TARIKH-I-RASHIDI.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF THE TARIKH-I-RASHIDI.

One day when Tughluk Timur Khán was feeding his dogs with swine's flesh, Shaikh Jamál-ud-Din was brought into his presence. The Khán said to the Shaikh: "Are you better than this dog or is the dog better than you?" The Shaikh replied: "If I have faith I am the better of the two, but if I have no faith this dog is better than I am." The Khán was much impressed by these words, and a great love for Islám took possession of his heart.

Tughluk Timur Khán was the son of Isán Bughá Khán, son of Davá, son of Barák Khán, son of Kará Isun, son of Mutukan, son of Chaghatáí Khán, son of Chingiz Khán, son of Yusukái, son of Birtán, son of Kabal, son of Tumana, son of Báisanghar, son of Kaidu, son of Dutumanin, son of Buká, son of Burunjar-Khán, son of Alánkuá Kurkluk (which means an immaculate woman). Of her the Prolegomena of the Zafar-Náma tells the following story: One day a brilliant light shone into her mouth, and thereupon she felt within her a kind of pregnancy—just in the way that Miriam, the daughter of Omrán, became pregnant by means of the breath of Gabriel. And neither of these things is beyond the power of God. [Verses.] ... The object of this book is not to tell such tales as these, but simply to point out that Burunjar-Khán was born of his mother, without a father. All histories trace the genealogy of his mother, Alánkuá Kurkluk, back to Japhet son of Noah (upon them be peace), and detailed accounts of all her ancestors are given in these histories. But I have not accorded them a place in this one, for it would take too long; moreover, I have, in this work, limited my subject to events that took place after the conversion to Islám of the Moghuls, and have said nothing of their history previous to that time.
CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF TUGHLUK TIMUR.

I have heard from trustworthy Moghul sources (and my father and my uncle used also to relate) that Isan Bugha Khan,¹ the father of Tughrul Timur Khan, had for his favourite wife a certain Safilmish Khátun; while he had also another wife whose name was Manlik. Now the Khan had no children, and Safilmish Khátun was barren. The Khan, on a certain occasion, went on an expedition with his army. According to an old Moghul custom, the favourite wife has the allotment and disposal of a man’s wives, keeping back or giving him whichever of them she pleases. Safilmish Khátun learnt that Manlik was with child by the Khan, and, being envious, gave her in marriage to Dukhtu Sharíwal, who was one of the great Amirs. When the Khan returned from his expedition he asked after Manlik. Safilmish Khátun replied: “I have given her away to some one.” The Khan then said: “But she was with child by me,” and he was very wroth; but as this was a usual practice among the Moghuls, he said nothing.

Soon after this, Isan Bugha Khan died, and there was no Khan left of the tribe of Moghul. Every man acted for himself, and ruin and disorder began to creep in among the people. Amir Bulájí Dughlát,² an ancestor of the humble narrator, determined on discovering a Khan, and restoring order to the State; so he sent a certain Tásh Timur to find Dukhtu Sharíwal, and to obtain what information he could, concerning Manlik and her child; telling Tásh Timur that if it were a boy, he was to steal the child away and bring it back with him. Tásh Timur replied: “It is a very long and tedious expedition, and fitting preparations for the journey must be made. I beg of you to supply me with six hundred goats, that we may first drink their milk and then kill and eat them, one by one.”

Amir Bulájí complied with his wishes and supplied him with all that was necessary. Tásh Timur then set out. He journeyed

¹ The name of this Dughlát Amir has been transliterated by some writers Yulaji and Pulaji, but though the initial letter is always found unpointed, and therefore capable of being read B, Y, or P, I have, throughout, adopted Bulaji as the more probable form. If (as is most likely) it is of Mongol origin, it may be the name met with in the narrative of the Chinese traveller, Chang Ch'un, where it has been transliterated (from the phonetics) by Dr. Bretschneider—Bo-tu-djî. (See Med. Researches, I., p. 82.)
for a long while in Moghulistan, and by the time he came upon the party of Dukhtui Sharáwal, there was but one goat remaining, and that was a brown one [kabud]. On his inquiring after Manlik and her child, they replied that she had borne a son, and that she had a second son by Dukhtui Sharáwal; the name of the Khán’s son was Tughluk Timur, and the name of the son of Sharáwal was Inchumalik. Finally Tásh Timur succeeded in carrying off Tughluk Timur, and returned to the Amir with him.

Bulájí belonged to Aksu. When Chaghatá Khán apportioned his kingdom, he gave Mangalái Suyah to Urtubu, who was the grandfather of Amir Bulájí. Mangalái Suyah is the equivalent of Aftáb Ru, or “sun-faced.” It is bounded on the east by Kusan and Tárbugur; on the west by Sám, Gaz and Jakishmán, which are situated on the confines of Farghána; on the north by Issigh Kul, and on the south by Jorján and Sáigh-Uighur. This territory is called Mangalái Suyah, and it was subject to Amir Bulájí. In his time it contained many large towns, the most important of which were Káshgbar, Hétan, Yárkand, Kásán, Akhsiket, Andiján, Aksu, At-Bashi and Kusan. From all these towns, Amir Bulájí

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1 This name has been very variously read by different translators. Baron Desmaisons took it for Mínjí in Abul Gházi’s history. Mr. Erskine read his copy of the Tarikh-i-Rashíd, Mánestik; while Dr. Bellow, using the same work, made it Minúlik. One of the texts used for this translation has Múling. Like many of the earlier names that occur in the Tarikh-i-Rashíd, it is probably Mongol, and therefore, being an unfamiliar one to Musulman writers, they would be very likely to distort it. (See Desmaisons’ Abul Gházi, p. 165; Erskine’s History of India, i. p. 39; Bellows, Report on Mission to Yarkand, p. 147.)

2 Desmaisons has Schirí-Oghul for this name. (Abul Gházi, loc. cit.)

3 Here Desmaisons reads Timur Melik. (Ibid.)

4 The name the author makes use of here is to be found in no other book or document that I have any knowledge of. His description of the region to which he applies it, is fairly distinct, and his translation of the term into Persian leaves no uncertainty as to its mere verbal meaning. But he does not tell us what language the term belongs to, what country it originated in, or who were the people that he borrowed it from. The first word of the term, Mangalái, is perfectly good Turki, and means “forward, in advance, fronting, the forehead,” etc., as for instance, the “advance” guard of an army, etc. It is written with some variants, such as Mankalái, Mankaláli, but the meaning is in every case the same. It may therefore well be facing or fronting, as he translates it into Persian.

The second word should thus have the signification of Sun. It may perhaps be subject to some uncertainty in the reading, for when unpointed, it may be taken for Subah—an Arabic word, very commonly employed in India and some other countries, in the sense of a province or administrative division. Indeed, the two words differ by only a dot in the Persian spelling. But there are two reasons for rejecting the reading of subah. The first is that Mirza Haidar translates the whole term Aftáb Ru, so that if Mangalái represents Ru, or fronting, there would be no word left as an equivalent for Aftáb. Secondly, in one of the texts used by Mr. Ross, the word is clearly pointed for Suyah. The Haft Iklím, whose author copied from Mirza Haidar, also makes the word Suyah.

But Suyah is neither Persian nor Turki: no such word seems to exist in either language, and no such proper name, as far as I am able to ascertain. If one word of the term is Turki, it is likely that the other would belong also to that language. But this is not quite certain, for a combination would not be impossible. It is probable, however, that Suyah should be sought in the language of some neighbouring nation, and for preference in that of the Mongols, though
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selected Aksu as a residence, and it was in Aksu that Tash Timur found him. As he still had with him the one brown [kabud] goat,

the Kara-Khiitas, the Arabs, the Chinese, or even the Buddhists of India may have had a hand in inventing a name for the country in ancient times—if ancient the-name is; but this last point is also one on which Mirza Haidar fails to enlighten us.

The late Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie, who did me the kindness to look into the term, with a view to finding a solution, suggested the similarity of a name variously written in the historical records of Szema Tsien—Su Hiai, Su Yech, and Su Yep, which was that of a state that has been identified with Yarkand. It lay, at any rate, to the east of Farghana, was not Kashghar, and was connected with Khi She, which was perhaps the modern Kuchar. My attention has also been directed towards the ancient Indian word Suriya, for the sun, but this could hardly have been combined with the common Turkic word Mangalai, while it is unlikely that it could have been corrupted by losing its most distinctive letter. My impression is that Mirza Haidar’s name is something comparatively modern, and is rather a laudatory term for the region in question, than a revival applying to any particular district or town.

In the seventh century the name of Su-Yeh (unconnected with Mangalai or any other word) was used by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, according to Julien, Beal, and other commentators, for a town on the upper waters of the Chu, then the capital of certain Turkic Khans; though Mr. Watters affirms that the name in Hiuen Tsang should be read, not Su-Yeh, but Su-Sa or Su-She. This place, as will be shown later (see note, pp. 361-3), was most probably the same as Balad-Saghun. If so it was situated some distance to the north of Farghana, and would therefore not fall within the region described by Mirza Haidar as Mangalai Suyah. There is, moreover, a difference in date between Hiuen Tsang and Mirza Haidar of some nine hundred years, and the latter nowhere implies that he is employing an ancient term. Su-Yeh or Su-Sa was, in fact, applied by the Chinese writers to a different locality, though, strangely enough, in the syllable Su it has a certain degree of connection with a part of our author’s province—that is, with Kashghar. Su-li was an ancient name for Kashghar,1 and Hiuen Tsang tells us: “From the town of the Su-Yeh river as far [west] as the Ki Shweang Na country, the land is called Su-li, and the people are called by the same name” (Beal’s Si Yu Ki). Ki Shweang Na is usually identified with Kesh, in Mavara-un-Nahr, and if that be correct it would mean that most of Western Turkestan and a great part of Mavara-un-Nahr went, in the seventh century, by the same name as the city (and perhaps district) of Kashghar, though the latter place stood altogether apart from the tract of country between the Chu and Kesh. Thus, whether it is in any way possible, that Hiuen Tsang’s Su-Yeh, Su-Sa, or Su-li can be connected with Mirza Haidar’s Suyah must remain extremely doubtful. If Mr. Watters’ reading of Su-Sa instead of Su-Yeh is the right one, such a suggestion could not hold good. (See China Rev., as below.)

A curious passage, it may be noted here, occurs in the Geographical Dictionary of the Arab author Yakut, as translated by Thonnelier. He writes: “Farghanah . . . confinante avec le Turkestan du coté du district de Haidal, lequel fait face au soleil levant, à droite du voyageur qui se rend au pays des Turcs.” This passage would be too obscure, in any case, to throw light on the question at issue. It is remarkable only as an instance, in this particular region, of regarding a certain tract or province, as “facing the sun.”

With regard to the limits given for Mangalai Suyah, the only boundary that the author defines by names that appear to be unknown at the present day, is the western one. Séem, Gas (or the two may be read together as Séemg) and Jakismán are indeed subject to some variants, but however read, I can find no place to answer to any of them on the western confines of Farghana, unless it be a small town, or village, marked on Ritter and Oetzell’s map of 1841, as Sam Svarak, and placed on the Angren, tributary of the Syr, about midway between

1 The Chinese, quite recently, have revived the ancient Su-li, and have applied it as the official name for Kashghar.
he received the surname [lakab] of Kuk Uchgu, which is now borne by all his descendants.

As they neared Aksu, they fell in with a party of merchants, and while they were crossing a pass, the Khán [Tughluk Timur] fell down a fissure in the ice. Tásh Timur, at this, raised a loud cry for help, but he could make no one hear him, for the caravan had crossed the pass and had arrived at a halting ground. Tásh Timur went to one of the merchants, whose name was Begjik, and told him what had befallen the Khán; the merchant communicated this to some of his companions, and several of them set out with Tásh Timur to the place where the Khán had disappeared. Begjik descended into the chasm and found the Khán uninjured, and then and there formed a friendly agreement with him. After that, by way of precaution, he said apologetically to the Khán: "If you go up first they will not pull me up at all; let me go first and they must perforce pull you up after." Again, proffering many apologies, he called out to them to throw down the rope, which they did, and he went up first, and afterwards they pulled up the Khán. All then went on to Aksu. Amir Buláji raised Tughluk Timur to the rank of Khákán, and in course of time he ruled not only the whole of Moghulistán, but also much of the country of Chaghzai, as shall be related hereafter.

Khojand and Tashkond. The exact situation of these places is of little importance, as the author sufficiently indicates that all Farghána was included, when he mentions the names of Akhsiket and Kásán. The first of these two does not exist nowadays, but it is known to have stood near the site of the present Námaugán, while Kásán is again somewhat farther westward, and consequently not far from the western confines of the province. Among the other limits, none leave any doubt except in detail. Kasán and Tárbugur on the east, are both well-known towns on the main road leading from Kashghur towards Karasahir and China, though called nowadays Kuchar and Bugur respectively. The position of Jorján is also readily recognised, under the modern spelling of Chárchán, or Chárechand; while the country of the Sáriq Uighur (or Yellow Uighur), though long forgotten, may be placed with moderate certainty to the eastward of Chárchán, or south and somewhat west of Lake Lob. Farther on in his history (pp. 348-9), Mirza Haider alludes to this country again, as lying very much in this position. Dr. Bretschneider has some interesting notes on the subject of the Sáriq Uighur taken from Chinese sources, and places their country "somewhere north of Zaidam, on the southern verge of, the stony desert." They would in any case have dwelt on, or beyond, the south-eastern confines of Eastern Turkistan. (For Huen Tsang, see Beal’s Si Yu Kí, i., p. 26; Thom-ncier, Dict. de Géogr. de l’Asie Cent., p. 29; Bretschneider, Medieval Researches, i., p. 263; Mr. T. Watters in China Review, xix., No. 2, 1890, p. 117.)
CHAPTER III.

THE CONVERSION OF TUGHLUK TIMUR KHĀN TO ISLĀM.

Maulānā Khwāja Ahmad (may God sanctify his soul) was descended from Maulānā Arshad-ud-Din. He was exceedingly pious and much esteemed and revered. He belonged to the sect of Khwājās (may God sanctify their spirits). For twenty years I was in his service, and worshipped at no other mosque than his. He led a retired life, devoting his time to religious contemplation, and he used to recite the traditions of his sect in a beautiful manner; so much so, that any stranger hearing him was sure to be much impressed.

From him I heard that it was written in the annals of his forefathers concerning Maulānā Shuja-ud-Din Mahmud, the brother of Hāfiz-ud-Din, an elder of Bokhārā (who was the last of the Mujtahids, for after the death of Hāfiz-ud-Din there was never another Mujtahid), that during his interregnum, Chingiz Khān assembled the Imāms of Bokhārā, according to his custom, put Hāfiz-ud-Din to death, and banished Maulānā Shuja’ud-Din Mahmud to Karākorum. [The ancestors of] Maulānā Khwāja Ahmad also were sent there. At the time of a disaster in Karākorum,¹ their sons went to Lob Katak, which is one of the most important towns between Turfān and Khotan, and there they were held in much

¹ In this story (beginning after the word "forefathers") I have had, slightly, to alter the translation in order to make sense; the meaning intended, however, is, I believe, preserved. In the text there is some confusion, which renders the passage unintelligible.

