SECTION XVIII.

THE SHANSABĀNĪAH SULTĀNS OF TUKHĀRISTĀN AND BĀMIĀN.

Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī, the humblest of the servants of the Almighty's threshold, thus states, that, as Almighty God raised up great and powerful Sultāns from the race of the Shansabānīs, who were Maliks over the mountain tracts of Ghūr, and brought within the grasp of their jurisdiction, and under their subjection, sundry territories of the countries of 'Ajam and of Hind, one of those territories was Tukhāristān and the mountain tracts of Bāmiān, the rulers of which part have been famous and celebrated upon all occasions, from the most remote ages, for the grandeur of their station, the abundance of their riches, the vastness of their treasures, the number of their mines, and their buried wealth; and, on sundry occasions, the sovereigns of 'Ajam, such as Kubād and Fīrūz¹, these rulers have vanquished and overcome. That tract of country has also been famed and celebrated, to the uttermost parts of the countries of the world, for its mines of gold, silver, rubies, and crystal, bejādah² [jade], and other [precious] things.

When the sun of the prosperity of the Maliks and Sultāns of Ghūr ascended from the eastern parts of eminence, and Sultān 'Alā-ud-Din, Ḥusain, Jahān-soz, had wreaked vengeance upon the people of Ghaznin, he had leisure to turn his attention to the subjugation of that territory. After having subdued it, he installed therein his eldest brother, Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ūd, and from him descended an illustrious posterity, and Maliks of grandeur and dignity, the marks of whose equity and beneficence,

¹ See note 8, page 423.
² The name of a gem, by some said to be a species of ruby, and by others a species of sapphire; but jade is no doubt meant. Goetz refers to a species of jasper found in these parts.
and the fame of whose munificence and obligations conferred, became published throughout the four quarters of the world. The mercy of the Almighty be upon the whole of them!

I. MALIK FAKHR-UD-DIN, MAS'UD, SON OF 'IZZ-UD-DIN, AL HUSAIN, SHANSABI.

Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud, son of Al-Husain, was older than his other six brothers; and his mother was a Turkiah. He was a sufficiently great monarch; but, as he was not by the same mother as [his brothers] the Sultāns, they did not permit him to occupy the throne of the dominions of Ghūr, for this reason, that five other brothers, both on the side of the father and mother, were Shansabānis, while the Malik-ul-Jibāl, Muḥammad, who attained martyrdom at Ghaznīn, was by another mother, who was the attendant of the mother of the Sultāns, and Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud, was by a Turkish bondwoman, as has been previously stated.

After Sultān 'Alā-ud-Din, Ḥusain [Jahān-soz], became disengaged from taking revenge upon the inhabitants of Ghaznīn, and had demolished the Kaşrs of Bust, which was the place of residence of the house of Mahmūd, he caused an army to be got ready from the capital of Ghūr, and marched towards Tukhāristān, and, in the subjugation of that territory, and the strongholds thereof, manifested great alertness and dexterity; and the Amīrs of Ghūr, in that army, displayed such valour and martial heroism, that, if Rustam-i-Dastān had been present, he would have recited the story of their valour.

When those tracts were taken possession of, 'Alā-ud-Din, Ḥusain, placed Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud [his brother], upon the throne of Bāmiān, and that territory was com-

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* A term constantly quoted by Eastern authors before the time of Columbus.
* The feminine of Turk.
* They only assumed the title of Sultān some time subsequent to this period, and, of course, were not all Sultāns at once.
* Here our author refers over again to the "Sultāns" just mentioned. There is no improving his style without taking great liberty with the original.
* Dastān, a name of Zāl-i-Zar [Zāl of the Golden Locks], the father of Rustam.
mitted to his charge. Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud, having ascended the throne, the adjacent hill territories, [namely] the mountain tract of Shaknan, Tukharistan, as far as Dar-gun, and Bilaur, and the tracts towards Turkistan

Here, again, our author contradicts his own previous statements. At page 339 he says that, on the death of Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Husain [the father of Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud, 'Ala-ud-Din, Husain, and others], Saif-ud-Din, Suri, the eldest legitimate son, who succeeded to his father's authority, divided the dominions among his six brothers and himself, and that, in that division, Bamiyan was assigned to the eldest brother, Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud. Now he states that 'Ala-ud-Din, Husain, conquered this territory several years subsequently, after he had destroyed the city of Ghazn. Jahân-Ārā also states that, in the division of the father's hereditary patrimony among the brothers, Bamiyan went to the eldest son by a Turkish bond-woman, Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud.

The older Chroniclers contain a great deal respecting the affairs of Tukharistan and the Haytâlia, whatever "the clay-stamped annals of Senacherib" [Sennacherib?] may say. Ibn-i-Khurdâd-bih, in his account of the Turks, also refers to them. Haytâl [Haytâl], according to the ancient dialect of Bukhara, is said to signify a man of great strength and size; the 'Arabs made it Haytâl [Haytâl], the plural form of the word, applied to the people generally, being Haytâlia [Haytâlia]. One writer states that Haytâl was the name of the territory of Khustân, a dependency of Badakhshan, also called Kol-Āb, which signifies a lake; but this is contrary to the Masâlik wa Mamâlik, and to our author's account.

