre
reduced by this time to about 700 men [some say 100 only]. He flew from the
flank to the centre, and centre to flank of the enemy, and fought like a lion at
bay, charged them repeatedly [the Mughals were commanded not to kill him,
but to take him alive if possible], overthrowing numbers, and clearing a space
around him at every onset, and filling them with amazement at his valour. All was
of no avail; it was like attempting to stay the ocean’s billows, for the Mughal
forces increased every moment by the arrival of fresh troops, and pressed
forward, every instant contracting the area round the gallant Sultan. [If the
reader will examine one of the Panjab surveys maps of this part, he will find
that the nature of the ground was of some advantage to Sultan Jalal-ud-Din,
by rendering it difficult for the Mughals to show an extended front.]

When he perceived that his situation was become desperate, and had gone
beyond name and fame, he surveyed the scene with tearful eyes and fevered
lip. At this crisis Ujásh Malik [also Akhás], son of Khan Malik, his maternal
uncle, seized the bridle of his horse, and dragged him away. With weeping
eyes, and his heart filled with a thousand pangs, he bade adieu to his wives
and children, his mother, and other relations and dependents, called for his
state charger to be saddled and brought forth, and, having mounted him, once
more, like the crocodile, he plunged into the sea of conflict, and, having forced
back the foremost of the enemy for a short distance, turned round, divested
himself of his armour, slung his shield at his back, and, seizing his canopy
without its staff, and urging his charger with his whip [spurs not used], he
plunged into the Sindh, although the water was at a distance of eight or ten
yards below the bank; and, armed with his sword, spear, shield, and quiver of
arrows, “like unto a fearless lion rushing along a plain, he passed the Jfún,
and reached the opposite bank in safety, after having been carried down some
distance by the force of the current, and before reaching a spot favourable for
landing.” [A camel does not look very “proud” when crossing a river, much
less the Indus, even in a boat. See Elliot, vol. ii., note 2, page 552.
war?]; and, on the banks of the river Sind, an encounter

Between a lion and a camel there is a vast difference, although they are but two points—(lion) and (camel)—but who could mistake them, the camel being a very model of awkwardness? The word "Jhun," used by one of the authors from which this is taken, seems to signify any mighty river, as the Jhun of Sindh; and, in this sense, Ibn Khurdabih appears to use it. There is a place, on the west bank of the Indus, a little below Nfl-Ab, called Ghūrā-Trap, or the "Horse's Leap," and very probably the name is derived from the Sultan's feast above recorded. Chingiz Khan caused a monument [\text{?}] to be erected where the battle took place. It has been said [Elliot, vol ii., App. page 571], that "the passage of the river [Indus] would have been no such very gallant feat [Columbus and the egg to wit: nothing is after it has been accomplished!]" in that month [December] when the river was at its lowest," and reference is made to "Almas" [Iyal-timish] and old Ranjit Singh; but where did they cross? Where the river was broad and shallow, and the current not rapid; but where Jalal-ud-Dīn is said to have plunged in from the overhanging bank, some 25 to 30 feet above the water, was at a place a few miles below Nfl-Ab, where the river is about 180 feet deep, 250 yards wide, and running at the rapid rate of nine or ten miles an hour. The whole distance between Nfl-Ab and this place may be described as one immense and irresistible rapid. See Wood: "Oxus."] Chingiz, seeing the Sultan in the act of crossing, galloped to the bank; and some of his Mughals would have thrown themselves in after him, but Chingiz forbade them, and they took to their bows. A group, who witnessed the scene, relate that, as far as their arrows could reach, the water was red with blood, for several of his followers followed his example. Some idea may be formed, from what has been noticed above, of the value of the "Universal History," the best authority for the English reader to consult, when it is therein stated, that Jalal-ud-Din, when in the middle of the river—running about nine miles an hour—"stopped to insult Jenghiz Khan, who was come to the bank to admire his courage, and emptied his quiver of arrows against him"