The word Mujtahid, it may be remarked, means properly, a jurist who can deliver judgment without reference to past or present authorities; but it is usually employed, throughout Central Asia, to denote a high-priest or Musulmān Doctor of Divinity. It is in more common use among the Shi’ahs than among the Sunnis.

It is perhaps curious to read of Chingiz Khān deporting rebellious priests from Bokhara to his capital in Northern Mongolia, but it is quite a likely thing to have happened. The disaster in Karākorum here referred to by the author, is impossible to trace, for want of some indication of a date. The place underwent many vicissitudes in the Middle Ages. From the time of Chingiz, it remained the capital of the Mongol Khākāns only till the year 1256, when Mangū transferred the seat of government to Kai-ping fu, in Southern Mongolia, and some distance north of Peking. Traces of Karakorum are still in existence; they were found in 1889 by Mr. N. Yadrintzeff, on the left bank of the Orkhon, about thirty miles south-east of Lake Ugei Nor; and in this position the site is marked on the map attached to this volume. The ancient city appears to have covered an area of six miles in circumference, and some portion of it may have existed contemporaneously with Lob, or Lob-Katak—a town, or towns, which have long since passed out of existence, and even the sites of which are only to be traced conjecturally. (See next note; also Introduction, Sec. III.: Yule’s Marco Polo, i., pp. 228 seq.; Howorth's Hist. of the Mongols, i., pp. 182-6; Pro. R. G. S., 1890, p. 424.)
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honour and esteem. I was told many particulars concerning all of them, but I have forgotten them for the most part. The last of the sons was called Shaikh Jamál-ud-Din, an austere man who dwelt in Katak.

On a certain Friday, after the prayers, he preached to the people and said: "I have already, on many occasions, preached to you and given you good counsel, but no one of you has listened to me. It has now been revealed to me that God has sent down a great calamity on this town. A Divine ordinance permits me to escape and save myself from this disaster. This is the last sermon I shall preach to you. I take my leave of you, and remind you that our next meeting will be on the day of resurrection."

Having said this, the Shaikh came down from the pulpit. The Muazzin [crier to prayer] followed him and begged that he might be allowed to accompany him. The Shaikh said he might do so. When they had journeyed three farsäkhs they halted, and the Muazzin asked permission to return to the town to attend to some business, saying he would come back again immediately. As he was passing the mosque, he said to himself: "For a last time, I will just go and call out the evening prayer." So he ascended the minaret and called the evening prayer. As he was doing so, he noticed that something was raining down from the sky; it was like snow, but dry. He finished his "call," and then stood praying for a while. Then he descended, but found that the door of the minaret was blocked, and he could not get out. So he again ascended and, looking round, discovered that it was raining sand, and to such a degree that the whole town was covered; after a little while he noticed that the ground was rising, and at last only a part of the minaret was left free. So, with fear and trembling, he threw himself from the tower on to the sand; and at midnight he rejoined the Shaikh, and told him his story. The Shaikh immediately set out on his road, saying: "It is better to keep at a distance from the wrath of God." They fled in great haste; and that city, to this day, buried in sand. Sometimes a wind comes, and lays bare the minaret or the top of the dome. It often happens also, that a strong wind uncovers a house, and when any one enters it he finds everything in perfect order, though the master has become white bones. But no harm has come to the inanimate things.¹

¹ Throughout this story, Katak is spoken of as a single town, and when, just above, the author brackets Lob and Katak together, he probably means to denote the district generally, in which the two places were situated. During the mission of Sir D. Forsyth to Eastern Turkistan in 1873–4, the question of these sand-buried cities was inquired into by himself and Dr. Bellew. As regards their positions, the opinion arrived at was that Lob must have stood a short distance to the south-west of the lake of that name, while Katak lay probably about three days farther towards the south, on the road leading to Chárcan and Khotan. Three years later General Prejevalski visited Lake Lob, and indeed spent the
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In short, the Shaikh finally came to Bai Gul, which is in the vicinity of Aksu. At that time Tughluk Timur Khan was in Aksu. When he had first been brought there he was sixteen years of age. He was eighteen when he first met the Shaikh, and he met him in the following way. The Khan had organised a hunting-party, and had promulgated an order that no one should absent himself from the hunt. It was, however, remarked that winter of 1876–7 in its vicinity, with the modern village of Chârgâlî (about one day's march to the south-west of the lake) for his headquarters. In this place there were the remains, in the shape of earthen walls and watch-towers, of an ancient town, which the natives called Otag梳-Shahr, or city of Otag梳, after a khan who was said to have ruled there. Two days' journey from Chârgâlî, in the direction of Châr-e-han, the ruins of another town were reported to exist; and lastly, General Prejevalski discovered traces of a third, and very large city, near the south shore of the lake. This place was known locally by the name of Kunah-Shahr, or "old town," and was thought, by Sir H. Yule, to be the remains of the Lob of Marco Polo and Mirza Haidar. Marco Polo, whose narrative dates from more than two hundred years before that of the Mirza, speaks of the town as still in existence in his day—he makes no mention of ruins—and there is nothing on record to point to its having been buried by the sand, like Katak. The latter place is not mentioned by Marco Polo, nor does General Prejevalski seem to have heard of it, by that name at least, though it may possibly be represented by the ruins he was told of, called Gâsh-Shahr, which seem to lie more in the direction of the shifting sands than the other two, that he tells us of.

Mirza Haidar's account of the overwhelming of Katak by the sand, is interesting and graphic, though, no doubt, overdrawn. The process has been well described by Dr. Bellow, who with Sir D. Forsyth saw it in operation at a place called Urdum Padahah, some forty miles to the north-east of Yangi Hisar. The sand waves were found to advance very gradually, but no estimate could be formed of the yearly rate. When the hillocks of sand become piled against walls or buildings, they grow in height, till at length they fall over and engulf the object that obstructs them. This last phase of the process would be assisted by a violent wind or storm, and it appears to have been a storm that brought about the catastrophe narrated by our author. The sand in no case falls from the sky like snow, as described by Shaikh Jamâl-ud-Din in the text, though, no doubt, the air would be full of sand during a storm of wind; indeed, the Shaikh himself says enough to show that the disaster at Katak was known to be impending long before it occurred, and that the storm was only the final incident. The subsequent action of the sand in laying bare, but little injured, villages or buildings and their contents, in the course of its advance, was found by Dr. Bellow to take place much as Mirza Haidar relates. It may be remarked here, that the air in Eastern Turkestan is at all times, except just after a fall of rain (which seldom occurs) filled with a thick haze, and the sky is dark from the mist of impalpable dust or sand held in suspension. Rain clears the mist away, but immediately the fall has ceased, the sand begins to rise once more, in whirling columns, and forms small clouds, which at length grow and coalesce till, in a few hours, the dry haze has formed again in every direction.

As regards the name of Katak, the "texts in the British Museum all have it spelled in this way, and Sir D. Forsyth specially mentions that in his copy of the Turâkh-i-Râshîdî the spelling was the same. In some copies, however, it appears to read Kanak—a question only of a dot—and some discussion was at one time raised as to the real name. This need not now be followed up. Dr. Bretschneider gives, as Chinese names for Lake Lob, Yen-tee (salt marsh), Po-shâ, and Pu-chang-hâi, the last meaning "reef sea, or lake." Shên-Shên was also a Chinese name for the Lob region. (Bellow in Yarkand Report, pp. 27-9; Forsyth in J. R. G. S., 1877, pp. 1 seq; Prejevalski, Kulja to Lob Nor, pp. 76-7; Bretschneider, Med. Researches, ii., pp. 191 and 344.)

1 Perhaps Oikul, as marked on modern maps in the neighbourhood of Aksu.
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some persons were seated in a retired spot. The Khán sent to fetch these people, and they were seized, bound and brought before him, inasmuch as they had transgressed the commands of the Khán, and had not presented themselves at the hunt. The Khán asked them: “Why have you disobeyed my commands?” The Shaikh replied: “We are strangers, who have fled from the ruined town of Katak. We know nothing about the hunt nor the ordinances of the hunt, and therefore we have not transgressed your orders.” So the Khán ordered his men to set the Tájik free. He was, at that time, feeding some dogs with swine’s flesh, and he asked the Shaikh angrily: “Are you better than this dog, or is the dog better than you?” The Shaikh replied: “If I have faith I am better than this dog; but if I have no faith, this dog is better than I am.” On hearing these words, the Khán retired and sent one of his men, saying: “Go and place that Tájik upon your own horse, with all due respect, and bring him here to me.”

The Moghul went and led his horse before the Shaikh. The Shaikh noticing that the saddle was stained with blood (of pig) said: “I will go on foot.” But the Moghul insisted that the order was that he should mount the horse. The Shaikh then spread a clean handkerchief over the saddle and mounted. When he arrived before the Khán, he noticed that this latter was standing alone in a retired spot, and there were traces of sorrow on his countenance. The Khán asked the Shaikh: “What is this thing that renders man, if he possess it, better than a dog?” The Shaikh replied: “Faith,” and he explained to him what Faith was, and the duties of a Musulmán. The Khán wept thereat, and said: “If I ever become Khán, and obtain absolute authority, you must, without fail, come to me, and I promise you I will become a Musulmán.” He then sent the Shaikh away with the utmost respect and reverence. Soon after this the Shaikh died. He left a son of the name of Arshad-ud-Din, who was exceedingly pious. His father once dreamed that he carried a lamp up to the top of a hill, and that its light illumined the whole of the east. After that, he met Tughluk Timur Khán in Aksu, and said what has been mentioned above. Having related this to his son, he charged him, saying: “Since I may die at any moment, let it be your care, when the young man becomes Khán, to remind him of his promise to become a Musulmán; thus this blessing may come about through your mediation and, through you, the world may be illumined.”

Having completed his injunctions to his son, the Shaikh died. Soon afterwards Tughluk Timur became Khán. When news of this reached Maulána Arshad-ud-Din, he left Aksu and proceeded to Moghulístán, where the Khán was ruling in great pomp and splendour. But all his efforts to obtain an interview with him,
that he might execute his charge, were in vain. Every morning, however, he used to call out the prayers near to the Khán's tent. One morning the Khán said to one of his followers: "Somebody has been calling out like this for several mornings now; go and bring him here." The Mauláná was in the middle of his call to prayer when the Moghul arrived, who, seizing him by the neck, dragged him before the Khán. The latter said to him: "Who are you that thus disturb my sleep every morning at an early hour?" He replied: "I am the son of the man to whom, on a certain occasion, you made the promise to become a Musulmán." And he proceeded to recount the above related story. The Khán then said: "You are welcome, and where is your father?" He replied: "My father is dead, but he entrusted this mission to me." The Khán rejoined: "Ever since I ascended the throne I have had it on my mind that I made that promise, but the person to whom I gave the pledge never came. Now you are welcome. What must I do?" On that morn the sun of bounty rose out of the east of divine favour, and effaced the dark night of Unbelief. Khidmat Mauláná ordained ablution for the Khán, who, having declared his faith, became a Musulmán. They then decided that for the propagation of Islám, they should interview the princes one by one, and it should be well for those who accepted the faith, but those who refused should be slain as heathens and idolaters.

On the following morning, the first to come up to be examined alone was Amir Tulik, who was my great grand-uncle. When he entered the Khán's presence, he found him sitting with the Tájik, and he advanced and sat down with them also. Then the Khán began by asking, "Will you embrace Islám?" Amir Tulik burst into tears and said: "Three years ago I was converted by some holy men at Káshghar, and became a Musulmán, but, from fear of you, I did not openly declare it." Thereupon the Khán rose up and embraced him; then the three sat down again together. In this manner they examined the princes one by one. All accepted Islám, till it came to the turn ofJarús, who refused, but suggested two conditions, one of which was: "I have a man named Sátaghni Buka,1 if this Tájik can overthrow him I will become a Believer." The Khán and the Amirs cried out, "What absurd condition is this!" Khidmat Mauláná, however, said: "It is well, let it be so. If I do not throw him, I will not require you to become a Musulmán." Jarús then said to the Mauláná: "I have seen this man lift up a two year old camel. He is an Infidel, and above the ordinary stature of men." Khidmat Mauláná replied, "If it is God's wish that the Moghuls become honoured with the blessed state of Islám, He will doubtless give me sufficient

1 Dr. Bellew reads this name as Sanghoy Boca. (Yarkand Report, p. 148.)
power to overcome this man." The Khán and those who had become Musulmáns were not pleased with these plans. However, a large crowd assembled, the Káfír was brought in, and he and Khidmat Mauláná advanced towards one another. The Infidel, proud of his own strength, advanced with a conceited air. The Mauláná looked very small and weak beside him. When they came to blows, the Mauláná struck the Infidel full in the chest, and he fell senseless. After a little, he came to again, and having raised himself, fell again at the feet of the Mauláná, crying out and uttering words of Belief. The people raised loud shouts of applause, and on that day 160,000 persons cut off the hair of their heads and became Musulmáns. The Khán was circumcised, and the lights of Islám dispelled the shades of Unbelief. Islám was disseminated all through the country of Chaghatáí Khán, and (thanks be to God) has continued fixed in it to the present time.

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**EXTRACTS FROM THE ZAFAR-NAMA.**

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**CHAPTER IV.**

**EXPEDITION OF TUGHLUK TIMUR KHÁN INTO THE KINGDOM OF MÁVARÁ-UN-NAHR.**

Since the country of Mávará-un-Nahr, owing to the events above related, was in a state of disruption and confusion, Tughluk-Timur Khan (son of Davá Khán, a descendant of Chaghatáí Khán), King of Jatah, to whom by right of descent this country belonged, having called together his officers and courtiers, and having made ready an army, set out, in a manner becoming a great conqueror, towards Mávará-un-Nahr. This was in the month of Rabi Assani, 761 of the Hijra, [March A.D. 1360] corresponding to the year of the Mouse [Sichkán] of the Tartar cycle. Thirty years had elapsed between the death of Tármashirín and this event—and during this period there had reigned eight Khans of the race of Chaghatáí. When Tughluk Timur Khan arrived at Chaná Bulák, which is near the river of Khojand, in the plains of Táshkand, he consulted with his princes and generals, and they decided that the wisest plan would be for Ulugh Tuktimur, of the tribe of

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1 Bellew (who, however, is not translating but summarising from the Tarikh-i-Rashidi) tells this story somewhat differently, and ends by saying: "Tuglilik Timur was at this time twenty years of age, and he died ten years later, in 704 A.H. (1302 A.D.)" (Yark. Report, p. 148.)