Firuz, son of Yazdijurd, son of Bahrâm-i-Gür, when his brother Hurnuz ascended the throne, fled from his sief of Sijistân, by way of Gharjistân and Tukharistan, and sought shelter and aid from Khush-nawz, the king of the Haytâlia. According to the Raużat-ut-Tahirnâ, the name of the ruler he sought aid from was Faghânî, the Chaghânî, or Shâh of the Chaghânîans. He espoused the cause of Firuz, and agreed to aid him with 30,000 men if Firuz would cede to him Tirmid and Wesah. Another author calls the people of Tukharistan itself Haytâlia likewise. By Faghânî's aid Firuz gained the throne of Iran; and for many years subsequent to this, and during several succeeding reigns, there was alternate peace and war between the sovereigns of Iran and the Haytâlia rulers. In the time of Nushervân, the Haytâlia, being without a ruler, are said to have chosen Faghânî [this would seem, from what was stated above from another author, to be the name of the family, not the person's name], the Chaghânîan ruler of Tukharistan. I have neither space nor time to say more at present; but will merely observe, that, by some modern writers, Tukharistan and Turkistan are often confused, one for the other.

Shaghânî and Shaknân are synonymous: "Shighnan" is not correct, but such as one would adopt who could not read the original for himself, and depended entirely on the statements and translations of others.

Considerable discrepancy exists here, in some copies of the text, with respect to these names. The best copies have as above, although the oldest leaves out the and, which makes it Dar-gûn of Bilaur. The next best has Dar-gût [or Dar-kot or kât], which, if the of the original MS. was written rather long drawn out, as is often done, might be mistaken for . The next best copies, which are comparatively modern, have Dar-gûr [or Dar-gor], and one Dar-bûr
to the boundary of Wakhsh and Badakhshan, the whole came under his jurisdiction.

Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud, had able and accomplished sons; and, when Ktimaj, from Balkh, and Taj-ud-Din, Yal-duz, from Hirat, who were slaves of the Sanjari dynasty, conspired to eject Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din, Muhammad-i-Sam, in order to take possession [of the country] as far as Firuz-koh, and the Ghiyashiah sovereignty was, as yet, in the morning of its ascendency, Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud, rendered assistance to them, under the stipulation that whatever pertained to Khurasan should go to them, and what belonged to Ghur to [him] Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud.

When Almighty God bestowed victory upon Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din, and Malik Taj-ud-Din, Yal-duz, of Hirat, was slain, he despatched the head of Yal-duz to his uncle, Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud, whose forces had arrived near at hand. Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din followed in pursuit of them, and Malik Fakhr-ud-Din was put to the rout. Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din discerned him, and caused him to turn back again, and conducted him to his camp, and there placed him on the throne; and Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din, and Muizz-ud-Din, both of them, stood before the

[or Dar-bor]. The printed text, and one of the most recent copies, have Dar-kufah; and the former, in a note, Buir-Bilaur; and, in brackets, as the probable reading, "Darwais and Bilaur;" but the different copies of the text collated do not show that this is at all the correct reading.

* Also called Khutlân.

3 The dominions of the Sultans of Bamiyan and Tukharistan, according to Jahân Ara and several other works, extended north to the territory of Kaghâr; south as far as Gharjistan and Ghûr; east to Kashmîr; and west as far as Tirmid. See note 4, page 426.

4 This appears to be the same Amir Ktimaj referred to in note 5, page 358; and he is probably the same as mentioned in note 6, page 374; and this Yal-duz [I-yal-duz] must be the same who is mentioned in the same note, which see.

5 See pages 371-4.

6 Mr. E. Thomas, in his paper on the "Coins of the Kings of Ghazni," Ro. As. Journal, vol. xvii., in a note, page 199, erroneously states that, "On the first rise of Ghiyas-ud-din, Fakhr[Fakhr]-ud-din aids him, under the condition that all the conquests in Khurasan should pertain to the former, while the acquisitions in Ghur should fall to his own share." The conditions were between Ktimaj and Yal-duz and Fakhr-ud-Din, not Ghiyas-ud-Din.

7 See the account given in Ghiyas-ud-Din's reign, where our author says that Ktimaj's head was sent, page 373, and note 9.

8 A round-about way of stating that they took him prisoner.
throne in attendance on him. Chroniclers state that Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud, became enraged [at this], and that he reproached both of them unjustly, saying that they mocked him. His words were these: "You two rascally boys laugh at me!" The Almighty's mercy be upon them!

This exclamation of his has been mentioned here for this reason, that the beholders and readers of these pages may know the laudable qualities of these two monarchs, the extent of their compassion and clemency, to what degree they guarded the honour and respect [due] towards their uncle, and to what extremity they bore his injustice.

When the two Sulṭāns became disengaged from this audience, they caused complete arrangement to be made for the return of their uncle, and conferred honorary dresses upon the whole of his Amirs and Slaves, and caused them to return. Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud, retired towards Bāmiān again; and there he acquired great power, and the Sulṭāns and Maliks of Ghūr used constantly to pay him homage.