Having reached the opposite side, the Sultan, slowly and sorrowfully, rode upwards along the bank until he reached a spot facing his own camp, and beheld the plunder of his family, kinsmen, dependents, his treasures, and all his belongings, without being able to render them succour, while Chingiz continued astride his horse on the opposite side, pointing out the Sultan to his sons. The Sultan now dismounted from his charger, loosened the girths, took off the felt saddle-cloth, together with his own tunic and cloak, and his arrows, and laid them in the sun to dry, and spread his canopy on the head of his spear, which he stuck into the ground to shade him from the sun. He remained all alone until the time of afternoon prayer, when about seven of his followers joined him, and a small tent was pitched for his convenience. Whilst the light permitted, he watched the proceedings of the Mughals, "whilst the heavens above looked down upon him with wonder and amazement, as though they said,—

'Never hath the world beheld a man like this,
Nor heard of one among the heroes of ancient times.'"

Chingiz Khan and the whole of the Mughals, who witnessed this wonderful feat, placed their hands to their mouths [denoting amazement]; and Chingiz himself, when he beheld the Sultan's lofty bearing, turned his face towards his sons, and said,—"Such a son as this is worthy to survive his father! Since he has escaped the vortex of fire and water, and reached the shore of escape,
took place between them. Sultan Jalal-ud-Din was defeated and overthrown, and he threw himself into the river, and retired, discomfited, into Hindustan.

The august Sultan, Shams-ud-Dunya wa ud-Din, despatched a force from his armies against him, upon which Sultan Jalal-ud-Din turned aside, and proceeded towards Uchchah and Multan. From thence he entered the
countless deeds will be achieved by him, and vast trouble caused; and, as long as he lives, it is fallacious for us to entertain the hope of dominion and empire, and how then is it possible for any prudent man to be heedless of his actions!"

Several historians say, that this event occurred in the "vicinity" [254] of Barahawar; and, from this, we may judge how far Waihind or Bahind, mentioned under Mahmud of Ghazn [page 76], may have been distant from that place. See also note 4, page 285.

4. Here we have a good specimen of our author's wilful concealment and distortion of facts: he could not have been ignorant of these events, which happened during his own lifetime, in the country in which he was residing; and at Court, where all these matters were perfectly well known. He came first into Sindh in 624 H., not long after they happened. I must only give a brief summary of the principal events to elucidate Jalal-ud-Din's Indian career, and correct our author's blunders and misstatements. The Sultan, having crossed the Indus in safety, as soon as night came on, entered the Chul [uncultivated or desert tract] of Jaruk—called to this day, the Chul-i-Jalal—with his few followers, and was joined, by degrees, by stragglers from his army, until they numbered about 50 or 100 men, some badly armed. With this handful of followers he attacked a town, where there was a considerable force of Hindus, defeated them, and captured the place, and in it obtained some horses and arms. Shortly after, others of his men, who had escaped from the banks of the Indus, also joined him. He sent a force of 500 horse against another place in that vicinity, and again defeated the people of those parts, who showed hostility towards him. By degrees his force increased to between 4000 and 5000 men; and Chingiz, who was still in the vicinity of the Indus, on hearing of it, and fearing the energy of Jalal-ud-Din, despatched a force against him under a leader named Tirtak. The Sultan, not being strong enough to oppose the Mughals, retired through a part of the Panjab towards the frontier of the kingdom of Dihlī. On this the Mughal leader again retired, after plundering the neighbourhood of Malkapur. The Sultan despatched an envoy to I-yal-timash, the slave-king of Dihlī, on arriving near his frontier, requesting that the latter would assign a place for his residence for a short time, and urged this request upon the previous good understanding, which had existed between them as neighbours [his father's officials and the ruler of Dihlī probably], and further urged the great advantage of mutual support, and that, even for humanity's sake, he would grant this favour of an asylum. "The base nature of the slave, however, was," as one author says, "unchanged in the king; and, sprinkling his head with the dust of churlishness and ill-nature, he, after taking a long time to consider on the subject, put the Sultan's envoy to death [some say he had him poisoned], under pretence that the envoy had been conspiring against him, but, in reality, fearing the effect upon his own Turkish followers, and probably the Sultan's superiority over himself, his warriorlike character, his nobility of mind, and great energy. The manumitted slave
territory of Kirmān, and afterwards Fārs. The Atā-bak, excused himself by saying, that the climate of the country would not agree with the Sultān’s health, but that, if he would accept a place in the environs of Dihlī, one should be assigned to him. This, of course, was to get him into his power, if possible. As to I-yal-timish sending “an army” against the Sultān, it is absurd: he knew better than to do that. He did send a great man as envoy, with rich presents and supplies, and false excuses, for the murder of the Sultān’s envoy. The Sultān, having returned to Balālah and Nikālah, near Lāhor, and his forces having now increased, by the arrival of many of his old soldiers, to the number of about 10,000, but by no means sufficient to bring the ruler of Dihlī to account, despatched a portion of his army against the Hills of Jūd. That force defeated the Khokar [or more correctly, Khokhar] chief, erroneously styled Rāe Kokār and Kokar by most writers [the Ghakhars are quite a distinct race], and returned with great booty. The Sultān demanded the chief’s daughter in marriage, which was readily acceded to; and, moreover, the Rāe sent his son at the head of a considerable body of his tribe, to join the Sultān’s troops, and the title of Kutlah [some say Kulf] Khān was bestowed upon the latter.