2 Transoxiana.

3 Should be grandson.

4 He died 738 A.H., which would make twenty-three years; while all the texts of the Zafar-Náma in the British Museum say thirty-three years.
Karait, Haji Beg of the tribe of Arkenut, and Begjik of the tribe of Kângali, to go forward and reconnoitre. The three princes hastened to carry out these orders, and when they had crossed the river of Khojand, Amir Báyázid Jaláir, together with his people, joined them, and they all proceeded together in the direction of Shahr-i-Sabz.

Amir Háji Barlas having collected troops from Kesh, Karshi, and that neighbourhood, set out to oppose these combined forces. But on reconsideration, judging the plan to be unwise, he turned with his own force towards Khorásán, before the two armies had come into conflict.

1 The Karat, or Karait (the final t is only the Mongol plural), are usually described as a Mongol tribe, and Rashid-ud-Din, according to Dr. Erdmann, includes them in his list of Mongol tribes. Sir H. Howorth, however, gives reasons for believing them to be Turks, and also for regarding them as one and the same people with the Kirghiz, or the "Hakas" of the Chinese. Before the rise of Chingiz Khan, they occupied large tracts of Southern and Central Mongolia, and were, in fact, the nation ruled over by Wang Khan, or Prester John, so famous in mediaeval history. They were subdued by Chingiz about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and afterwards became so much scattered, that fragments of their tribes have been found in various localities all over Mongolia, and as far west as the country now known as the Kirghiz Steppes. In the latter part of the twelfth century they were perhaps the most powerful of all the nomad nations of northern Asia, and are doubtless the people who displaced that other important nation, the Uighurs, from north-western Mongolia, and drove them southward. (See Howorth, J. R. A. S., 1889, pp. 361 seq.; and Erdmann, Übersicht der . . . Türkischen, etc., Völkerstämme, Kazan, 1841.)

2 Some of the texts may read Azkenut instead of Arkenut, but the tribe intended can scarcely be other than the Alakut of Deguignes' list, or the Otkhoned of Howorth. The latter author speaks of six tribes—the Kunkurat, Inkirum, Olkhonod, Karanut, Kurlat or Kurlut, and Ikijin—who formed a confederacy under the name of Kunkurat. They were of Turki origin, and inhabited the north of Mongolia. In the Institutes of Timur the name is written Arkenut; and in Rashid-ud-Din's list, Alkunut. The last writer classes them as Tartars. (See Howorth, Hist. of Mongols, i., p. 703; Deguignes, Hist. des Huns, iii., p. 3; Davey's Inst. of Timur, p. 19; and Erdmann as above.)

3 The Kângali, or Kângali, were, at the time of the rise of the Mongols, an important Turki tribe whose country lay north of Transoxiana, between that of the Kipchaks on the west, and Moghulistan on the east. They appear to have been much intermixed with the Kipchaks, and are thought by Howorth to have been the ancestors of the modern Nogais and some of the Turkoman tribes. Abul Ghazi mentions the Kângali as living on the Chiu and Talas rivers in times previous to the Mongol ascendency. Dr. Breitschneider tells us that they are frequently spoken of in Chinese historical works of the Mongol period, the name being generally represented as Kang-li, or sometimes Hang-li. The tribe was known to the Chin dynasty of China as early as the eleventh century, when one of their chiefs is said to have offered to become a vassal of the Chinese Emperor. They were a warlike people, and at a later period the Mongol Khans utilised their services as soldiers, and even as generals. Rashid-ud-Din also classes the Kângali as Turks. (Howorth, Hist. of Mong., i., p. 18; Breitschneider, i., p. 301; Abul Ghazi, p. 38; Erdmann as above.)
CHAPTER V.

INTRIGUES OF TIMUR WITH AMIR HAJI BARLAS—HIS RETURN FROM THE BANKS OF THE JIHUN AND HIS MEETING WITH THE THREE PRINCES.

[Arabic verses]:
 Judgment is preferable to the valour of heroes;
The former is the first of virtues, the latter stands second;
But when these two are united in one person,
That person can attain the highest summits of fame.

[Persian verses]:
With judgment thou canst put a whole army to rout.
One man with a sword can kill as many as a hundred men.¹

The events about to be related, all testify to the truth of these statements. For when Amir Hāji Barlās heard of the advance of the army of Jatah, he abandoned his own country and set out for Khorāsān. He crossed the desert and arrived at the River Jihun. Amir Timur² saw well that if he continued in this policy of self-preservation, his native country would go to ruin, and his inherited dominions would fall into confusion, for in that same year his father Amir Trāgāi had died.

[Verses]: His father was dead and his uncle had flown:
The people were exposed to the ravages of a stranger.
Its enemies had placed the tribe in danger:
It was become as an eagle without wings or feathers.

Under these circumstances, although he had not passed the age of twenty five, and his intelligence had not yet received the enlightenment of great experience, Amir Timur determined upon setting these affairs in order, and with this intent took counsel with Amir Hāji, saying: "If the kingdom remains without a head, great evils will most surely come upon it, and the people will be entirely annihilated by the violence and perfidy of enemies."

[Verses]: A kingdom without a head is like a body without soul;
Certainly a body without a head is as good as destroyed.

"Since you wish to proceed into Khorāsān, I think I had better return to Kešā, and when I have comforted and encouraged the inhabitants of that place, I will go thence to the court of the Khān. I will confer with the

¹ Here follow some rhetorical phrases and more verses, which are omitted in the translation. Their burden is the superiority of intelligence over the sword.
² Known as Tamerlane, Timurlang, etc. He is always spoken of in the texts of the Zafrar-Nama as "Sahib-i-Kirān," or "Lord of the Conjunction"; but I propose to call him throughout "Amir Timur," which is not only correct, but is sufficient to distinguish him from other Timurs. Major C. Stewart, in the Preface to the Mafżuzat Timuri, translates "Sahib-i-Kirān" as "Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction."
princes and nobles of the State, so that this country and the people, who have been entrusted to our care by God, may come to no harm.”¹

Having thus spoken he departed. Amir Háji was fully convinced that the words of Amir Timur were divinely inspired, and therefore accepted all his decisions and approved all his plans. When Amir Timur arrived at Khüzár, he met Háji Mahmud Sháh Yasuri, who was acting as guide to the advance body of the army of Jatah. The troops were advancing with all possible haste, whetting the teeth of their lust for plunder and desire for booty, and sewing themselves purses in expectation of the treasure and wealth to be found in that country. Amir Timur succeeded in arranging an amnesty with the generals of this force, saying: “Wait here while I go and see the princes and, with them, determine upon some reasonable and advisable plan.” The wise words of that prince were as heavenly utterances, and had such an effect on the soldiers, that, in spite of their eagerness to advance, they remained where they were. Amir Timur passed safely on, and when he reached Kesh he met the three Amirs of Jatah, who had themselves just arrived there. After friendly greetings had been exchanged, they expressed to him their satisfaction at hearing that he was going to submit himself to the Khán; and they appointed him governor of the district, which had formerly belonged to Amir Karáchár—that is to say, the district round about Kesh, together with its dependencies; with the result that, by his wise conduct, the torrent of distress and calamity which threatened to overwhelm this country was turned aside, and the people again enjoyed that repose which they had lost all hopes of recovering. [Verses] . . . .

In the opinion of the most ignorant people, it seemed that a great piece of good fortune had befallen Amir Timur, but Fate had still a thousand successes in store for him.

After this, Amir Timur took leave of the princes and threw the shadow of his protection and care upon the tribe. He commanded troops to be collected between Shahr-i-Sabz and the River Jihun, and in a short time, having mustered a very large army, set out, together with Amir Yasuri. At this time a dispute arose among the princes of Jatah, who having withdrawn all their troops from Mávará-un-Nahr, returned to the headquarters of Tughluk Timur Khán. After that, Báýázíd Jaláír, with the whole of his following, joined the side of Amir Timur and Amir Khizár Yasuri.

CHAPTER VI.

TUGHLUK TIMUR KHÁN’S SECOND INVASION OF MÁVARÁ-UN-NAHR.

When desire for the government of Mávará-un-Nahr a second time seized the skirt of Tughluk Timur Khán’s enthusiasm, he prepared an innumerable army and, in the month of Jamád-aláwa of the year 762 (A.D. 1361), corresponding to the year of the Ox in the Tartar cycle, he again marched for that

¹ He probably means that he will make friends with the chiefs, and persuade them not to do the country any injury.
Invasion of Mowar-d-un-Nahr.

country. When he arrived at Khojand, Amir Bâyâzîd Jalâîr came to offer him his services. Amir Bâyân Salduz also, as a sign of his obedience, went forward as far as Samarkand to meet the Khân, and Háji Barlas, although at the time of the Khân’s first invasion he had opposed him, trusting to Providence, now presented himself before him. In the meanwhile the Khân had given orders to his men to capture Amir Bâyâzîd and put him to death. Amir Háji Barlas, fearing a similar fate, fled towards Kesh. He got together some of his own tribe and led them across the Jihun, but they were attacked by the Kashmir1 regiment of the Jatah army, who were pursuing them, and a battle took place, in which Jughâm Barlas was killed, and Amir Háji retired to Khorásán. On his arrival at Khorasha, which is a village of Buluk-i-Juvîn,2 a dependency of Sebzvâr, he was seized by a band of brigands and, together with his brother Idegu, was killed. After the conquest of Khorásán (which event made Amir Timur feel himself in some way avenged) and after some of them3 had been put to death, that village became a fief of the heirs of Amir Háji, and up to the present time the inhabitants thereof are their subjects and agents.

Among the Amir s at the court of Jatah was a certain Amir Hamid, of the tribe of Kurlukut,4 who was distinguished above his peers at the court by his wisdom and common sense. He had free access to the Khân, and whatever he proposed in the way of advice or approval, was acceptable. At this time he began to praise and extol the virtues of Amir Timur to the Khân, and he begged the Khân to restore to the prince, the territory that was his by right of inheritance. The Khân lent a favourable ear to his entreaties, and a messenger was immediately despatched to fetch Amir Timur. The prince accordingly came to the Khân, received from him the warmest welcome,

1 All the texts have the word “Kashmir,” and there can be no doubt of the reading. The question is as to the fact mentioned. It seems almost impossible to imagine that there was a regiment of Kashmiris in the service of the Moghul Khans. No doubt the Buddhists of Kashmir had intercourse with those of Eastern Turkistan, and more especially with Khotan; and a certain number may have found their way into the service of the Khans, but they must have been differently constituted to the Kasimiris of the present day, if they became soldiers. Possibly all strangers who came into the country from the side of Kashmir were called Kashmiris, and if so there may have been, among them, Hindus and others with sufficiently warlike qualities to enlist as fighting-men. But perhaps the most likely explanation is that they were slaves, or descendants of slaves, and of prisoners, carried off during the earlier Mongol invasions of countries in the direction of Kashmir. In this case, little but the name of Kashmîri would have remained to such people, a century and a half later.

2 Probably the plain of Juvîn (or Jagatai Juvîn), which lies to the north and north-west of Sebzvâr in Khorasan. Buluk means “a district.” Khorasha most likely stands for Kudâshâh, the name of a village in the Juvîn plain, marked on modern maps.

3 By the word “them,” the brigands seem to be intended.

4 Probably the Karlik, in the Mongol plural, is the tribe meant. The Karlik were certainly Turks by origin, and in Sir H. Howorth’s opinion were of the Uighur race. Rashid-ud-Din enters them under the Turkî tribes, pure and simple. At the time of Chingiz, they appear to have inhabited the country north of the Tian Shan, but later they probably pushed farther towards the west. From Dr. Bretschneider we learn that the Karlik are repeatedly noticed in the Chinese histories under such names as Ko-erh-lu, Ha-la-lu, etc. (See for Howorth, Sect. IV. of Introduction; Rashid-ud-Din in Erdmann’s Über d. Türk. Völker-Stämme, Bretschneider, ii., pp. 39-41). Communities of Karlûks are found at the present day in and around Badakhshan, where they are regarded as Turks and speak the Turki language.
and was appointed Governor of Kesh and Tumán, together with their dependencies.

In the winter of that year, the Khán determined to make war upon Amir Husain, and set out against him. Amir Husain, for his part, also raised an army and led it as far as the River Vakhsh. Here he pitched his camp. When the Khán had passed the Iron Gate and arrived near to where Amir

1 For Tumán, probably Kärman (sometimes written Kermine) should be read. The town stands on the Zarafshan, to the north-east of Bokhara.

2 Husain was grandson of the Amir Kazagán, a prince of the tribe of Tahit (according to Péris de la Croix) who had revolted against Sultan Kazan, the "Grand Can"—that is, the Khán of the Chaghatay. (Hist. de Timur B.C., i., p. 2.) The word Tahit is probably a corruption; it should perhaps read Taft, a difference only of a dot under one letter.

3 The texts, in this place, have Darband-i-Akman, or "Iron Gate," but in all other places Kulunga, the name by which the pass was usually known. It is often mentioned by ancient travellers, but has very rarely been visited in modern times, at any rate up to within the last few years, or before the Russians became possessors of Samarkand and Khiva. The gates, in ancient times, were a reality, for the Chinese traveller Hsuen Tsang, who passed the Darband in 630 A.D., describes the defile as "closed by folding gates clamped with iron." (See Sir H. Yule in Wood's Ormuz, 1872, p. lix.) At the time of Chingiz Khan, when Chinese travellers frequently went backwards and forwards between China and the conqueror's camp in various parts of Central Asia, the pass of the Iron Gates is frequently mentioned under the name of Tie-mu-wan (literally, Iron Gate barrier); and one of them, the Taoist-monk Ch'ang Chun, describes his passage through the defile in 1222, with carts and an escort of a hundred Mongol and Muhammadan soldiers: "We crossed the mountains in a south-east direction and found them very high. Masses of rock were lying scattered about. The escort themselves pulled the carts, and took two days to pass to the other side of the mountains." (Chinese Mediaval Travellers to the West, by Dr. E. Bretschneider, 1875, pp. 41, 42.) The gates themselves seem, thus, to have disappeared by the thirteenth century, and they had certainly done so at the beginning of the fifteenth, when Ruy Gonzalez Clavijo visited the spot, in the course of his embassy (1403-5) from Henry III. of Spain to Amir Timur. He wrote: "These mountains of the Gates of Iron are without woods, and in former times they say that there were great gates covered with iron placed across the pass, so that no one could pass without an order." (See Embassy of Ruy G. Clavijo to Court of Timur, by C. R. Markham, Hakluyt Series, 1850, p. 122.) From the time of Don Ruy down to 1875, when the Russian Hisar Expedition passed the Darband, no European appears to have seen (or, at any rate, to have described) the defile. Mr. N. A. Mayef, who accompanied the Russian Expedition, described the spot thus: "The famous ravine of the Iron Gate winds through a high mountain chain, about twelve versts to the west of Darbent. It is a narrow cleft, 5 to 35 paces wide and about two versts long. It is known now as Buz-ghala Khána (i.e., the House of Goats). Its eastern termination is 3540 feet above the sea; its western termination 3740 feet. A torrent, Buz-ghala Khána buláik, flows through it. . . ." (Geogr. Magazine, Dec., 1876, p. 328.)