His career came to an end in [the enjoyment of] sovereignty, and he ruled for a long period and died. He had several worthy and deserving sons. Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn was the eldest, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī, and Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Alī.

II. SULṬĀN SHAMS-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF MAS'ŪD, SON OF AL-HUSAIN, SHANSABĪ.

When Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, of Bāmiān, was

9 We have ample proofs of their amiability and long-suffering, from our author's point of view, in the fate of Sulṭān Khusraw Malik and his family, and 'Abbās-i-Shīs.

1 Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, the younger brother, only received the title of Sulṭān some time after this occurrence.

2 Such are the words in the original: it seems a truism if the passage is not corrupt.

3 This is the Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī, who had his head struck off at Khwārazm, mentioned in note 8, page 481. He can scarcely be the same person as mentioned at page 342, because the latter's mother was one of the sisters of the two Sulṭāns, Ghūyās-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn. If he is, his father, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ud, must have married his own niece; while his son, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, must have married her sister, a most unlikely alliance, illegal according to Muḥammadan law. There must have therefore been two persons named Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī, but of the same race.
taken to the Almighty's mercy, his eldest son was Sultan Shams-ud-Din, Muhammad, and they raised him to the throne of Bamiyan; and the sister of the Sultan's Ghayar-ud-Din and Mu'izz-ud-Din was married to him, which princess's title was Hurrah-i-Jalali. She was older than either of the Sultans, and was the mother of Sultan Bahadur-ud-Din, Sam, the son of [Shams-ud-Din] Muhammad.

When Sultan Shams-ud-Din, Muhammad, ascended the throne of Bamiyan, in accordance with the last will of his father, and with the concurrence of the Amir, Sultan Ghayar-ud-Din sent him a robe of honour, and paid him abundant deference and respect. He brought the whole of the territory of Tukharistan under his sway, and, subsequently, the city of Balkh, Chaghaniyan, Wakhsh, Jarum, Badakhshan, and the hill tracts of Shakan, came under

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4 This is the Malik's son, Shams-ud-Din, Muhammad, who was taken prisoner by the Sipah-salar, Barakshah, along with 'Ala-ud-Din, Husain [Jahangir], and 'Ali, Fatr, in the engagement with Sultan Sanjar before Aqabah in 547 H. Shams-ud-Din, Muhammad, obtained 50,000 dinars from Bamiyan for his ransom, which sum was paid over to Barakshah. Our author, had he known this, is not likely to have related it.

6 The best Paris copy, the I. O. L. MS., and the R. As. Soc. MS., have Iṣfahan !

6 Others say Balkh, Bughlan or Bukhlan [both are correct], Chaghaniyan, and some part of Badakhshan. According to our author, his father, Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ud, held sway over some of these very tracts, now mentioned as "subsequently" coming under the sway of the son. However, it is clear, whatever "Hwen Thang" may say to the contrary, that Tukharistan was but a district or province of Balkh, and not a vast tract of country "reaching from the frontiers of Persia" [wherever that might mean in those days] "to the Thang-ling or Mountains of Pamir;" and that "the great Po-chu or Oxus" did not "run through the middle" of the Tukharistan here referred to, for the very good reason that it lies south of the Jibun, Amu, or Oxus. The Masalik wa Mamalik plainly states, that of Balkh there are a number of divisions and districts, such as Tukharistan, Khulun, Samnaghan, Bughlan, Zawallin [this, in all probability, is Mr. Thomas's "Warvalin" یوئنلاک]—the first, is the copulative conjunction, and the, points the point to make it]; and Baihaq, Walwali—بواهرلا ماملاک—may be traced to the same source. Of this Tukharistan, Tal-kan was the chief and largest town. Had such a place as Walwali been capital of Tukharistan, our author, without doubt, have known of it, and have mentioned it here. Chaghaniyan and Wakhsh lie to the northward of this Tukharistan, and are accounted in Mawar-un-Nahr, as this latter term signifies, viz. beyond the river. "The Wakhsh-Ab—river of Wakhsh—issues out of Turkistan into the territory of Wakhsh, runs onward towards Balkh, and falls into the Jibun, near Tirmid." In his account of the Mughal invasion, our author mentions Balkh [اک], and Wakhsh [اک], sometimes as one and the same place, and, at others, as separate places.

While on this subject, I must now mention another matter. In the Masalik
his jurisdiction. He marched forces in every direction, and throughout the whole of those parts his mandates were obeyed.

In the year in which the Sultāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn led an army into the territory of Rūd-bār of Marw, to repel Sultan Shāh, the Khwārazmī, Sultan Shams-ud-Din, Muhammad, by command of the Sultāns, brought the forces of Bāmiān and Tukhāristān and joined them. On the occasion of Sultan Shāh’s overthrow, Malik Bahā-ud-Din, Tughrīl, of Hirāt, who had been a slave of Sultan Sanjar, and who, obliged to evacuate Hirāt, had joined Sultan Shāh, in this engagement fell into the hands of the troops of Bāmiān. They slew him, and brought his head to the presence of Sultan Ghīyās-ud-Din. The Sultan [in consequence] became very cordial towards Shams-ud-Din, Muḥammad, and upon this very occasion his advancement took place, and he received the title of Sultan Shams-ud-Din, and a black canopy of state was assigned to him.