Hostility of long standing existed between the Khokhar chief and Kubāchah, governor of Sindh [the whole valley of the Indus, below the Salt Range, was called Sindhi in those days], who had now begun to consider himself an independent sovereign. He was encamped near Uchchah with 20,000 men, and a force of 7000 was despatched against him, by the Sultān, under Jahān Pahlawān, guided by the chief’s son. They made a forced march, and, falling suddenly upon Kubāchah, in the night, totally overthrew him. Kubāchah got on board a vessel, and made for his stronghold of Akar and Bakar [Sakar and Bhakar? Jāmi’-ut-Tawārīkh says, “two fortresses on one island”], “which are two islands in the river Sindhi” [more on this subject anon], and the Sultān came to Uchchah. Kubāchah now managed to get back to Multān, after having, on the Sultān’s demand, paid him a considerable sum of money as tribute. The hot season coming on, the Sultān returned to the Salt Range hills again, and, on the way, took a fortress called Bisirām or Bīsrām [Bīsrām-pūr?], where he was wounded in the hand by an arrow.

Chingiz had despatched another army against him, and the Sultān was obliged to move towards Lower Sindh. On his arrival in sight of Multān, he sent an agent to Kubāchah and demanded a contribution; but he, knowing the Mughals were on the move, refused, and showed determined hostility. The Sultān did not tarry in the vicinity, but proceeded to Uchchah, which, proving hostile also, he remained before two days, and set fire to. From thence he advanced to Sindūstān [the name given by the generality of historians is Sīwastān—Alīf says, “Sadūsān, which is Sīwastān”]—the present Europeanized Sehwān. The city and fortress were held by a deputy of Kubāchah’s, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Sālārī. A force sent out by him, under Lāchān, a native of Khātā, having been overthrown by the Sultān’s vanguard under Üz Khān, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, on the Sultān’s arrival, came forth, and delivered up the place. Jalāl-ud-Dīn entered the city, and remained there a month, after which he conferred a dress of honour upon Fakhr-ud-Dīn, left him in charge as his lieutenant in Sindūstān, and marched to Dībal and Damīrī. A Hābash [Abyssinian or negro], who was ruler of that part, fled, got on ship-board, and escaped. The Sultān encamped near those places; and, from thence, detached a force, under Khāz Khān towards Nahrwālāh, from which he returned with immense booty. Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn founded a Jāmi’ Masjid at Dīwal or Dībal, as it
Abū-Bikr, ruler of Fārs⁴, gave the Sulṭān his sister in
is also called, on the ruins of an idol-temple. [The situation of this place
seems to have puzzled many. Istākhurī says it lies west of the river
Mihrān; Abū-l-Kāsim, Ibn Ḥūkal, says, in one place, that it lies on the
sea-coast on the eastern bank of the Mihrān; while, in another place, he
says the waters of the Mihrān fall into the sea east of Dībal. Abū-l-Kāsim-i-