The term "Iron Gate," or at any rate "Kulunga," seems—often to have been applied to narrow defiles in medieval times; thus there is the gate in the "Wall of Alexander," near Darband, on the west shore of the Caspian, which is still, according to Sir H. Yule; called in Turkish Demir-Kapı, or Iron Gate. Another is the defile of Taliki leading from the Sairam (Nor) or Sut (Kul) lake southward, to the Ir river. This was called Kulunga by Turk-speaking people, and Timur-Khalata by the Mongols; and Dr. Bretschneider explains that the word Khalbuga, or Khalga, means, in Mongol, a pass or gate, while Timur signifies iron. The Chinese traveller Chang-Te, in 1259, passed through the Taliki defile, and described it as "very rugged, with overhanging rocks." He speaks of it by a transliterated Mongol name which stands for "iron roadway." Possibly—though I think not—it may be this Taliki Kulunga which the historians of Timur refer to when, in recording his last expedition but one against the Jatál Moghulés, they describe the route taken by the division of the army commanded by Timur's son, Omar Shaikh Mirza, from Yulduz towards
Husain was encamped, the two armies came in sight of one another and were preparing to engage, when Kaikhosru of Khâlân, together with his men, left the side of Amir Husain and joined the army of the Khân, thus breaking the order of battle of the former. When Amir Husain perceived this, he turned and fled. The victorious Khân went in pursuit of him, and crossing the Jihun, penetrated as far as Kunduz. His troops pillaged all the country round about, as far as the mountains of Hindu Kush, and spent the following spring and summer in that region.

Kashghar. At any rate the Iron Gate near Kash, in Transoxiana, cannot have been meant, as Péiss de la Croix, in reading the Zafar-Nama, and Price, relying upon the Raazat-us-safâ, seem to have assumed. From the Yulduz valley, Omar Shaikh is made to return to Andijan by way of Kuchar, Uch-Turfan, and Kashgjar, and to fight a battle with an Amir of Jatah in the pass of Kulugh, on the way. While it is scarcely conceivable that he should have marched first into the heart of Transoxiana, there have met with a Jatah Amir far in the rear of Timur's army, and then have returned to Andijan, it is just possible, though improbable, that he may have first made an expedition north-westward to the Taiki defile and thence back to Kuchar. I suspect that in the hills between the Yulduz and Kuchar, there was yet another defile known by the name of Kulugh, or 'Pass,' and that it may be represented on modern maps by the pass of Kui-Kule. This view is supported by the circumstance that the victory over the Jatah Amir is mentioned, in the Zafar-Nama, as having been won before Omar Shaikh's arrival at Kuchar, and without any allusion to a return march northward, for after the battle, he is said to have continued his march by way of Kuchar, etc., to Kashgjar. In this case, the translators have probably been led into calling the pass "Iron Gate," on account of the name Kulugh being identical with one of those used for the Darband-i-Ahain near Kash. In all likelihood, there were many passes in various parts of Turki and Mongol-speaking Asia, which were known simply by the name Kulugh, though they may have had more specific local names besides, such as Timur, or Demir, Kulugh. The error fallen into, in this case, was to apply the Persian translation of one of these specific names, to all Kulugh, or passes. (See for Taiki, etc., Breitenger's Researchers, i, p. 127, and ii, pp. 34-5 and 230.)

1 Amir Hussain had put to death Kaikobâd, the brother of Kaikhosru (Hist. de Timur Bec., i, p. 101.) These Zoroastrian names, occurring in Khâlân at this period, are remarkable. As regards the state or province of Khâlân, Khuthân, or Khoft, Sir H. Yule located it (in 1872) somewhat north of the present Kolab and west of Darwâz; but Mr. Mayet, who travelled in this region three years later, believes Kurgan-Tube (i.e., Kurgân Tura) on the lower Surkhâb (for Vakhsh) and a short distance west of Kolab, to have been the centre of the ancient Khâlân. He quotes Ibn Dašt, an author of the tenth century, to the effect that the kingdom of Khoft, or Khâtân, included the lower valley of the Vakhsh and that of the Kafir-nahâb, with the town of Kabidjan, and reached also to Faizabad on the upper waters of that river. Khâtân existed at least down to the end of the fifteenth century, for in 1498 we find Khuru Shah, of Kunduz, bestowing the governorship of it on his brother Wali. Both the state and the name have since disappeared. (See Yule J. R. A. Soc., vi., pt. 1, 1872, p. 97, and his map in Wood's Orez, 1872; Mayet in Geogr. Mag., Dec., 1876, p. 328; Erskine Hist. of India, i, p. 200; and Memoirs of Ruber, pp. xxxii. seq.) The Chinese of the Ming period knew the country by the names Kuo-te-lang and Hat-i-lun. (Breitenger, ii., pp. 277 and 315.)
CHAPTER VII.

THE RETURN OF TUGHLUK TIMUR KHÁN TO HIS OWN CAPITAL.

On the approach of autumn, the Khán set out for Samarkand, and on the journey gave orders for Amir Bayán Salduz to be killed, according to the code of the Moghuls. When he reached Samarkand, he had the whole of Mávará-un-Nahr under his command and rule, and all the nobles and princes of the country were compelled to swear allegiance to him. Some, however, whom he suspected of treachery, he treated as he had treated Amir Bayán Salduz. Others, whom he found he could rely on, he bestowed favours and distinctions upon. He entrusted the government of the conquered districts to his son Ilyás Khwája Oghláń, and he assigned to him a number of the amirs and soldiers of the army of Jatah, over whom he appointed Begjik. Amir Timur was charged with the most important duties in the administration of the State, under the orders of the young prince; and when the Khan had assured himself of the sagacity of Amir Timur, he handed over the whole direction of the State to him, and returned to his own seat of government. Tughluk Timur, in short, again left the country of Mávará-un-Nahr. He had given supreme authority over all the princes and people of Jatah, to Amir Begjik, and had deputed Amir Timur to look to the welfare of the people. But Amir Begjik did not obey the instructions of the Khán, for not only did he exercise tyranny and violence, but even attempted open revolt [against the Khán]. When Amir Timur saw that the orders of the Khán were not being complied with, and that, in consequence, the State would fall into disorder, he did not think fit to stay any longer in the country, but fled, with the intention of discovering Amir Husain. Since he could learn no news of the whereabouts of Amir Husain, he turned towards the deserts.

1 The term is Ba Yásik rasánidan. It may be taken to mean, to try a man and punish him (in this case with death) according to the system of the Yásik.

The Yásik, or Yásá, Yáza, etc. (sometimes called the Turah), was the legal code of the Mongols, said to have been instituted by Chingiz Khan. Péris de la Croix hands it down in twenty-two sections, but says that there were other sections which have not been specified by the authorities he used. Deguignes summarizes from Péris, but omits the 22nd section. Section 3 of the Yásik forbids any prince, under pain of death, to cause himself to be proclaimed Khan, without having first been elected by a general assembly, or Diet (called Kuriltai), formed of the chiefs of the nation. (Péris de la Croix, Hist. de Gengiz Khan, p. 98: Deguignes, Hist. des Huns, iii., pp. 72–3.) Renan, on the authority of Mirkulund and Khundamir, calls the Yáza the religion of the Mongols, but this can hardly be correct. (Ancient Accounts of India and China, 1733, p. 139.) Baber often alludes to the Tura, and expressly says that they were not “of divine appointment,” though they had been held in respect by all his forefathers. Erskine translates the word “Institutions” (of Chingiz Khan), and says, “they seem to have been a collection of the old usages of the Moghul tribes . . . probably merely traditional, and never reduced into writing.” In Baber’s days they were still respected among the wandering tribes, but did not form the law of his kingdom, “since they had been introduced before the Muslimiin religion, and were, in many respects, inconsistent with the Koran.” (Baber, xlvii., seq.) Sir H. Howorth has fully discussed the Yáza or Tura in the Indian Antiquary for July, 1882. In Amyot’s Dict. Tartar-Mandchou-Français (1789, i. p. xvii.) Tourn or Tovarít is said to be the Arabic equivalent of Yásá.

2 Mirza Haidar breaks off here at an interesting part of the adventures of Timur and Husain. The Zafar-Nama goes on to relate how Timur wandered
In short, the substance of what we find in the Moghul traditions is, that Tughluk Timur Khan’s dominions extended as far as Samarkand, and even further, but no precise facts have come down to us. Amir Bulaji, who has been already mentioned as having raised Tughluk Timur Khan to the Khanate, sought nine privileges for himself from the Khan, which privileges had been granted to his ancestors by Chingiz Khan, and which my family have inherited. I have seen them myself. They were written in Kunduz, in the Moghul language, and I mention this circumstance because, by it, the Moghuls prove that the Khan’s rule extended as far as Kunduz. It is stated, in the Zafar-Nama, that the Khan died in the year 764. The Moghul traditions say that Tughluk Timur, at the age of 16, was brought from [the] Kalmak [country] by Amir Bulaji, as has been related; at the age of 18 he became Khan, at the age of 24 he became a Musulman, and died at the age of 34. He was born in the year 730.

CHAPTER VIII.

ILYAS KHWAJA KHAN.

The Moghuls have preserved no traditions concerning this Ilyas Khwaja Khan, but I have heard my father mention his name, and the Zafar-Nama makes occasional mention of him, in connection with other events. These passages I have transcribed in substance.

CHAPTER IX.

RETURN OF AMIR HUSAIN AND AMIR TIMUR TO TAIKHAN AND BADAKH SHAN, AND THE TREATIES BETWEEN THEM.

The two princes then proceeded to Kunduz, and there collected some troops from the tribe of Boldai.\(^1\) Thence they marched towards Badakhshan, and

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\(^1\) Or Buruldai—the reading is uncertain.
Return of Timur and Husain to Badakhshan.

When they arrived at Tālikhān, they concluded a peace with the Kings of Badakhshān and effaced every trace of bitterness of feeling. From there again they went to Arhang, where they crossed the river onto the side of Sālī-Sarāi, and advanced towards Khātal; then, having traversed the desert, they arrived at a place called Gulak, where they encamped. In accordance with the words "and we have ordained the night as a time for repose," they retired to rest. After Amir Timur had taken off his clothes, with the intention of going to bed, and had withdrawn his blessed feet from the fatiguing companionship of his boots, Amir Husain sent a person to beg him to come to him, and when he arrived, he found, among those present in the assembly, Pūlad Bughā and Shir Bahram. Amir Husain began to make complaints of Shir Bahram to Amir Timur, saying: "We are now close upon the enemy; this is not the time for him to abandon us; it is not acting in an honourable way." Amir Timur did his best to induce Shir Bahram not to desert them, but without success, and this latter set out for Biljavān.

In the meanwhile, the news was confirmed that Tughluk Saduz and Kaikhushru were advancing with the army and many of the Amirs of Jatah, and besides these there were assembled, between Jalāt and the "Bridge of Stone" [Pul i Sangin], Timur son of Buhakan, Sārik, Shengum, Tughluk Khwaja brother of Ujji Beg, Kuj Timur son of Begjīk, and other commanders of thousands [tūmān] and regiments [kushān] with fifty thousand

1 Tālikhān is often found written for Talikhān. There were several places of this name in Khurasan and Persia, but the town alluded to here is the one which lies about forty-four miles east of Kunduz. Abul-feda tells us that it was distant from the border of "Khotāi"—i.e., Khattān—seven farsangs, or some twenty-eight miles. (Reinaud’s translation, ii, pt. 2, p. 207.)

2 Arhang (or Arheng, or Arhenk) has been shown, by Sir H. Yule, to have been a small state lying "astride upon the Oxus," to the north-west of Talikhān, and near the present Hazrat Imām. Péte de la Croix mentions its being on the south of the Oxus, near Sālī-Sarāi, but his geography is not always quite accurate. In the Institutes of Timur, Arhang is spoken of in connection with Khattān, and as if adjoining that province (p. 90).

3 Sālī-Sarāi is marked by Péte on the north bank of the Oxus, and may perhaps be represented by the present village of Sarāi, shown on some modern maps about twelve miles below the mouth of the Kokcha. Sālī-Sarāi is often mentioned in the Zafur-Nama, and was no doubt the site of a ford across the Oxus. (Hist. de Timur Buc., 1)

4 A village called Guli-zindan is marked on Mayef’s map, about halfway between the Bridge and Baljuin, which may perhaps represent Gulak. (Geog. Mag., Dec., 1876.) It is obviously the same place as that mentioned lower down, under the name of Kulak or Duht-i-Kulak (p. 238).

5 Baljuin—of modern maps.

6 Or Sir Jala—probably a spot lying northward of the Bridge.

This bridge is often mentioned by mediaeval and even ancient authors. (See Yule in Wood’s Oxus, p. lxxvii.) It spans the Upper Vakhsh (or Surkhbāb), where the road is crossed by the river leading from Baljuin, north-westward to Faizabad and Kafrnāhān. The first modern description of the locality was that of Mr. Mayef, after his journey of 1875. He wrote: "Where the Vakhsh approaches the boundary of the Khanate of Buhām, it rushes through a narrow valley, hemmed in by the steep slopes of the Nur-tagh and Khna-‘Yukur [ranges]. This defile, at one of its narrowest parts, where the rocks approach each other within twenty paces, is spanned by the well-known stone bridge of Pul-i-Sengi. An exceedingly difficult path leads up to this bridge from the bank of the Vakhsh . . . . At many parts of it steps are cut into the rock . . . ." (Geographical Mag., Dec., 1876, p. 328.) Kostenko’s Gazetteer says the length of the bridge is ten paces, and that it is supported on two projecting rocks, rising high above the level of the river, which is not more than twenty paces in width. The steps cut in the rocks are also mentioned here. (Russian-Turkistan Gazetteer, Calcutta, 1882, ii, p. 182.)
Timur passes the Stone Bridge.

men, though more than six thousand had deserted the royal camp. But Amir Timur placed firm trust in the assistance of God, and comforted his men with the verse, “How many armies small in number, have overcome infinite hosts, by the permission of God,” which he seemed to hear repeated in his ear by a voice from the unseen world.

[Verses]:

Though the ocean of the world be full of alligators,
   And desert and mountain full of tigers,
   If a man have good fortune for a friend,
   Not a hair of his head will be touched.

With two thousand brave men, he marched out to meet the enemy, and the opposing forces met on the Stone Bridge. A battle ensued which lasted from early morning till nightfall; and during all that day those brave and experienced warriors fought, until they had no strength left to continue. Moreover the inequality of the forces was great.