Previous to this, neither Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, Mas'ūd, nor he had any canopy of state, and his designation was Malik Shams-ud-Din; but, when he acquired a canopy of state, he obtained the title of Sultan 9; and by Sultan Ghīyās-ud-Din, and Mu‘izz-ud-Din, who were his uncle’s sons, he was treated with great honour and reverence.

wa Mamālik, Bāmiān is described as “a town about half the extent of Balkh [in those days Balkh was a very extensive city], situated on a hill, and in front of it flows the river which runs through Ghurjistan.” The Tārīkh-i-Alī, a work of great authority, Jahān-Ārā, the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, and some others, distinctly aver that there was no town whatever called Bāmiān, which is the name of the country, and that Rāṣīf [رأسف], Rāṣīf [رستاف], was the name of its chief town, which place was totally destroyed by Chingiz Khān on his advance towards Ghaznīn. The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh says Bāmiān is also called Tukhāristān! Rāṣīf is probably the place called “Gūlgūliḥ” by Masson, but such name is not to be found in any Persian history that I know of. The Mughals styled it Muḥālīg—the unfortunate city—after its ruin.

1 See pages 249, 378, and note 4, page 379.
2 The printed text and I. O. L. MS. 1952, and two others, have خذ—to repulse, drive away; and, in the R. A. Soc. MS. خذا—repulsing, driving away!
3 The text here exhibits considerable variations, and great differences of idiom express the same signification. Some authors state that, on this occasion, Mu‘izz-ud-Din also received the title of Sultan, and that before his title was only Malik.
The Almighty bestowed upon him worthy and excellent offspring, and blessed him with six sons; and for a considerable time the country of Tūkhāristān continued under the jurisdiction of his officers. He patronized learned men of distinction, and they took up their residence in his dominions; and acted with equity and beneficence towards his subjects, and died renowned and popular; and, after him, the sovereignty came to Sultān Bahā-ud-Din, Sām.

II. SULTĀN Bahā-UD-DĪN, SĀM, SON OF SULTĀN SHAMS-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD.

Sultān Bahā-ud-Din, Sām, was a very great and august monarch, and was just and enlightened. He was the patronizer of learned men, and the dispenser of equity; and, in his day, the whole of the learned 'Ulamā were unanimous, that there was no Musalmān sovereign who was a greater cherisher of learned men, for this reason, that his intercourse, his communion, and his converse, were exclusively with 'Ulamā of judgment and discrimination.

He was, on both sides, a Shansabānī; and his mother was the Ḥurrah-i-Jalālī, the daughter of Sultān Bahā-ud-Din, Sām, the sister of the two Sultāns, and older than either of them. Kāzī Taj-ud-Din, Zawzani, who was the most eloquent man of his day, [upon one occasion] was delivering a discourse within his [Bahā-ud-Din’s] palace, and, during the invocation, the Sultān said: “What adornment can I give to the bride of the realm upon the face of whose empire two such moles exist, one Ghiyās-ud-Din, and the other Mu’izz-ud-Din!” The Almighty’s mercy be upon them all!

1 Our author, like others, does not even give the names of these sons. Bahā-ud-Din, Sām, however, was not the eldest of the sons of Shams-ud-Dīn, Ibnāmīn. When the latter died, the Bāmīān nobles raised his eldest son, Abbās, by a Turkish wife, to the throne. The two brothers, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and Mu’izz-ud-Dīn, were angry at this, and they deposed ‘Abbās, and set up their sister’s son, Sām, and he received the title of Bahā-ud-Dīn. ‘Abbās might have been here entered among the rulers of Tūkhāristān and Bāmīān as well as Kūṭb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, among the sovereigns of Ghazīnī.

2 The mother of his grandfather, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas’ūd, was a Turkish concubine.

3 These are our author’s exact words, but what the "invocation" was our inquirer does not say; but it is a way he has of mystifying his own statements. The fact is, as related by another author, that the Kāzī, mentioned
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In short, the admirable benevolence of that monarch towards the 'Ulumâ of Islâm was more than can be contained within the compass of writing. That Miracle of the World, Fâhhr-ud-Dirn, Muḥammad, Râzî ⁴, composed the Risâlah-i-Bahâiah in that Sultân's name; and for a considerable period he continued under the shadow of that sovereign's favour and protection. That Chief of learned Doctors, Jalâl-ud-Dirn, Warsak ⁶, during the Sultân's reign, attained the office of Shaikh-ul-Islâm of the district of Balkh; and Maulânâ Sarâj-î-Minhâj ⁶, that Most Eloquent of 'Ajam, and the Wonder of his Age, was sent for, secretly, by Sultân Bahâ-ud-Dirn, Sâm, from the Court of Fîrûz-koh, who despatched a seal-ring of turquoise stone with the name of Sâm engraved upon it, and with great respect and reverence invited the Maulânâ to his Court. When this circumstance occurred, the writer of this History, Minhâj-î-Sarâj, was in the third year of his age.