'Abd-ullah, son of Khurdād, Khurāsānī, author of the Māsālik-wa-Mamā-
lik, also says the Mihrān passes Dībal on the east; but Abū-l-Fażl says,
plainly, that Brāhmanābād was subsequently styled Dībal or Dīwāl and
Ṭhaṭṭah, and so does the Jāmī'-ut-Tawārīkh and others also. Extensive ruins
exist for miles around Ṭhaṭṭah; and, in endeavouring to fix the site of Dībal,
which the ancient geographers say was situated on the coast, and modern
writers expect to find there still, the latter do not make allowance for
alterations and changes in the course, and for the deposits at the mouth of
the Indus, which, during the lapse of many centuries, have increased the
distance of the present Ṭhaṭṭah from the sea many miles. The mouth
[or mouths] of the Indus must have changed considerably within the last 250
years, if Ṭhaṭṭah and Dīwāl be one and the same place; for Paynton, in his
account of the voyage of Captain Christopher Newport, who took out Sir
Robert Shirley as envoy to Persia in 1613, says Sir Robert was landed there.
He remarks,—"We came to an anchor near the city of Dībal, in the mouth of the
river Sind, in 24° 30' N. Lat., and our varying at the same place 16° 45'."
Ṭhaṭṭah is in Lat. 24° 44', and Karāchī, which is also supposed by some to
be the site of Dībal, lies in 24° 51'.]

Whilst in Lower Sindh, information reached the Sulṭān, that his brother,
Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Pār Shāh, was established in Irāk; but that the troops,
generally, desired his [Jalāl-ud-Dīn's] presence, and were calling for him to
head them; and further, that Burāk, the Hājib, was in Kirmān, and was then
investing the town [city] of Bardasīr. [Ibn Ḥūkal says—"Bardasīr, which
is to say, Gawāshīr.] These things, together with information respecting
the movements of a large Mughal force [the one previously alluded to, which was
despached into the Mukrānāt—the Mukrāns], and the return of Chingiz to
his own country again, determined the Sulṭān to set out for Irāk by way of
Mukrān, which he did in 621 H.; and, like Alexander before him, lost a
number of his followers from the unhealthiness of the climate.

From this point, in order to save space, I must greatly curtail the notes I
had written, although the remaining events in the career of Jalāl-ud-Dīn are very
interesting. The Sulṭān entered Kirmān, and Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Kāsim's
son, who held out Gawāshīr [also called Bardasīr] for Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, the
Sulṭān's brother, and who was then holding it against Burāk, the Hājib,
came out and presented the keys to the Sulṭān. Burāk pretended to submit
and to be most loyal, and gave his daughter to the Sulṭān, but, subsequently,
shut him out of the capital, and sent out his followers, although he pretended
merely to hold it, and the territory of Kirmān, as the Sulṭān's deputy. Jalāl-
ud-Dīn had matters of greater importance to engage his attention at that time,
and he accordingly set out for Irāk by way of Shīrāz, and sent an envoy to the
Aṭā-bak Sa'd to announce his coming.