Amir Timur, considering the situation, saw that victory could not be with his side, if the sword of valour were not brightened with the polish of good counsel, and he understood that if the arrow of courage were not let fly from the thumb-stall of deliberation, its whistling would not sound to them as news of triumph. These things he pondered in his mind, until the reed of assurance and conviction, painted a picture of welfare and safety upon the tablet of his enlightened intelligence.

CHAPTER X.

TIMUR'S PASSAGE OF THE RIVER AT THE STONE BRIDGE, AND THE FLIGHT OF THE ARMY OF JATAH.

Amir Timur ordered Amir Musa, Amir Muvayid Arlat and Uchka Bahadur, with a force of 500 picked men, to wait for the enemy near the Stone Bridge, while he himself, with 1500 men, swam the river at midnight and took up his position on the mountains. On the following day, the sentinels of the enemy saw, by their footprints, that they had crossed the river during the night; and they were very much perturbed in consequence. When night set in, Amir Timur commanded his soldiers to light a great number of fires on the summits of the highest of the mountains; and at the sight of these fires the enemy were seized with fear and terror, so that they lost heart and fled. Thus did God, without the trouble of a battle, scatter this numerous army, which was in the proportion of ten warriors to one of their opponents. “Verily God gives the victory to whomsoever He will.”

The enemy being thrown into flight and confusion, Amir Timur rushed down the mountain with his army, like a raging lion or a mighty boiling torrent, and pursued them as far as Gujarát¹—falling upon them with his life-taking sword and his soul-biting lance, till the road was covered with

¹ This name may read Gujarâ. I cannot identify the place.
the heaps of their slain. In this place he halted, victorious and happy, while Amir Husain with the rest of the army continued the pursuit. This victory helped to spread the fame of Amir Timur and much encouraged his troops. Feeling the reality and importance of the advantages he had just secured, Amir Timur again set out with two thousand men; and when he arrived at Kuhlagha, the people of Kesh and the districts round about, fleeing from the army of Jatah, kept coming to him in detachments, with offers to serve him if he would protect them. Out of the two thousand men Amir Timur had brought with him, he selected three hundred as his own special bodyguard. With these he advanced, commanding the rest to stay behind. He then sent on two hundred of these men, under the Amirs Sulaimán Barías, Chakui Barías, Bahrám Jalár, Jaláluddin Barías, Saífuddin and Yuliticur, to Kesh, telling them to divide into four squadrons, and ordering every man to suspend from either side of his horse, a large leafy branch, in order that much dust might be raised and so cause the governor of Kesh, if he saw them, to beat a retreat. They carried out his orders exactly, so that when they entered the plains of Kesh, the governor, frightened at the sight of so much dust, took to flight, and they entered the town, where they occupied themselves with the appointment of officers and the like.

Thus the boundless favour of God descended in such a manner upon this king, that by means of sparks of fire he was able to put an army to flight, and with dust to conquer a town.

[Verse]: The evil eye was distant from him, for greater successes than these it is impossible to conceive.

At that time Ilyás Khwája Khán was encamped at Tásh Arighi, which is four furasangs distant from Kesh; he had round him his nobles and princes and an innumerable army. About this time Tughluk Timur Khán died. Ulugh Timur and Amir Hamid came to announce the news to Ilyás Khwája Khán and to bring him back to his tribe, that he might rule in his father’s stead.

Meanwhile, Amir Timur, with one hundred chosen men, having marched all the night, came to Khuzár, and when day broke, the people of that town learnt the arrival of that royal prince and hastened out to kiss the ground in obeisance to him. He then combined the troops of Khuzár and Kesh, and put Khwája Sálibari in command of the rearguard. With this mighty army he set out for Chekhádlik, and on arrival there, pitched his camp. At that place too, he was joined by Muhammad, son of Salduz, with seven regiments, and he remained there seven days. In the meanwhile, Amir Husain arrived with his own forces, and with those that Amir Timur had left behind at Kuhlagha. Shir Bahrám also, who had separated from them in the desert [or plain] of Gulak, in order to visit his own people, now rejoined them, after an absence of forty-three days. They then all set forth together, under the command of Amir Timur and Amir Husain, in the direction of Khuzár, and on their arrival there, visited the tomb of Khwája Resmes, in the name of whose blessed spirit they made a solemn alliance and swore eternal friendship.

1 The Iron Gates.
2 Lit. “and if a daruqha [superintendent] were there he would flee.”—R.
3 There appears to be something wrong about this name. It should be, probably, the tomb of Shams-ud-Din.
CHAPTER XI.

THE DREAM OF AMIR TIMUR, WHICH HE LOOKS UPON AS A GOOD Omen,
AND WHICH INDUCES HIM TO MAKE WAR ON ILYÁS KHwÁJA KHÁN.

The Prophet (upon whom be the peace of God) said: "True dreams are one
of the forty-six gifts of prophecy," and the explanation of this tradition is
that when the all-knowing, all-powerful God (may He be exalted and
magnified), places upon the forehead of some great person the distinctive
mark of His favour, He so enlightens him that He causes him to understand
the secrets of the invisible world, reveals unto his human spirit the things
that are to come to pass, and makes him aware of occurrences that have
not yet taken place. Joseph was informed, by revelation, of the coming
of his father and brothers several years before that event took place. And
Muhammad, Prince of the Prophets, had revealed to him the conquest of
Mekka.

In the same way, as Amir Timur was one day reflecting upon the straits
he was in, and the smallness of his army in comparison with that of the
enemy, and considering what would be the best line of action, he fell asleep,
and heard a voice say to him, in eloquent language: "Be of good cheer and
grieve not, for God has given you victory." When he awoke from his
slumber, he asked, "Did anyone speak?" All present replied, "Indeed not!"
So he was convinced that the words were spoken by a voice from heaven, and
that the sweet-scented breeze of good news had blown from the rose-garden
of God's graciousness and favour. His confidence in the assistance of God
was absolute, and he went to Amir Hussain with fresh enthusiasm and
renewed vigour, telling him what had happened. The good tidings were
spread about among all the troops, and they were much encouraged; their
obedient hearts blossomed out, as do the rosebuds with the zephyr of
the morn.

CHAPTER XII.

BATTLE OF AMIR HUSAIN AND AMIR TIMUR WITH THE ARMY OF
JATAIH. VICTORY OF THE AMIR OVER THE JATAIH.

Amir Husain and Amir Timur, having offered up praise and thanksgiving
to the Padishah of Padishahs (may His name be exalted), mounted their
horses and began to make preparations for battle. They divided the army
into two parts; Amir Husain commanded the right wing, and raised the
victorious standard, while Amir Timur led the left wing of his troops, who
were so accustomed to victory. Having arranged all this, and having put
the army into order of battle, they went forward.

The enemy meanwhile were at Tåsh Arighi, and they, in the same manner,
divided their forces into two parts; Ilyás Khwája Khán and Amir Hamid
commanding the left wing, and Amir Tuk Timur and Amir Begjik the right. The opposing armies, having drawn themselves up in order of battle, attacked one another with vigorous onslaught.

[Verses]: The world and time ranged themselves on his side, You would have thought he was about to overcome the universe. Nor the shining sun nor the moon looked more brilliant than did his army. His troops on a sudden raised a loud cry And their spear points made the clouds bright.

The fighting began at a place called Kaba Matan, and clamour and shouting filled the vault of the heavens. The first attack was made upon the soldiers of Amir Timur, by the scouts of the enemy, who were boasting of the superiority of their army in numbers, and were burning for the fray.

But Timur, keeping his foot as firmly fixed upon the spot where he was standing, as was his kingdom upon its foundations, seized his bow and arrow and made his left arm like an Alif and his right arm like a Dāl.²

[Verses] . . .

And his soldiers, in imitation of their king, discharged their missiles into the souls of the enemy, just as the starry army of the moon let fly their shooting stars; and the reed of the arrow—according to the words “we have ordained them as missiles against the evil spirits”—made such wounding with the blood of the scouts, that not one of them remained alive. . .³

Among those slain were Tuk Timur, a Beg, brother of Begjik, Daulat Shah, and two princes besides, who were both of them leaders of the other army.

[Verses]: Of all these daring men not one was left, But all fell wretchedly, of life bereft.

The two armies then rushed upon one another, and blood flowed from the enemy as if it were tears from a thousand eyes.

[Verses]: They charged one another like great mountains; The desert became a sea of blood; You would have said that tulips had Sprung up on the face of the earth.⁴

The attacks and charges of the veteran warriors grew more frequent, and the waves of the ocean of combat increased. Amir Timur, in accordance with the blessed promise (thanks be to God, who has aided and blessed us), was able to overcome and put to rout this enormous army, in comparison with which his own was but as a drop of rain. “And there is no victory but from God.”

Amir Ilyás Khwāja, Amir Begjik, Iskandar Ogliān, Amir Hāmid and Amir Yusuf were taken prisoners. But the generosity, common to all Turks, was favourable to the Khān, for the soldiers who had captured him, when they recognised him, without saying anything to their leaders, mounted him

¹ Yasāl. Pétis de la Croix says “formed a crescent.”—R.
² That is, he drew his bow to the ear, straightening his left arm like the straight Arabic letter alif, and bending his right like the crooked dal.
³ The rhetoric, which continues for some lines, is omitted.—R.
⁴ This is in allusion to the blood-red tulips which cover the ground in spring, in some parts of the Central Asian steppes.
and Begikl on horseback and set them at liberty. But the other captives they kept bound. On the same night, Amir Timur continued his March until he reached the River Yām, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy, of whom many had been killed.

[Verse]: From their blood, the water of the stream became like wine.

Amir Chaghn and Amir Saifuddin, at his command, marched against Samarkand. They conquered this town in the beginning of the year 765 of the Hājra [A.D. 1363], corresponding to the year of the Crocodile [Lui] of the Tartar cycle.

Amir Timur, who was attended by success in all his endeavours and desires, hastened to hold counsel with Amir Husain and Shir Bahrām, and then set out in pursuit of the enemy. Having crossed the river at Khojand, he fixed his royal camp at Tashkand, and there, in order that his good fortune might not be quite perfect, he was afflicted with a few days' sickness.

[Verses] . . .

Both Amir Timur and Amir Hussain were for a short time a prey to a malady in that place. But they were soon released from the house of sickness; and the illustrious Princess Uljāi Türkān arrived in safety from Kar.¹

[Verse]: Bilkis again returned to Sulaimān.

Amir Timur then resolved to return, and therefore recrossed the river at Khojand. Being seized with a desire to hunt, he threw out a ring of beaters round a large extent of country, and Amir Hussain did the same thing in a place called Dazāk Bulbul. They set out from opposite directions towards Akār Kamār. Several days were spent in pleasure and amusement, according to the words, "Seize the opportunity while you may," and then they returned in safety to Samarkand.

At the joyful advent of this augmenter of happiness and decorater of kingdoms, the people of that district were illumined by the protecting dust of the royal prince, so that the evils of the buffetings of events, which had crept in among high and low, were cured by the healing properties of his humanity and encouragement.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONFERENCE [KURILTAY] BETWEEN AMIR HUSAIN AND AMIR TIMUR;
AND THE RAISING OF KĀBIL SHĀH QHILĀN TO THE RANK OF KHĀN.

When the countries of Māvarā-un-Nahr and Turkistān, together with all their dependencies, had been delivered from the domination and oppression of the people of Jatah, no one of the chief princes or more important generals

¹ There is nothing to show where the first part of this campaign took place, and I cannot trace the names. It seems that the Jatah army invaded the valley of the Zarrāfshān, and if so Yām may stand for Jām, to the south-west of Samarkand, and Kaba Matan for Mītan, to the north-west of it. Kar may also be read Kaz or Gaz.
would submit to the orders and commands of another;\(^1\) for all the chiefs of tribes, making boast of the large number of their subjects and followers, wished to retain independence and would suffer no control. For it has been said: A number of people without a central unity to direct them, will perish, and a kingdom without a ruler to give laws to the inhabitants, and prevent them transgressing the same, will most certainly fall into a state of disorder.

[Verses]: A world without a leader is like a body without a head.
A headless body is worth less than the dust of the road.

Under these conditions, Amir Husain and Amir Timur took counsel together, and determined that it would be advisable to set up, as Khán, one of the descendants of Chaghatai Khán, while for the execution of this plan they convoked an assembly of all the chiefs and princes, in the year 765 of the Hājra [A.D. 1363-4], to discuss the settlement of the affairs of the State. They finally determined to appoint Kábil Sháh Oghlán as Khán. He was the son of Durji, son of Ichikádi, son of Davá Khán. In order to avoid the trials and troubles of public life, he had taken to ways of poverty and solitude, and had clothed himself like a dervish. They resolved to divest him of his poor garments, and to array his noble figure in the richly-embroidered robes of the Khánship. To this end:

[Verses]: They prepared a splendid banquet,
That what was small might become great.
They sought the whole world over
For gold and silver and gifts.

They succeeded in placing Kábil Sháh Oghlán upon the throne; and, as was customary among the Turkish Sultans, he was presented with a goblet.\(^2\)

[Verses]:
All the mighty rulers and proud princes, at one time
Bent the knee nine times in obeisance to him.

Amir Haidar Andarkhudi\(^3\) was given over to Zinda Hásham, who executed him on that same night. [Verses] . . . .

When the country had once again been brought under the rule of Amir Timur, he made a great display of his liberality and hospitality, and gave a great feast in honour of Amir Husain. His own stewards prepared the banquet.

Amir Timur showed much favour to his own special subjects, and bestowed suitable presents on Amir Husain.

[Verses]: He gave him the most magnificent gifts,
Such as horses, swords, helmets and belts.

Since the father of Amir Haidar was on the most friendly terms with Amir Timur, he was invited to the feast; for his intelligence had received brightness from the polish of experience of long years. With him and Amir

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\(^1\) The meaning is perhaps: they would not submit to Timur and Husain.—R.
\(^2\) That is: They presented him with the royal goblet of the Sultans of Turkistan.—R.
\(^3\) Of Andarkhud, or Andkhui.
The Battle of the Mire.

Husain, he discussed the advisability of setting Amir Hamid and Iskandar Oghlán at liberty; and Amir Hussain (in spite of the words

[Verses]: When your enemy falls into your hands
    Keep him at a distance, lest he hurt you again and you will repent)

out of consideration for the noble-mindedness of Amir Timur, did not refuse his entreaty, but gave sanction for the two prisoners to be released.

As soon as Amir Husain had set out for Sáli-Sarái, his residence in his own province, Amir Timur sent Amir Dáud and Amir Saifuddin to release the two prisoners, and to bring them back with all respect and honour; but Báyázid and Aiman, who had the custody of Amir Hamid and Iskandar Oghlán, on seeing the two messengers, thought they had come to kill Amir Hamid, and therefore hastened to put him to death, one giving him a blow with a mace and the other striking him with a sword. Such was the end of Amir Hamid. When Amir Husain heard of this, he said: "The work of the servant was better than the work of the master," and at once sent a messenger in search of Iskandar Oghlán, to kill him.