The requests and solicitations of Sultân Bahâ-ud-Dirn, Sâm, were continuous and unremitting. The reason of this was, that, during the time of [his father] Malik ⁷ Shams-ud-Dirn, Muḥammad, the Maulânâ proceeded from Ghaznîn towards Bâmiân, and, at that period, Bahâ-ud-Dirn, Sâm, held charge of the district of Balarwân ⁸. He paid his respects to the Maulânâ, and sought to retain above, began one day from the pulpit to eulogize Bahâ-ud-Dirn, and was extolling the flourishing state his dominions were in, when that monarch exclaimed: "What adornment can I give unto the kingdom's bride, when on the cheek of her sovereignty are already two such moles?" The word khal signifies a mole, and also a maternal uncle; and the moles here referred to are his two maternal uncles, Ghiyâs-ud-Dirn and Mu'izz-ud-Dirn.

⁴ Jahân-Ârâ and Muntakhâb-ut-Tawârikh say that Bahâ-ud-Dirn, Sâm, was a learned monarch, and a friend of learned men; as an example of which he entertained, near his person, the Imâm Fâhhr-ud-Dirn, of Râz, and treated him with great favour and consideration. They do not, however, mention "that Most Eloquent of 'Ajam, and the Wonder of his Age," our author's father; in fact, I have never noticed his name mentioned in any other work. This same Imâm was subsequently accused, by some parties, of having brought about the assassination of Sultân Mu'izz-ud-Dirn. See note ³, page 485, and note ⁹, page 385.

⁶ In some copies Warsal and Kadsak. The above seems the most correct.

⁶ Our author's father.

⁷ Sultân Shams-ud-Dirn, whose reign has just been given.

⁸ The majority of the best copies are as above, but two others have "Balwân," and three others "Barwân," and one "Balarwân of Bâmiân;" but at page 115 our author says Balarwân is in Ghârjistân.
him, and showed him great respect and veneration; and he had both seen and heard his soul-inspiring discourse, and his heart-expanding conversation, and the pleasure he had derived therefrom remained impressed upon his royal mind, and he was desirous of enjoying all the delicacies of the benefits of the Maulānā’s conversation. When Bahā-ud-Din, Sām, reached the throne of sovereignty of Bāmiān, he sent for the Maulānā repeatedly, and charged him with the administration of all the offices connected with the law, and sent him his private signet-ring.

The Maulānā proceeded to the Court of Bāmiān from the Court of Firūz-koh without the permission of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Din; and, when he arrived in that part, he was treated with great respect and honour, and the whole of the [legal] functions of that kingdom, such as the Chief Kāzī-ship of the realm and other parts, the judicial administration of the triumphant forces, the chaplaincy of the State, together with the office of censor, with full power of the ecclesiastical law, the charge of two colleges, with assigned lands and benefactions abundant, all these offices the Maulānā was entrusted with. The diploma conferring the whole of these offices, in the handwriting of the Śāhib, who was the Wazir of the kingdom of Bāmiān, up to the present time that this Ṭabākāt was put in writing in the sublirne name of the great Sultān, Naṣīr-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Din, Abū-l-Muẓaffar-i-Maḥmūd, son of Sultān I-yal-timish, Kāsim-i-Amīr-ul-Mūmminin—whose monarchy may the Almighty perpetuate!—still exists in the Kharītah [a bag of embroidered silk] containing the author’s diplomas; along with his banner and his turban of honour. The mercy of

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9 Allowance must be made for a little family blarney.
1 Here, too, the text varies much. One set of copies—the oldest—has as above—فحص مالك و اعطار ديك و يغلي ذكر مصمر و مطالب— whilst the other—فحص مالك و انفعالي دعالي حشم مصمر و مطالب—"the Chief Kāzī-ship of the country, and settlement of the requests of the triumphant forces or retinue."
2 An official who examines the weights and measures, and has a supervision over merchants and shop-keepers, superintends the markets, and fixes the price of grain, &c. He can whip those found wine-bibbing, and interfere in other matters relating to public morality.
3 The title given to a minister.
4 This title is totally incorrect. See reign of Šams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, Section XXI.
the Almighty be upon them! This fact is recorded in the narrative to show the admirable faith of that pious ruler.

In short, he was a great monarch; and his dominions assumed great amplitude and expansion, and comprised the whole of the country of Tukhāristān and its dependencies, together with other territories, namely, in the east, as far as the frontier of Kashmir, and, in the west, as far as the boundary of Tirmid and Balkh; north, as far as the bounds of Kāshghar; and south, as far as Ghūr and Ghurjistān, in the whole of which the Khwāzah was read for him and the money impressed with his name. The whole of the Maliks and Amirs of each of the three kingdoms, namely, Ghūr, Ghaznīn, and Bāmīān, after [the decease of] both the Sulṭāns [Ghiyāš-ud-Dīn, and Mu’izz-ud-Dīn], turned their eyes on him; and, when Sulṭān Mu’izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, was martyred, the Maliks and Amirs of Ghaznīn, both Ghūris and Turks, with one consent, requested him to come [and assume the sovereignty]. Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, accordingly, determined to proceed from Bāmīān to Ghaznīn, and set out in that direction with a numerous army.