⁴ Not so: the Aṭā-bak Sa'd still ruled in Fārs, and Abū-Bikr did not
succeed him until 628 H.—seven years subsequently. How different was the
behaviour of Sa'd to that of the "august Sulṭān" of our author! As soon as
the Sulṭān's agent came, he despached his son, Salghur Shāh, with 500 horse,
to do him honour, and to apologize for not coming himself, because, some time
marriage, and entertained him as a guest. From Fārs, Jalāl-ud-Dīn entered the country of Aṣarbālījān, and defeated the infidels of Gurj [Georgia], and reduced that country under his jurisdiction.

previously, he had taken an oath which he could not break, that he would never more go forth to receive any one soever. Jalāl-ud-Dīn accepted his apology, received his son with great favour, and conferred the title of Farzand Khān upon him. On the Sultān reaching the neighbourhood of Sa’d's capital, he supplied him with every sort of thing that could be desired—clothes, arms, horses, supplies of all descriptions, and even Ḥabashi, Hindī, and Turkish slaves to serve him. After certain agreements and stipulations had been concluded between them, the Atā-bak Sa’d gave a daughter of his own in marriage to the Sultān, the ceremonies of which were duly celebrated, and a thoroughly good understanding was established between them, and Sa’d was confirmed in his possessions. On his departure for Ḩeṣāhān, the Sultān induced Sa’d to release his son Abū-Bikr, who had long been imprisoned for hostility towards his father [see page 178], and Abū-Bikr was released and allowed to follow in the train of the Sultān.

Having entered 'Irāk, the Sultān proceeded to Rai; and his brother, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Pār Shāh, pretended to submit to his brother's authority. On the way to Ḩeṣāhān, the Sultān was joined by the venerable 'Alā-ud-Daulah, who bore the title of Atā-bak, and, for the last sixty years, had held the government of Yazd. He was the lineal descendant of the last of the Dīlamah rulers of the family of Buṭlāh. See page 66, and note 7.

Jalāl-ud-Dīn's affairs now began to acquire some stability. He determined to proceed to Shustar for the winter of 621 H., and afterwards, having previously despatched an envoy, to proceed to Baghdad and endeavour to establish friendly relations with the Khalīfah, and solicit his aid and support against the common enemy of their faith, or at least to obtain the countenance and sanction of the Khalīfah for his own efforts against them. All was to no purpose: the hostility of Un-Nāṣir towards the father was continued towards the son, although the common enemy of their faith was, so to speak, at his own gates. He not only refused to hold any communication with him, but sent two armies to expel him from his territory; but the Sultān, who was compelled to fight in his own defence, defeated and routed both armies in detail, with much inferior numbers. Un-Nāṣir died in the following year, 622 H.

The Sultān, unsuccessful at the court of Baghdad, determined to bring under his jurisdiction the subject province of Aṣarbālījān, in which the Atā-bak, Yūz-bak, the son of the Atā-bak, Jahān Pahlawān, ruled. Yūz-bak fled from his capital, Tabrīz, on the Sultān's approach, and retired to his stronghold of Alanjāk, leaving his consort, the daughter of Sultān Tughrīl [not Sanjar], Saljūḳī, in charge of the capital. She was aggrieved with Yūz-bak on some account, and stated that he had divorced her; and, having obtained a dispensation from the chief Kāṭl to that effect, she, after consulting with and obtaining the sanction of the chiefs and great men, agreed to deliver up Tabrīz to the Sultān, if he would, after the prescribed period, marry her. The Sultān agreed, and the capital was delivered up to him, and he entered it in 622 H. Subsequently, he went to Nakhjūān, and espoused Shams Malikah Khāṭīn, as agreed; and, a few days after the news reached her former husband, the Atā-bak Yūz-bak, he died of grief and chagrin.

7 Soon after Jalāl-ud-Dīn engaged in hostilities with the Gurjīs, and was
THE KHWAÑRAZM-SHAHIAH DYNASTY.

He also fought engagements with the armies of Rūm and of Shām, and was defeated and overcome; but, at length, peace was concluded between him and the army of Shām. Tūrtī, the Mughal, who had invested Multān, left Chingiz Khān, and came and joined Sultān Jalāl-ud-Din, and became a convert to the Muḥammadan faith.