[Verse]: Against the arrow of destiny there is no shield.

During the winter of that year, Amir Husain and Amir Timur devoted their attention to the internal affairs of the State, so that the country attained a condition of perfect peace and prosperity.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BATTLE OF THE MIRE.¹

From the garden abounding in thorns and adorned with flowers, the sweet zephyr reached to nostrils of those whose souls had been sent upon the battle-field of misfortune and grief. They heard the good tidings that God often crowns our best endeavours and most fervent wishes with calamities and hardships. [Verses] . . . .

Happiness often results from the traces left by misfortune, and a state of equanimity and success often has its origin in distress and failure.

[Verses] . . . .

The course of events in the time of Amir Timur is a proof and example of the above truths.

For when the winter (during which he had devoted his time to the peaceful administration of the affairs of his State) had passed, and spring at length arrived; (When the warrior spring had raised the standards of the tulips and

¹ Known as the battle of Lari—i.e., mud or mire. It appears to have been fought on the right bank of the Sihun (Jaxartes) between Chinaz and (old) Tashkend. Péliss translated: "Bataille des Bourbiros."
had led out his army of green plants into the plains of gardens and meadows,

[Verses]: The morning breeze led out his army towards the fertile plains
And made ready the weapons and arms of war.
He made spears of the buds and shields of the roses,
The spearpoints he made from sharpened thorns)

[When spring set in] news came that the hosts of Jatah were again on their
way towards this country [i.e., Mávará-un-Nahr]. Amir Timur began at once
to collect his army together, and sent to inform Amir Husain of the report.
The latter ordered Pulád Bughá and Zinda Hásham, son of Muhammad
Aperdí, and Malik Bahádúr to collect their forces and set out with all possible
speed to join Amir Timur. They met, and at once marched together against
the enemy. On their arrival at Akár,¹ they inspected the cavalry and beasts
of burden, and remained there several days to take advantage of the excellence
of the pasturage. Departing thence, they crossed the River Sihun² and
encamped [on the opposite side]. Amir Husain hastened on in the direction
of the enemy, with a large body of men, till he came to the banks of the
river, where he caught sight of some of their outposts.

Amir Timur now removed his camp to the river-side, between Chináz and
Tashkend, and commanded his men to fortify their tents, which they did
with great care. Meanwhile Amir Husain crossed the Sihun with his whole
army, and halted in the entrenchments [murshad] destined for his troops.
The enemy had also encamped on the same side of the river, having reached
it at early morn. Amir Timur and Amir Husain once more advanced, and as
soon as the scouts of the two forces came in sight, preparations were made
for battle and each army was arrayed in fighting order. Amir Husain
commanded the right wing, and Tírlájí Irlát led the rearguard; his vanguard
was under the command of Ujá Betu Irdí,³ Shir Bahrám, Pulád Bughá,
Farhád Aperdí, Malik Bahádúr, and many other valiant soldiers. Amir
Timur, who was the soul of the whole army, led the left wing, and he
appointed Amir Sár Bughá, with the tribe of Kipchat, to the rearguard, and
Timur Khwája Oghláó to the vanguard. Close at his side he kept Amir
Chágu, Amir Saifuddin, Amir Murád Barlás, Abbás Bahádúr, and many other
brave men of the sword.

In this order they attacked the enemy, but in pursuance with the words:
"It is an evil day for you when you boast of your own strength or numbers," they were not spared from an unexpected punishment, for the army of Jatah,
which, in spite of its superiority in numbers, had been defeated at Kaba
Matan, now that they found their opponents exceeded them in numbers, had
recourse to magic, and sought aid from the Jadah stone, which possessed
supernatural properties.⁴

¹ This spot must have been near the left bank of the Sihun, not far below
Khojand, and is probably the place called Akir Kamír above (p. 29).
² Some MSS. of the Zafar-Nama say they crossed the Sihun at Khojand.
³ This name might read Ulja Yetu Aperdi.—R.
⁴ The superstition of the Jadah stone is often alluded to by Baber. Erskine
says the stone was called by the Arabs Hojar-ul-Mattar, or the rain stone, by
the Turks Yekeh-hásh, and by the Persians Sang-i-deh. The author, a little
lower down, speaks of Jadah as the name of a magician. The stone had the
virtue of causing the rain to fall or to cease; but in the course of time the
original stone, which was given by Noah to Japhet, was either lost, or the name
The Battle of the Mire.

[Verse]: The army of Jatah had not strength for the fight, 
So they sought help from the magic stone. 
With the stone of Jadah, who was a magician, 
They filled the world with wind and rain, 
The clouds roared with thunder and the winds howled. 
A thunderbolt fell upon the earth.

Although the sun was in Orion, a host of dark clouds suddenly filled the sky. The thunder resounded and the lightning flashed. The elements rushed out from the ambush of destiny into the open plain of the ether, and the thunderclaps re-echoed round the azure vault of heaven. The arrows of lightning were shot out, in all directions, from the bow of the thunder-clouds, and the rain shot down its whistling darts. It seemed as if the Fates had again become a prey to the love of rebellion and confusion. Such a quantity of water descended from the eyes of the stars, that the Deluge seemed to occur a second time. And the voice of Noah was again heard to pray for the cessation of the waters of heaven.

The beasts of the field began to swim about in the water like fishes; and the feet of the horses stuck so fast in the mire, that the skin of their bellies adhered to the crust of the earth, while the damp caused their bones to become bare. They were afflicted with Asterkhha, and began to lose their flesh and become paralytic, their bones being loosened. The feathers of the arrows fell out: the notches came off; while clothes and accoutrements became so heavy with the damp, that neither cavalry nor infantry were able to advance. In consequence of all this, our host lost their confidence and courage. But the army of the enemy, remaining where they were, covered themselves over with felt, and as far as they were able, preserved their clothes and arms from the violence of the rain. When our army came up to

of God, which had been engraved upon it, was worn away. “It is pretended, however, that others, with a similar virtue, and bearing the same name, are still found among the Turks; and the more superstitious affirm that they were originally produced and multiplied by some mysterious sort of generation from the original stone given by Noah to his son.” Mir Izzat Ullah, who was sent into Central Asia by Moorcroft, mentions the Jadah stone as one of the wonders of Yarkund. “He says,” writes Erskine, “that it is taken from the head of a horse or a cow; and that if certain ceromonic be previously used, it inevitably produces rain or snow. He who performs the ceremonies is called Yedehchi. Izzat Ullah, though, like Baber, professes his belief in the virtues of the stone, yet acknowledges that he was never an eye-witness of its effects.” (Memoirs of Babur, Intr., p. xlvii.; also Klaproth’s translation of Izzat Ullah in Mag. Asiatique, ii., p. 83.)

In the Habib-us-Siyar an instance is given of Tului, son of Chingiz Khán, having recourse to the Jadah stone (here Sany-i-yakha) to produce a fall of snow as a means of concealment, when hard pressed by the enemy during his invasion of China in 1230. (See Price’s Mah. Hist., ii., p. 542, who translates the word “lapis imbrifer.”)

The word Jadah, it may be remarked here, has no connection with Jade. It was in reality, as Sir H. Yule tells us, a bezoe, or antidote, much used in the Middle Ages by the Arabs and others. The bezoe was usually a hard concretion found in the bodies of animals, to which antitodal virtues were ascribed. “The bezoe,” he adds, “was sometimes called snake stone, and erroneously supposed to be found in the head of a snake.” (Glossary, p. 68.)

A complete note on the Jadah stone, containing numerous extracts from Oriental authors, will be found in Quatremère’s Hist. des Mongols en Perse, p. 428.

1 Viz., the army of Timur and Husain.
them, they threw aside their felt coverings and offered battle with fresh horses and uninjured arms; then the combat began in good earnest.

[Verses]:

\[\text{The cries and shoutings of the two armies}
\text{Fill the whole world, right and left.}\]

The spheres ring again with the cries of the heroes and the sound of the kerrandi.\(^1\)

Amir Timur, by the aid of God, made a charge with the left wing, and overcame the right wing of the enemy, which was led by Shenkummuyán, brother of Amir Hamíd; and when Ilyáś Khwája Khán saw this, he fled in confusion. But meanwhile fortune had deserted the right wing of our army, for the enemy's left, led by Sharáwal and Hájí Beg, attacked and overcame our right; they drove Tilánji\(^2\) and Zinda Hásham back to where Amir Hussein was posted, and the body-guard of the latter being terrified, turned and fled. But Pulád Bughá and Shir Bahrám stood their ground and displayed the utmost courage. Hájí Beg continued the attack and out-flanked our right. Farhád and Orong Timur\(^3\) were astounded at the sight of this. But Amir Shams-ud-Din, on the other hand, having withdrawn the hand of bravery from the sleeve of temerity, made, with his men, a great display of courage.

And now the fuel of the ardour of Amir Timur took fire; he seized his sword

[Verses]:

\[\text{And made such sparks fly from it that}
\text{The sun in comparison seemed dark.}
\text{He charged down like a roaring lion.}\]

[He wore] his iron helmet, bearing the crest of a dragon.

He charged the enemy with seventeen regiments [kushun]; the wind of his onslaught threw fire and fear upon the harvest of their stability, so that Amir Shams-ud-Din, terrified at the fierceness of Timur's attack, was obliged to turn the reins of power from the field of battle, and to set the face of helplessness and defeat in the direction of flight. This success of Amir Timur gave Amir Hussein an opportunity to re-assemble his troops, and having done so, he stood his ground.

[Verses]:

\[\text{From the victory of this host-crushing Sháh}
\text{The army received new life into its body.}\]

Amir Timur sent his servant Tábán Bahádur to Amir Hussein, saying: "It is time for the Amir to advance. Let us, together, make such a charge that we may cause an earthquake among the proud princes of the enemy: so that they may lose all power to resist us and all strength to oppose us."

But in proportion as the power of Amir Timur rose, so did the star of felicity of Amir Hussein begin to decline, and his happiness to approach the evening of distress, according to the text, "God doth not work any change in the people, until they have altered their own individual selves." During this period, his nature underwent a great change; he lost his former stability

\(^1\) A kind of horn or trumpet. Pétis de la Croix says it was a trumpet eight feet long, used in the army. \((\text{Hist. de Timur Bce, i., p. 87.})\)

\(^2\) May read: Petlanji.—R.

\(^3\) Or perhaps: Erk Timur.—R.
of character, and began to adopt evil habits and practise evil deeds. [Thus] when Tábán Bahádúr came before him, Amir Hussain abused him much in words, and then struck him so violently that he fell to the ground.

Amir Timur then sent Malik and Hamdami, who were two of Amir Hussain’s adherents, to tell their master that he must most certainly come, in order that no time should be lost; but Amir Hussain, having heard the message, began to abuse the messengers and let loose upon them the tongue of violence and menace; then he added: “Did I run away that you should thus press me to advance? Whether you are victorious or whether the enemy carry the day, there is not one of you shall save his soul from my avenging hand.”

Thereupon Malik and Hamdami, much enraged, left his presence and hastened to Amir Timur, to whom, on their arrival, they said, “It is no use your persisting in the fight.” Amir Timur was persuaded by them and did not oppose their advice, but withdrew the hand of intention. Since the ranks of both armies had been so much broken that the left wings of the opposing forces were facing one another, each soldier encamped [lay down to rest] where he happened to find himself.

[Verses]:

The soldiers of both armies lay down to rest
And did not stir from their places till day had broken.

During that night Amir Hussain sent several times to request that Amir Timur should come to him, but the prince would not give ear to his entreaties.

[Verses.] . . .

When, on the following morning, the two hosts again joined in battle, the army of Jatah was routed and fled. Our troops were pursuing, when they suddenly caught sight of the standard [Tugh or Tuğ] of Amir Shams-ud-Din, who had separated himself with a large body of soldiers from the rest of the army. Thereupon the pursuers abandoned their object and turned to attack Shams-ud-Din, while the defeated army again rallied and made a violent onslaught upon our men. Thus our side, after it had gained a victory, was in its turn defeated, and in their haste to get away, many of our men perished in the mud and swamps. The enemy pursued them and put numbers of them to the sword, so that there remained nearly ten thousand slain of our forces on the field of battle.

This battle took place on the 1st day of Ramazán of the year 766 of the Hajra [A.D. 1365], corresponding to the year of the Serpent (Yihán) of the Moghul cycle; and astrologers have shown that this event coincided with the tenth conjunction of the triple conjunctions in the Scorpion. This I only mention, that my history may be complete, but I do not wish to infer that events are caused by celestial influences, for “God alone has influence over creation.”

After this defeat, the princes retired to Kesh. All the chiefs of tribes began to cross the Jihun with their people. Amir Hussain said to Amir Timur: “It would be expedient for you to cross the river with your household and troops”; but Timur replied, “Others may cross if they like, but as for me, my patriotism will not permit me to leave my country to the molestation of foreigners. I will again collect an army and attack the enemy.”

Amir Hussain then left him and retired to Sáli-Saráı; then he made all his people cross the Jihun, and taking an out-of-the-way route, he reached a place
called Shibartu, where he halted. From that place he despatched spies, intending, if these brought news of the approach of the army of Jatah, to take flight at once towards Hindustán.¹

As soon as Amir Husain had departed from Kesh, Amir Timur turned his mind to preparations for meeting the enemy. He mustered twelve regiments and sent forward eight of them, under the command of Timur Khwája Oghlán, Charúchi,² and Abbáš Bahádur, to reconnoitre the country round Samarkand. But on the way Charúchi took to drinking much wine, and the liquor made a strong impression on him: as has been said [Arabic]:

Wine is like the wind: When it passes over a perfume, it becomes fragrant: but becomes tainted when it passes over a corpse.

He became intoxicated and began to talk wildly, and very much frightened Dand Khwája and Hindusháh by saying: Such a one (meaning Amir Timur) purposes to send somebody to seize you, to take you before Amir Husain, and to have you killed without delay. [His companions] consequently were much alarmed, and running away, gave themselves up to the enemy. When they reached Kukung, they met the reconnoitring party of the army of Jatah, under the command of Kapak Timur; son of Ulugh Tokatmr Sharáwal, and Angirchák, son of Háji Beg. They offered to act as guides to them and brought them to the place where Timur Khwája Oghlán, Charúchi and Abbáš were stationed; these they put to flight, together with all their forces. When Amir Timur heard all this, he knew that he must be patient yet a little longer, and that impetuosity was of no avail.

He crossed the river at Amuyah³ and went and encamped at Balkh, where he again assembled his scattered tribe. He called to his side Tumán Kapak Khán and Tumán Bugháí Salduz; he also appointed a certain number of men to defend the banks of the river, and get what news they could of what was passing on the other side.