3 At this period there were powerful sovereigns ruling over Kāshmīr and its dependencies, also the Jahāngīrī rulers of Suwāīt, who held sway over a large portion of the mountain districts to the west, and the Sulṭāns of Pīch, of whom more anon.

4 How much of this tract never yet heard the Khwāzah?

7 Firīghtah’s History, or rather the translation of Firīghtah’s History, which supplies the chief materials for the Histories of India, so called, here says [that is the text]: “The inclination of the Khwājah, Mu’ayyid-ul-Mulk [a title given to Wazīr], and the Turk Amīrs, was towards the sovereignty of Ghiyāš-ul-Dīn, Mahmūd; and the Ghūrf Amīrs, in secret, entertained the idea of the sovereignty of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām.” This is nearly in the words of our author, whom he quotes; but Dow, vol. i. pp. 149-50, translates this passage thus: “The Omrāh of Ghor, insisting upon Bahā-ul-dīn, the King’s cousin, Governor of Bāmīān, and one of the seven sons of Husseīn; and the Visār [Chajal-ul-Muluck I], and the officers of the Turkish mercenaries, on Mamood, son of the former Emperor, the brother of Mahommed Ghorī.” BRIGGS, vol. i., page 186, renders it: “The chiefs of Ghoor claimed it for Bahā-ood-Dīn, the King’s cousin, Governor of Bāmīān, and one of the seven sons of Eis-ood-Deen Hoossein; while the Visier and the officers of the Toorky mercenaries espoused the cause of Mahmood.” &c.

This is faithfully rendering the text, certainly; but it so happens that Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, was neither Governor of Bāmīān, nor was he one of Eis-ood-Deen Hoossein’s [‘Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain’s] sons, but certainly his grandfather, Fakhür-ud-Dīn, Mas‘ūd, was ‘Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Husain’s, son.
When he reached the district of Kīdān\(^8\), he was attacked with diarrhoea, and, only nineteen days after the martyrdom of the victorious Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Ḍīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Ḍīn, Sām, died. His reign was fourteen years\(^9\).

IV. SULṬĀN JALĀL-UD-ḌĪN, 'ALĪ\(^1\), SON OF BAHĀ-UD-ḌĪN, SĀM, BĀMIĀNĪ.

When the victorious Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Ḍīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, obtained martyrdom, and Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Ḍīn, Sām, departed this life on the way [to Ghaznīn], the heirs to the sovereignty, then remaining, were of two branches of the Shamsabānīyah race—one, the family of the Sulṭāns of Bāmiān, and the second, the family of the Sulṭāns of Ghūr. When they conveyed the bier of the victorious Sulṭān from Dam-yak\(^4\), the Turkish Slaves of the [late] Sulṭān, the great Maliks and Amīrs, took the Sulṭān's bier, together with vast treasures, and the magazines of military stores, from the Amīrs of Ghūr. Those Ghūrīān Amīrs, who were in the army of Hindūstān, were inclined towards the sons of Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Ḍīn, Sām, and the Turk Amīrs were inclined to Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-Ḍīn, Maḥmūd, son of [Ghiyās-ud-Ḍīn,] Muḥammad-i-Sām, the [late] Sulṭān's nephew\(^3\).

\(^8\) It seems somewhat remarkable that Kīdān proved fatal, according to our author, to so many of the Shamsabānī chiefs. Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, and Bahā-ud-Ḍīn, Sām, son of 'Izz-ud-Ḍīn, Al-Ḥusain, also both died at Kīdān. See pages 321 and 343.

\(^9\) He died in Shā'bān, 602 H., and reigned fourteen years. He must therefore have succeeded to the throne about the middle of the year 588 H., which was the year in which Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Ḍīn defeated Rāe Pīthorā at Tarā'īn.

\(^1\) Nearly every copy of the text is incorrect here in giving the name of 'Alā-ud-Ḍīn, Muḥammad, instead of his brother's, Jalāl-ud-Ḍīn, 'Alī; and 'Alā-ud-Ḍīn is again mentioned in them as the last of the Shamsabī rulers of Ghaznīn, and he never ruled over Ṭukhrāristān. The best Paris copy, however, contrary to all the others examined, has both brothers here. Jahān-Ārā and some others have the same; but, in them, the brothers are not mentioned again, and the dynasty of Ṭukhrāristān terminates with them. Rauṣat uṣ-Ṣafā agrees with the above, and mentions 'Alā-ud-Ḍīn among the Ghaznīn rulers, his proper place.

\(^3\) See note 4, page 486.

\(^3\) Our author here contradicts the statement made in the preceding page. The fact was that all the Amīrs, both Turks and Ghūrīs, seemed desirous that Bahā-ud-Ḍīn, Sām, should succeed to the supreme authority; but after his death they became divided, when the choice lay between his son, 'Alā-ud-Ḍīn,
The Ghūrlān Amīrs, such as were at Ghaznīn, namely, the Sipah-Sālār [the Commander of Troops] Kharoshtī, Sūltān-i-Shīr, and others besides them, wrote letters to 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn [sons of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām], and prayed them to come to Ghaznīn, and they came thither, as will be subsequently recorded, please God, in the Section on the Sultāns of Ghaznīn.