The Mughal forces, upon several occasions, went in pursuit of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Din, but victory always attended him. At last, in the year 628, or 629 H., the Sultān was successful against them; but was impeded in his operations by Burāk, the Ḥājib, throwing off his allegiance. He determined to move against the rebel at once, and acted with such celerity, that on the eighteenth day he reached Kirmān from Tiflis, only 300 horse having kept up with him. Burāk hastened to make submission, by sending apologies, rich and costly presents, and protestations of loyalty for the future, but did not, of course, venture into the Sultān's presence. The latter could do nought else than accept his submission, for during his absence, Malik-ul-Ashtar, ruler of Shām, instigated by Burāk to create a diversion in his own favour, sent an army into the Sultān's territory, under the governor of Akhīāt, who carried off Shām's Malikah Khatīm from Khūs, and dishonoured her (Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says, Malik-ul-Ashtar dishonoured her, and Rauṣat-ush-Safā says, it was the Ḥājib, 'Ali; and the Gurjīs also rose. The Sultān lost no time in taking revenge, and carried slaughter and devastation up to the very gates of Akhīāt. He had, however, to abandon his operations against it, from intimidation that two Mughal armies had entered 'Irāk. One of these supposed armies turned out to be Jahān Pahlawān, Ir-bak [Thus in one copy of Guzlub, with the diacritical points; in others, Ir-lak and Ir-lk; and in other writers, Uz-bak and Uz-bak and Uz-bak Khān, but I do not account the last three correct], and his followers, who had been left by the Sultān as governor of his conquests in the valley of the Indus. Jalāl-ud-Dīn, however, broke up his camp before Akhīāt, and retired into 'Irāk to oppose the Mughals. Nearly every copy of the text has Karā in instead of Gurj.

* This statement is not mentioned by other authors quoted herein, and is very doubtful.

* In Ramaṣān 624 H. (Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh and some others say, in 626 H., and others, 625 H., but the first, from other circumstances and data, is correct), he encountered the enemy between Ḥisfahān and Rai. The right wing of the Sultān's army, led by Uz Khān, overthrew the opposing force of Mughals, when the Sultān's brother, Ghūyāq-ud-Dīn, who had charge of the other wing, deserted during the action, with all his adherents, and fled into Lūristān. [It was subsequent to this that he was put to death by Burāk. See page 285, and note 3.] This dastardly act on the part of his brother caused the Sultān's overthrow, and he had to cut his way out of the fight. He succeeded in reaching the neighbouring hills, and, after some days, reached Ḥisfahān, to the joy and surprise of the troops and people, who feared he must have perished. The Mughals, after this, recrossed into Khwājarān again. Their object, at this period, seems to have been to prevent the Sultān's government from acquiring any stability, to ravage the country they passed through, and to endeavour to surprise him. In consequence of their retreat, the Sultān had time to renew
encamped on the confines of Azarbâijân, on the side of Shâm and Diyâr-i-Bakr, when an army of Mughals came unexpectedly upon him, and he was obliged to fly 1.

his operations in Gurjistân and Arman. He marched from Isfahân, in 625 H., and, having succeeded against the Gurjts, marched to Akhlât once more, took it by storm, captured the governor's [Hâjib 'Alî's] wife, whom he made his slave, and amply revenged the outrage Shams Malikhah Khâtûn had suffered at her husband's hands.

Jalâl-ud-Dîn now turned his arms against the Sultan of Rûm, 'Alâ-ud-Dîn, son of Kai-Kubâd, Saljûq [see bottom of page 162], and Malik-ul-Aghraf, ruler of Shâm, who had combined against him [all the Muhammadan rulers at this time, with few exceptions, seem bent on their own destruction, and played into the hands of the Mughals], and had been joined by forces from Arman, Gurjistân, and Kîchâk [Krim?]. In the first action, the Sultan overthrew a portion of them; but in a second engagement, having to dismount from his horse through illness, his troops, thinking he had retired from the field, became dispirited and gave way. They were not pursued, because the enemy considered their flight a mere stratagem of the Sultan's to draw them into an ambuscade. This is said to have taken place in 627 H. Jalâl-ud-Dîn had endeavoured [in 627-8 H.] to induce the rulers of Rûm and Shâm to join him against the common enemy, but jealousy and suspicion on their part prevented so advantageous an alliance.