Timur Khwája Oghlán was punished for his misconduct, and from this point Fortune continued to favour Amir Timur. [Verses.] . . .

¹ That is, Husain fled to the Hindu Kush, where he might, if necessary, take refuge in India. Shibartu is no doubt the pass often mentioned by Baber, which seems to have been much used in those days. It is usually called Shibr or Shabar nowadays, and will be found on modern maps a little to the east of Bámíán. For a refugee crossing the Oxus at Sali-Sarái, the Shibr Pass would be one of the most convenient, if not the nearest route, to take towards India. (See Baber’s Memoirs, p. 139, and other places.)

² Or Cha-urchi.

³ Amuyah, or Amol, was a ford over the Amu or Oxus, in frequent use during the Middle Ages, and in the time of Timur. There was also a town of the same name, which stood near the bank of the river, in a direction about south-west from Bokhara, and either on, or very near, the site of the present Charjuí. (See note, p. 170.)
CHAPTER XV.

SIEGE OF SAMARKAND BY THE ARMY OF JATAH.

In the meanwhile, the army of Jatah reached Samarkand. Now at that time, this town had no citadel, but Maulána-Zada Samarkandi, Maulána Khardak Bukhári and Abu Nasr Kului Naddáf influenced the people of Samarkand to defend and fortify the town; and, despite their want of a princely leader, they offered stout resistance to the besiegers. They were bent on saving their city from the domination and tyranny of the people of Jatah. But when the inhabitants were beginning to tire of their efforts and to lose perseverance, God came to their aid and caused a pestilence to appear among the horses of the cavalry of Jatah, so that three-fourths of them died. Consequently, the besiegers were obliged to retire, and the great majority of them returned on foot, with their quivers strapped to their backs. Since the people of Samarkand had so well defended their State, and had offered such determined opposition to their enemies, those among them who had most power became inflated with pride, and tried to obtain precedence over their equals by stirring up sedition and rebellion in the town.

At the time of the retreat of the Jatah army, Amir Timur had sent Abbás Bahádur to Kuhlagha¹ to spy out the land of Jatah, and when he was informed of the events above related—of the state of the people of Jatah and of the retreat of their army—he sent to Amir Hussain to inform him also of the state of affairs, and to advise him to proceed in the direction of that country. When Amir Hussain heard the news which the messenger brought, he was beyond measure pleased, and immediately set out from Shibrutu towards Sáli-Sarái. Amir Timur, having caused his household and people to cross the river, had sent them to their native land, and had started himself on horseback to meet Amir Hussain. They met in the plain of Bakhán,² and having embraced one another in the most respectful manner, they held a long discussion about what had already happened, as well as about the future. It was finally decided that they should proceed together towards Samarkand early in the following spring. Then Amir Timur returned, crossed the Jihun, and encamped at Karshi. Karshi is so-called because Kapak Khán built a palace at [that spot which is] 2½ farasangs distance from Náhšehb, and in the Moghul language a palace is called Karshi.

There Amir Timur remained during that winter; and he caused to be erected on the spot a citadel [Hisár], which was completed by the end of the winter.

¹ The Iron Gate.
² Or Baghlán, which would be on the direct road from the Shibr Pass to Sáli-Sarái.
CHAPTER XVI.

THE LAST DAYS OF ILYÁS KHWÁJA KHÁN, AND EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE AFTER HIS DEATH.—THE DOMINATION OF KAMARUDDIN.

There are no traditions or stories extant among the Moghuls relating to Ilyás Khwája Khán. We learn, however, from the Zafar-Náma, that it was upon him that the Khánship devolved after the death of Tughluk Timur Khán. During his reign, there took place his victory of the battle of the Mire, the siege of Samarkand and the abandonment thereof, on account of the epidemic which fell among his horses. He only survived those events a very short time. But an account of the events immediately following the death of Tughluk Timur Khán, as recorded in Moghul tradition, will be given below. For, although knowledge of what happened after the death of Ilyás Khwája Khán is with God only, we know, from Moghul traditions, what occurred after the death of Tughluk Timur Khán. From these sources we learn that there were five brothers: (1) Amir Tulik, who has been mentioned in connection with the conversion of the Khán to Islám; (2) Amir Buláji; (3) Amir Shams-ud-Din, who is mentioned in the Zafar-Náma as having taken part in the battle of the Mire (which passage I have copied into this book); (4) Amir Kamaruddin, of whom I shall speak later; (5) Amir Shaikh-i-Daulat, of whom no traces remain.

After Amir Tulik's death, the office of Ulusbegi was given to Amir Buláji, and when this latter followed his brother to the dwellings of eternity, the office of Ulusbegi devolved upon his son Amir Khudáidád. But Amir Kamaruddin, going down on his knees before the Khán, said to him: "The office of my brother should first come to me, for his son is only seven years of age and is not fit for the duties attached to the position." Tughluk Timur Khán would not pay any attention to him, but appointed the then seven-year-old Amir Khudáidád to the office. Kamaruddin was a violent man, and was angry at being superseded by a child of seven; but he could do nothing. When, subsequently, the Khán died he revolted. The Zafar-Náma, on the other hand, says that he raised a rebellion after the death of Ilyás Khwája Khán. However this may be, it appears that on the death of the Khán, Kamaruddin gave vent to that rancour which he had so long cherished in his breast, and (according to Moghul traditions) put to death in one day, eighteen sons of the Khán, and assumed the style of Khán for himself. The country of Moghulistán fell into a state of disorder.
History of Kamaruddin.

One of Tughluk Timur Khán's sons, who was still at the breast, being concealed by Amir Khudáídád, and his mother, Mir Aghá, was spared. Kamaruddin sent everywhere in search of him, but they were successful in hiding the child from his spies.

Kamaruddin devoted his attention to the affairs of the State, but in consequence of the hostility of the Amirs, there was disorder and strife in the country. Moreover, the invasion of Moghulistán, which Amir Timur and his army undertook at that time, was a serious obstacle to internal progress. Meanwhile Amir Khudáídád sent Khizir Khwája Khán from Káshghar to the hills that are between Káshghar and Badakhshán, that he might be safe from the machinations of Kamaruddin; which matter shall be presently related, but first of all it will be well to give an account of Kamaruddin and his times.

CHAPTER XVII.

HISTORY OF KAMARUDDIN.

It has already been said that Kamaruddin tried to assume supreme authority, but that he met with determined opposition from the Amirs. Thus it was that Kumzah, together with Uzbek Timur (who was of the tribe of Karáit), went over to the side of Amir Timur. Then Amir Timur raised an army, and himself remaining within his own dominions, sent Amir Bahárm Jaláir, Khitái Bahádur, and Shaikh Ali Bahádur to the territory of Almatu.1 On reaching the banks of the river Áishah Khátun they attacked the men of the Karáit.2 After this battle, having concluded a peace, they returned. But Amir Timur not approving the peace, invaded the country in person. This expedition is related in the Zafar-Náma as follows:

The successful Amir Timur, who when he had once undertaken any business was never content till he had carried it through to the end, was dissatisfied with the gentle way in which his generals had treated the enemy, in watering the plains of enmity and warfare with peace. For this reason he sent royal mandates in all directions for troops to be collected [verses] . . . . A victorious and veteran army assembled before the palace of the Sháh—an

1 The modern Vierny. (See note, p. 182.)
2 Properly Karáit, or Kiráit, is the name of the tribe, though it is sometimes written Gírát. The final is merely the Mongol plural. (See note, p. 16, above; also, for some remarks on this passage and the word “Karáit,” Howorth ii., pp. 13, 14.)
army countless as the sand of the desert. When he had passed Sairám and Yangi\(^1\) in safety, with his victorious standard, the enemy fled before him, and he reached a place called Sangarigháj,\(^2\) when many prisoners and much booty fell into the hands of his conquering host.

At Adun Kuri,\(^3\) Amir Musá and Zinda Hásham, in spite of all the former benefits they had received from Amir Timur, again began to devise plans of treason and deceit, and with treacherous designs conspired together, [taking into their confidence] the son of Khizir Yasuri, named Abu Ishák. They took a solemn oath that when they reached Kará Samán they would by some stratagem seize the 'Lord of the Conjunction' while hunting, and they laughed over the thought of their foolish plan. The Khánzáda Abu Maáli Turmadi and Shaikh Abu Lais of Samarkand, who were already sworn enemies of Amir Timur, now joined in this conspiracy.

But some one happening to get knowledge of the affair, informed Amir Timur thereof. Thereupon his majesty summoned the offenders to appear before him. They were brought in [and thrust] upon their knees, and on being interrogated, were found guilty of high treason and rebellion.

But as the Queen Saráí Mulk Khánim\(^4\) was the niece of Amir Musá, and because the chaste Princess Akka Begi had been promised in marriage to him, Amir Timur said to him: “Although the crime you have committed is a grave one, nevertheless as we are relations, I will forgive you and take no vengeance upon you. [Verses] . . . . Your connection with me and your white beard have given you hope of life. Were it not for these, I should give the command for your evil-intentioned head to be severed from your body.” And to the Khánzáda he said: “As your family is connected with the household of the Prophet (upon all of whose descendants be peace) I shall not consent to your receiving any ill-treatment; you must however quit this country.” He commanded Abu Lais to make the pilgrimage to the Hijáz. The son of Khizir Yasuri, being the brother of the wife of Amir Saifuddin, appealed to the clemency of the ‘Lord of the Conjunction,’ and so escaped from the abyss; thus the tablet of his soul was cleansed of its sins with the pure water of royal beneficence and mercy. A royal mandate was issued, ordering Zinda Hásham to be conveyed, bound, to Samarkand, and there closely confined. When Amir Timur returned to his seat of government [Samarkand] he gave the governorship of Shílarghán, and the position which had been held by Zinda Hásham, to Bayán Timur, son of Ak Bughá.

\(^1\) May be read Tanki or Panki, but no doubt Yangi is intended, i.e., Táráz. (See notes, pp. 63 and 79-81.)
\(^2\) Or Sangarniáj.—R.
\(^3\) This may be read as Péris has read it: Adun Kunzi. I cannot identify the spot.
\(^4\) Saráí Mulk Khánim was, according to Péris de la Croix, Timur’s chief wife, and mother of Shah Rukh Mirza. (Timur Bk. i., p. 225.)
CHAPTER XVIII.

THE THIRD INVASION OF JATAH (THAT IS TO SAY MOGHULISTÁN) BY AMIR TIMUR.

On Thursday, the first day of the month of Shabán of the year 776 of the Hājrā [A.D. 1375], Amir Timur, having collected an army, marched out towards Jatah—which is equivalent to Moghulistán. On the route he encamped at the Rabāt-i-Kataán, when the coldness of the weather caused the sun suddenly to withdraw behind the veil of the clouds, and much rain and snow began to fall.

[Verses]: No one ever yet saw so much snow.

The world looked like a morsel in the snow's mouth.

The violence of the storm deprived the soldiers of their strength, and they were soon no longer able to look after their horses, because of the risk they ran of losing their own lives; in this way many of the men died and a quantity of horses perished. Amir Timur, being moved to pity at this sad state of affairs, commanded them to break up the camp and return to Samarkand, where they remained about two months, until the rigour of the season had in some measure abated. On Monday, the 1st of the month Shawál, at the beginning of the year of the Ḥār (Tushkán), he again led out his army against the country of Jatah—which is equivalent to Moghulistán.

He sent Amir Záda Jabángir forward to reconnoitre; and to accompany him he sent Shaikh Muhammad Bayán Salduz and Adilabáh, to whom he had entrusted the tribe of Jaláir, on the death of the latter's father, Bahrám Jaláir. Having passed Sairám, they came to a place called Jarun, where they seized one of the soldiers of the army of Jatah and sent him on to Amir Timur. When he was asked for news of Kamaruddin, who was of the tribe [Umád] of Dughlá, he related that Kamaruddin had collected an army and was then stationed at Keuk Tubeh,¹ waiting for Háji Beg, but that no news of the advance of Amir Timur had reached Kamaruddin. Timur then ordered the reconnoitring party to hasten forward, while he himself soon after followed them.

When Kamaruddin heard of these doings, he withdrew his army to an inaccessible spot called Birkah-i-Ghurián² [the Pond of the Ghurias]. In that place there are three very deep ravines, through which flow three great rivers. Kamaruddin having crossed two of these valleys with his army, pitched his camp in the third, protecting the approaches thereto with barricades and entrenchments.

But Prince Jahángir marched forward at the head of his experienced soldiers, to the sound of the drums and war-trumpets. After they had

¹ Or Kuk Tüps: the "blue hillock."
² The Turki MSS. says Arshad Altār. I cannot find either name on any map; but, taking the probable position of the Jatah army into consideration, it is possible that Otdār, some forty miles west-north-west of Kastek, may represent Arshad Altār.
wounded and killed many of the enemy with their arrows, they came to close quarters with them, and when night fell, all the enemy took to flight; so that on the morrow not a single man of the army of Jahāngir—that is to say, Moghulistán—was found in the camp. But our victorious soldiers followed in their pursuit, and put to death many of those heretics. When the sun had risen, Amir Timur arrived on the spot with the rest of the army. He thereupon sent Amir Sayyid Dáud, Husain and Uch Kará Bahádur in pursuit of the enemy. In accordance with his orders, they followed the course of the river, and Husain was drowned in the river. On reaching the enemy’s country they began to ravage and pillage, and seized many of their horses. But they spared those Hazáras who submitted, and having disarmed them sent them on to Samarkand. Amir Timur advanced as far as Báiták, with the purpose of meeting the enemy, while he sent Amir Záda Jahāngir with one regiment to look for Kamaruddin, that he might defeat him and take him prisoner. The prince accordingly set out with a body of men, and laid waste the country of Uch and Firmán. He came upon Kamaruddin in the mountains, and pursued him beyond the limits of his own country; he also captured much booty and took many prisoners. Among the latter were Tumán Aghá, the wife of Kamaruddin and her daughter, Dilshád Aghá. The prince sent news of his success to Amir Timur, who during fifty-three days had not moved from Báiták. When, however, this joyful intelligence reached his ears he immediately set out for Kara Kasnak, which hill he ascended and awaited the happy return of his son Jahāngir. On his arrival, the latter, having respectfully kissed Amir Timur’s feet, presented him with a quantity of booty, horses and sheep, after which he obtained for Dilshád Aghá the honour of saluting the Emperor. [Verses.] . . .

Amir Timur, on leaving this encampment, descended to Atbáshi and thence proceeded to Arpa Yázi, where he spent a few days in festivity and rejoicing. There, too, Mubaraksháh Makrit, who was a commander of 9000, and one of Timur’s oldest friends, showed his respect for the Amir by causing a grand festival (tátí) to be organised in his honour. And he so gained Amir Timur’s good graces that he obtained for his son, Khudáidád, the succession to the honours and titles of Salár Oghlán and of Husain, who had both perished in the late war.