When Jalāl-ud-Dīn had seated his brother on the throne of Ghaznīn, he returned himself, and ascended the throne of Bāmān. A trustworthy chronicler related that they [the brothers] divided the treasures at Ghaznīn, and that the share of Jalāl-ud-Dīn amounted to two hundred and fifty camel-loads of pure gold and of jewel-studded articles of gold and silver, which he conveyed along with him to Bāmān.

A second time he assembled an army against Ghaznīn, and drew together forces from every part of his dominions, consisting of Ghūris, Ghuzz, and Beghū, and proceeded to Ghaznīn, and was taken prisoner, and was subsequently Muḥammad, and Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, the late Sultān's brother's son; notwithstanding that Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, at the time of his death, had expressed a wish that his two sons should proceed to Ghaznīn, and endeavour, by conciliation, to gain over the Wazīr, the Turkish Slaves, and the Ghūrlān Amīrs, and take possession of Ghāznī; after which 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the eldest, was to have Ghaznīn, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, the youngest, Bāmān. See the reign of the III. ruler, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, farther on. Several authors consider the dynasty to have ended with Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām.

4 There is some doubt with regard to this probably by-name: some have Kharoshtī, Kharoshtī, Haroshtī and Harōsh, and Haroshtī and Haroshtī. The majority of the most generally correct copies are as above. See Section xxiii.

5 Nameless, of course.

6 This name is uncertain. The majority of copies have Beghū, as above; whilst the oldest copy has Beghūr [not Ḳughur]; whilst the best Paris copy, and the three which generally agree—the I. O. L. copy, the Ro. As. Soc. MS., and the Bodleian copy—have Sakrār [ṣakrār]. There is a tribe of the Ghuzz mentioned at page 377, note 6, under the name of Sankurān. Perhaps Beghū may be another tribe of the Ghuzz also, and the Sankurān may also have been included in this levy of troops. See under the reign of I-yal-dūr.

7 After Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, reached Hirāt [in Jamāl-ud-Awwal, 605 H.], he sent agents to Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd [see note 3, page 400]; and, among other matters, interceded for Malik Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Khār-mīl. Maḥmūd accepted the terms offered by Sultān Muḥammad, and an accommodation took place between them. This evidently refers to the acknowledgment of Sultān Muḥammad's suzerainty by Maḥmūd, mentioned in the note just referred to. Another author, however, states, that, after disposing of the affairs of Balkh, Sultān Muḥammad proceeded to Guzarwān, which was the ancient fief of Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of
released, and returned to Bāmiān again. During his absence, his uncle, Sūltān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Masūd, had seized the throne of Bāmiān. Jalāl-ud-Dīn came back with but a few men, and one morning, at dawn, attacked his uncle unawares, took him prisoner, and put him to death, and the Sāhib who had been his father's Wazīr he caused to be flayed alive; and he brought the country [again] under his jurisdiction.

He reigned for a period of seven years, when Sūltān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, made a forced march against him from the banks of the river Jadārah, and suddenly fell upon him⁸, and took him prisoner; and the whole of that treasure which he had brought from Ghaznīn, together with the treasures of Bāmiān, Sūltān Muḥammad appropriated, put Jalāl-ud-Dīn to death, and retired ¹.  

Khar-mīl [see pages 474, 475], and was then being invested by Abū-'Alī [an officer and probably a kinsman of Sultan Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd], and that this same Abū-'Alī was made the means of communication, in behalf of the son of Khar-mīl, with Maḥmūd.

Be this, however, as it may, when Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, became aware of the accommodation between Maḥmūd and Sūltān Muḥammad, he demanded of Maḥmūd why he had made friends with the enemy of the Ghūrīs. He received, in reply, the answer, that his, I-yal-dūz's, bad conduct had been the cause of it. When this message was delivered to him, I-yal-dūz released Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, brother of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, gave him one of his own daughters in marriage, and sent him, with a considerable army, to Bāmiān, where Jalāl-ud-Dīn's uncle, 'Abbās by name, had assumed the sovereignty after the imprisonment of himself and brother. One of I-yal-dūz's chiefs, Abī-Ḍakur [Zakur?] by name, then accompanying him, advised Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, to face about, and march back against Ghaznīn itself, so that they might put an end to the career of that slave, referring to I-yal-dūz, whose servant he was. This Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, declined to do; upon which Abī-Ḍakur separated from him, and retired to Kābul, which was his sīf. Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, continued his march to Bāmiān, the capital of which was Rāṣīt [or Raṣīf], and recovered the sovereignty from his uncle 'Abbās. See next page, and latter part of note⁶, page 426, and account of the III. ruler, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, and I-yal-dūz, IV. ruler, farther on.

⁸ One of the oldest copies has Sultan Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Masūd, son of Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad; but all the others have 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Masūd. See note⁶, page 436. Alī, Jahān-Ārā, and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, call him 'Abbās. Raṣūlat-ust-Ṣafā, Masūd.