1 The end of the gallant Sultan's eventful career, however, was approaching. He had passed the winter of 628 H. in the neighbourhood of Irmânsâh, when intimation reached him of the despatch of a fresh and numerous army of Mughals, under Jârmâghân, and of their early approach. He despatched Uz Khân, with a strong patrol, to make inquiries. He proceeded as far as Tabrîz, where he was told that they had retired from the country again, and, without satisfying himself as to the truth of this report, he returned to the Sultan's camp with it. Thrown off his guard by this false report, the Sultan and his troops gave themselves up to festivity and carousal. After some time had elapsed, one night, in the moon of Shawwâl of the above year, the Mughals came suddenly upon him. The Sultan, who was sound asleep at the time from the effects of his potations, was aroused by Uz Khân, who urged him to fly. The Mughals had already got into his camp, and were slaying all who came in their way. Uz Khân kept them at bay for a short time, during which the Sultan was able to mount his horse, and fly towards the hills of the Kurds. He wandered about for some time, when sleep overcame him; he lay down, and fell fast asleep. A Kurd, attracted by the richness of his dress, seized him. The Sultan made himself known to him, and requested the man to conduct him to Malik Muğaffar, the then governor of Akhlât. The Kurd conducted him first to his dwelling, and then went back to the place where he had found the Sultan asleep to search for his horse, which had strayed whilst his master slept. Another Kurd, whose brother had been killed in the storming of Akhlât—some say by the Sultan's own hand—having heard where he was, came, during the absence of his clansman, and slew him in revenge for his brother's death.

With Jalâl-ud-Dîn, the Khwârazm Khâh dynasty terminated. Some authors relate that he was not slain on the above occasion, but that he changed clothes with the Kurd, and turned devotee, and wandered about the world. Curiously enough, I have accidentally met with a confirmation of this. It is
He succeeded in reaching a place in the territory of Akhlāt, and halted to rest near a village, the chief of which recognized him. In a battle, which had taken place between the Sultan and the troops of Shām, he had slain the brother* of that chief. Having the Sultan thus in his power, that chieftain martyred him. The next day, information was conveyed to the sovereign of Shām, who was greatly grieved [at his fate]; and he commanded that the murderer should suffer condign punishment.

On the occurrence of this misfortune, the sister of the Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr, ruler of Fārs [Jalāl-ud-Dīn's consort], reached Shām. She was treated with honour and reverence, and was conducted back to Fārs.

Thus the dominion of the Khwārazm Shāhs terminated; and their remaining Malik, and their followers, took up their residence in Shām and in Miṣr.

most interesting, and from one who attended him in his last moments. Shaikh 'Alā-ud-Daulah, Al-Byābānī, us-Sīmānī relates as follows:—"When at Baghdād, I used daily, at noon, to wait upon the pious and venerable Shaikh, Nūr-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dīn, 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān-i-Isfarāīnī—may his tomb be sanctified! I happened to go upon one occasion, at the usual hour, and found him absent from his abode, a rather unusual occurrence at that time of the day. I went again on the following morning to wait upon him, and inquired as to the cause of his absence on the previous day. He replied, 'My absence was caused through Sultan Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, having been received into the Almighty's mercy.' I inquired, 'What, had he been living all this time?' He answered, 'You may have noticed a certain aged man, with a mole upon his nose, who was wont to stay at a certain place,' which he named. I had often remarked the venerable devotee in question;' and that was the heroic, but unfortunate Sultan, Jalāl-ud-Dīn. According to this account, Jalāl-ud-Dīn could not have died until 688 H., above sixty years after the period above mentioned.

* The most reliable copies have "brother;" others, "brothers and sons;" and some again, "sons" only.