⁶ This is the circumstance referred to at page 267. There the name of the river, in the majority of the best copies, was Jazār [ژزار]; but it appears that Jadārah [ژدراه] or Jadār [ژدرا] is the correct name. See page 267. Some copies of the text make a great hash of this name, and have ود-فراکس-خز -and even ی-خز.

¹ Raṣūlat-ust-Ṣafā says, but follows our author generally, "when Khwārazm Shāh came into Māwar-un-Nahr [the southern part of it], he made a forced
Jalāl-ud-Dīn was a very great monarch, and of great intrepidity, alertness, and gallantry, an ascetic, devout and continent, so that during the whole of his lifetime no inebriating liquor had ever passed his blessed lips, and the cincture of his garment had never been undone to any un-lawfulness. Manliness he possessed to that degree, that no prince of the Shansabānīān race came up to him in vigour, in valour, and in arms. He was wont, in battle, to discharge two arrows at one aim, and neither of his arrows would miss the mark, and neither animal of the chase nor antagonist ever rose again from the wound of his arrow. At the time when the Turks of Ghaznīn followed in pursuit of him, at the Hazār Darakhtān [place of the Thousand Trees] of Ghaznīn, he had struck the trunk of a tree with an arrow, and had overturned it [†]; and every Turkish warrior who reached the tree would make obeisance to the arrow, and would turn back again; and [the tree of] this arrow became [subsequently] a place of pilgrimage.

With all this strength and valour Jalāl-ud-Dīn was mild and beneficent; but manliness availeth nothing against destiny, and, as his time was come, he died.

V. SULTĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, MASJUD, SON OF SULTĀN SHAMS-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD.

At the time that the sons of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, namely, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, were both made prisoners at Ghaznīn, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, march, and, quite unexpectedly and unawares, appeared before Bāmīān [Rāsīf] seized Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, killed him, gained possession of his treasures, and carried them off. The Afghāns will have to keep a sharp look out now, or they may be served in the same fashion, and find a foreign force from "the intermediate zone" pounce suddenly on Bāmīān some fine morning.

* In some modern copies of the text Hazār-Darakht. There are several places of this name. It may be that on the route between Ghaznīn and Gardaiz.

* The slaying alive of the Wazīr, for example. See page 437.

* Other authors state that, after a nominal reign of seven years, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, fell into the hands of the Khwārzmīs, and that he was the last of the race that attained power; but what his subsequent fate was not stated. Our author says he was put to death by the Khwārzmīs, but when or where is not mentioned. See his reign, farther on.
Mas'ūd, son of Shams-ud-Dīn, ascended the throne of Bāmiān, and took to wife the daughter of Malik Shāh of Wakhsh, who had been married to [and left a widow by] his brother, Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām. He conferred the Wazīr-ship upon the Ṣāḥib, the Wazīr of Bāmiān, and assumed sway over the dominions of Tukhāristān.

When Jalāl-ud-Dīn was released from Ghaznīn, he turned his face towards Bāmiān. In the fortress of Kāwīk was a person, one of the godly ecclesiastics, a holy man, whom they called Imām Shams-ud-Dīn-i-Arshād [the most upright]. Jalāl-ud-Dīn came to pay him a visit of reverence, to obtain a good omen from his words, and his benediction. This personage was a holy sage, who, after the acquirement of all the knowledge and science pertaining to the [written] law, had withdrawn from the world, and devoted himself to the worship of Almighty God, and who, having turned his face towards the Court of the Most High, had became a worker of miracles and the foreteller of the future.

When Jalāl-ud-Dīn paid him a visit, and sought the assistance of this Imām's blessed spirit, he enjoined him, saying: "Certainly, repossess thyself of the throne of Bāmiān; but take care that thou slayest not thine uncle, for, if thou slayest him, they will also slay thee."

Having performed his visit to the holy man, Jalāl-ud-Dīn retired and went away; and, when he had turned his back, that holy Imām predicted, saying: "The hapless Jalāl-ud-Dīn will kill his uncle, and they will kill him also;" and, in the end, so it turned out, as that unique one of the world had foretold. Jalāl-ud-Dīn moved onward from that place where he then was, with his followers, and,

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4 The Rauṣat-ş-Safā, which appears to have blindly followed our author, here calls this ruler Mas'ūd only, and, of course, agrees with our author's statement respecting his usurpation of the government and his subsequent fate. Other writers, however, including Jahān-Ārā, Munţakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, and Tarīkh-i-Alfi, state that the news of the defeat of the two brothers, and their having fallen prisoners into the hands of I-yal-dūz, having suddenly reached Bāmiān, there being no one else to undertake the government, their uncle, 'Abbās, whose mother was a Turkish bond-maid, naturally assumed it; but when they, having been set at liberty, returned in safety, he gave up to them the authority again. See note 1, page 428, and page 433, and note 7.

5 The name of a pass and fortress, now in ruins, in the range of Hindū-kūsh, called Kawak by modern travellers. Some of the copies of the text have کار و کار.
at the dawn of the morning, fell upon his uncle, took him prisoner, and put him to death, and flayed alive the Şāḥib, his Wazīr, as has been previously recorded.

Our author has not yet finished his account of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī; he merely leaves it for another dynasty, and relates his farther proceedings, in the account of his brother, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, which see.