1 Mr. V. P. Nalivkine mentions “Baitok” as a village in the Andiján district of Farghána, and says that its ancient name was “Paitoug.” (Hist. du Khatat de Khokand, p. 14.)

2 Possibly the first of these two places may stand for Uch, near the eastern borders of Farghána, but I know of no place with a name like Firmán in this direction. Dr. Bellew has “Uch Burhán or Uch Turfan;” the latter place, however, would seem to lie too far east to suit the narrative, while the former was to all intents and purposes Kâshghar. Dr. Bellew himself tells us (Kashmir and Kashgur, p. 309) that the Uch Burhan ridge is on the left bank of the Tumán River, while the modern Kâshghar stands on the right bank; having been built there after the destruction, early in the sixteenth century, of the old town, which was on the left bank. Had Firmán been so near Kâshghar as to form almost a part of the town, the name of Kâshghar would certainly have appeared in connection with that of Firmán. Like Kara Kasnak, which occurs immediately below, it was probably the name of an uninhabited spot, or camping ground, and should be looked for in the hills to the north-west of Kâshghar. Severtsoff’s map, though loaded with details, does not contain these names. (See also p. 304, for Uch Burkhán, which Mirza Haidar puts at three farsháhs, or twelve miles, from Kâshghar.)

3 Arpa and Yázi: two rivers springing from the same range of hills near the eastern confines of Farghána. (See map for the position of the pass.)
CHAPTER XIX.

MARRIAGE OF AMIR TIMUR WITH THE PRINCESS DILSHAD AGHÁ.

AMIR TIMUR, in accordance with the text of the Korán: "Thou shalt marry whatever woman thou pleases, even unto the number of four women," set the eye of his favour upon Dilshád Aghá, and resolved to marry her. The officers of the Court made preparations for grand festivities. Wine and song and instrumental music were not wanting, and the whole ceremony was conducted with the greatest pomp and magnificence. The revels having been brought to a close, Amir Timur broke up his camp, and crossing the Yázi Dabán, went and pitched his royal tents at Uzkand. Here he received his eldest sister Kutlugh Turkán Aghá, who, accompanied by several princes and nobles, had arrived from Samarkand; she had the honour of kissing the Emperor's feet, and took part in the festivities which were now again renewed at the Court. From Uzkand they proceeded to Khojand, when Adilsháh, being obliged to show his submission, organised feasts and merry-making in honour of Amir Timur, and made him presents of horses in order that his homage might gain the Amir's approval. His heart, however, was of another colour, for he had really the design of taking him by surprise in the midst of the rejoicings. But Amir Timur (whom God used to watch over continually) by his happy intuition, observed signs of this hidden treason, and detected the evil intentions of the conspirators by their movements. He thereupon rose from the banquet, mounted his horse and returned to his camp.

At the time when he was advancing to attack Kamaruddin, Sháikh Muhammad Bayán Salduz, Adilsháh Jaláir and Turkán Arlát had resolved to seize Amir Timur whenever an occasion should present itself. But their schemings were of no avail against one who was so carefully watched over by the Eternal: and thus he reached his capital without accident. He then disbanded his soldiers, while he himself went to take up his winter quarters at Zanijr Sarái, which is two marches to the west of Karshí. During the winter Adilsháh arrived, and having paid his respects at the palace, confessed to the Amir the evil designs he and the other conspirators had had against him. When Timur heard this, he was wise enough to pretend not to have heard, and showed Adilsháh great favour. When the winter had passed, he issued an order for his soldiers to muster, with the object of making another war upon Khwárizm. All the generals, princes, and soldiers having assembled round his palace, he ordered them to seize Sháikh Muhammad Bayán Salduz and to put him on trial. After his case had been heard, his guilt being clear, he was handed over to the brother of Harimulk Salduz, a relation of his own, whom he had unjustly killed with his sword. The brother avenged Harimulk by killing Sháikh Muhammad in a like manner. Ali Darvish, son of Báyázid Jaláir, was also put to death after being found guilty; while the government of the Tumán of Salduz, together with the administration of justice and police [Sabh], was entrusted to the brave Ak Timur Bahádur.

1 Evidently the pass (Dáben) between the Yázi and Arpa rivers, alluded to in the last note.
CHAPTER XX.

THIRD EXPEDITION OF AMIR TIMUR INTO KHWÁRIZM, AND HIS RETURN ON ACCOUNT OF THE REVOLT OF SÁR BUGHÁ, ADILSHÁH AND Bahrám Jaláir.

In the beginning of the spring of the year of the Hajra 777 [A.D. 1375], or the year of the Crocodile (Lui) of the Tartar cycle, Amir Timur, being encouraged by his former good fortune, determined to make an expedition into Khwárizm, preferring war to feasting. [Verses] . . . .

Having, therefore, appointed Amir Ak Bughá Governor of Samarkand, and having sent Amir Sár Bughá, Adilsháh Jaláir, Khiút Bahádur, Ilchi Bughá and other commanders of thousands, with 30,000 horsemen, to Jatah (which is equivalent to Mughulistán), he gave them express orders to seek diligently for Kamaruddin, and to kill him wherever they might find him; he then raised his own victorious standard and set out for Khwárizm with a numerous army. On reaching a place on the banks of the Jihun, called Sihpáyah, he saw Turkan Arál approaching on the other side of the river. The latter, however, feeling that the end of his life had come, did not deem it advisable to advance, but fled back with his men to Kuzruán. 1 Amir Timur thereupon sent Pulád after him with a few men. They marched day and night, and having passed Andkhud they came up to the fugitives at Fáryáb, 2 which is on a river, where Turkan, with his brother Turmish and their men, taking up their position on the bank of the river, offered them fight. The enemy stood like lions at first, but they were at length defeated and compelled to take to flight, the victorious army following close upon their heels. Pulád alone came up to Turkan. His horse being fatigued, Turkan dismounted and ran forward on foot; he then struck Pulád’s horse with the shaft of an arrow, and before the latter could rise from the ground, aimed at him another arrow, which only passed through Pulád’s helmet. Then Pulád, becoming more

1 A corruption, probably, of Khorásán, a province which extended, at the end of the fifteenth century, eastward to Balkh and north-eastward to the Amu.

2 These movements are not intelligible. Faráb, or Fáryáb, was an ancient name of Otrar on the Sir or Jaxartes, but there is also a Faráb near the right bank of the Amu or Oxus, to the south-west of Bokhara, and though Pétis de la Croix (Hist. de Timur Bec, vol. i., pp. 260-1) specially explains that the Fáryáb of the text means Otrar, this is obviously impossible. It seems, however, that there was a third Fáryáb, for Abul-feda, on the authority of the Loháb, speaks of a “small locality” of that name in the environs of Balkh. He also quotes Azizi to the effect that Fáryáb was situated twenty-two parasangs, or about eighty-eight miles, from Balkh, but in which direction he does not mention. Again, he tells us Ibn Haukal states that the water of this Fáryáb comes from Talkán—a place not far from Marv-al-Rud—this latter being some forty parasangs, or four days’ journey, east of Marv-i-Shah-Jahán, and situated probably not far east of the Murgháb. It is this last Fáryáb (now no more) that seems to be indicated in the text. But, in any case, the movements of Pulád’s pursuing force are inexplicable, as it could not have passed Andkhud (or Andkhud) to reach a spot near the Murgháb, or 180 miles east of Marv-i-Shah-Jahán. (See Abul-feda, ii. (2), pp. 195-6 and 198.) The only map I know of that shows this Fáryáb is that of James Fraser, who marks the place about halfway between Balkh and Marv-al-Rud. (See Hist. of Nadir Shah, 1742.)
furious, made a bold rush at him, and they wrestled together for some time, till at last Pulád got the upper hand, and crying out, “Long live Amir Timur!” struck Turkan to the ground. He then cut off his head and returned in triumph.

Amán Sarbadál, who had gone in pursuit of Turkan’s brother, Turmish, came up with him, overcame him, and severed his head from his body. His corpse became meat for the wild beasts, while the heads of the two were taken before Amir Timur.

Of those Amirs whom Timur had sent into Jatah (that is to say, Moghulistán), Sár Bughá and Adilsháh, when they found the country empty, prepared another plan of revolt; they seized Khitái Bahádur, and Iíchí Bughá, while Hamádi, whom Amir Timur had made Governor of Andakan [Andiján], allied himself with them. Having collected their tribes, namely, the Jaláír and the Kipchák, they set out against Samarqand, and began to lay siege to it. But the inhabitants defended themselves so successfully with arrows and darts, that they could not surround the town. Amir Ak Bughá, who was governor of the town, wrote of this matter to Timur, who having passed Kát 4 had just attained Khán, when this news reached him. He immediately made preparations to return, and, having sent forward his son Jahángir, in command of the vanguard, he himself followed with a large army. When he reached Bokhárá he put his men into fighting order, and went and encamped at Rabát-i-Malik.

Prince Jahángir came up with the enemy at a place called Karmina, where a battle took place. The air was filled with the sound of cymbals, and much blood was shed. But the Prince Jahángir, relying on the aid of the eternal God, at length overcame the enemy, who fled into the deserts of Kipchák, where they put themselves under the protection of Urus Khán. Timur Beg, finding himself victorious, returned in peace to his capital. He then divided the tribe of Jaláír between his Amirs, and appointed his son Omar Shaikh Governor of Andakán [Andiján].

Adilsháh and Sár Bughá remained in the service of Urus Khán. But at length their thirst for rebellion again got the better of them, and once, while Urus Khán was absent at his summer quarters, they ran away, and drawing the sword of treachery from the sheath of infidelity, made war on Uchíbí, a lieutenant of the Khán, and killed him. They then fled to the court of Kamaruddin in Jatah (that is, Moghulistán) and tried to stir up in him a spirit of revolt.

1 Puládítar: more stously; a play on the word Pulád, which means steel.—R.
2 It may be observed here that it is Mirza Haidar, and not the author of the Zafír-Náma, who interpolates on each occasion the remark: “Jatah ki ’ibárat 4 Moghulistán ast”—that Jatah is equivalent to Moghulistan.
3 I.e., offered no resistance.—R.
4 Marked on Péris de la Croix’s map (vol. i) near the bank of the Oxus, a little above Khiva. Erskine mentions Kát as the ancient capital of Khwarizm, and says it lay twenty-four miles from Hazzarásp down the Amu. (Baber, p. xxix.; see also Sprenger’s map No. 3 in Post-und-Reiserouten des Orients.)
5 Ruler of the White Horde of Kipchák, and a descendant of Juji Khan.
CHAPTER XXI.

AMIR TIMUR'S FOURTH EXPEDITION INTO JATAH (THAT IS, MOGHULISTÁN).

After Sár Bughá and Adilsháh had attached themselves to Kamaruddin, they used every possible means to rekindle in him the old fire of enmity which he naturally cherished against Amir Timur. Kamaruddin finally led an army into the country of Andakán, where the Hazára of Kudak, deserting Omar Shaikh, joined the side of the enemy. But Omar Shaikh, having taken up a fortified position in the mountains, sent a messenger whose name was Dáshmand, to Amir Timur to tell him that the enemy had arrived with a large army, and that they had overrun the whole of Andakán. Amir Timur was much enraged when he heard this, and immediately set out with all haste for that country. When Kamaruddin heard of the advance of Amir Timur he retired from the place where he was encamped, and having caused his household and tribe to leave Atbashí, he hid himself, with 4000 cavalry, in a place of ambush. When Amir Timur reached that spot, being quite unaware of the trap [which Kamaruddin had] laid for him, he sent forward the whole of his force in pursuit of the enemy.

There stayed behind, however, of the army, 5000 cavalry and several brave generals, such as Amir Muayad, Khitái Bahádur, Shaikh Ali Bahádur and Ak Timur. Khitái Bahádur and Shaikh Ali Bahádur discussed how the enemy could best be destroyed. They determined to display the utmost bravery and audacity, and thereupon set out in pursuit of the foe, so that finally there did not remain more than 200 men with Amir Timur.

Kamaruddin, now seizing his opportunity, rushed out of his ambuscade with his 4000 cavalry, sword in hand, bent on avenging himself on Amir Timur. But Timur recalling to mind the words of the Korán: “How many small armies have overcome great hosts by the help of God!” was in no way disturbed or alarmed, but encouraged his men and opened his heart to them, saying: “Victory is from the Giver of all good gifts: not from the multitude of soldiers is it to be obtained. Your sole duty is to acquit yourselves like men; for should you show even the smallest sign of cowardice or hesitation we are lost.”

No sooner had he said these words than he turned his charger against the enemy, and full of trust in God, entered the fray. [Verses.] . . .

After the fight was over, Timur avowed that it was only by the aid of Heaven that such a mere handful of men could have overcome a force of four thousand cavalry, bent on vengeance. . . . [Verses and rhetoric.] . . .

One day after this event, he fell asleep, and there appeared to him, in a dream, Shaikh Burhán-ud-Din Kilij (upon whom be the mercy of God). Amir Timur advanced towards him with great reverence, and asked him to pray to God for the recovery of his son Jahángir, whom he had left on the bed of sickness at Samarkand. The Shaikh answered, “God be with you”; but of his son he said nothing. When Timur awoke from his dream, he felt convinced that his wishes concerning his son were not fulfilled, and was so distressed about Jahángir’s safety that he despatched Bu Kutlugh, his private secretary,
with a letter (from Sang), that he might obtain correct news of his son. As soon as his secretary had started, he had another disturbing dream about Jahángir, and became more anxious than ever, saying to his courtiers: "I sadly fear I am for ever separated from my son; do not hide the truth from me any longer." But they, going down on their knees, took a solemn oath, saying; "Thy servants have absolutely no news of this matter, and have heard nothing of your son's condition."

Departing thence, they again met with Kamaruddin at Sang Zighaj; a fight took place, and they again put him to flight. Amir Uch Kará followed close after him, and when [the pursuers] had gone a little way, Kamaruddin, being surrounded by the Amir's soldiers, turned round with eight of his followers. His horse was killed under him by an arrow, and he himself only just managed to escape on foot, covered with wounds. In the same fight Pulád received an arrow wound in the hand; by chance, also, a fire broke out, and the efforts which Pulád made to extinguish it, so increased the inflammation of his wound that he died.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DEATH OF PRINCE JAHÁNGIR.

Amir Timur having left Atákum, crossed the Sihun and arrived at his capital, Samarkand, where he found

[Verse]: The people wearing clothes of black and grey
And tears of sorrow streaming from their eyes.
And all had sprinkled dust upon their heads
And as a sign of mourning beat their breasts.
They came in haste to greet their lord the king,
Their heads they bared, and on their necks they hung
Black felt and sackcloth, thus they left the town
Filling the air with moans and lamentations.
"What pity that Jahángir, just and good,
Should thus be carried off in early youth,
As is a flower by the cruel wind."

When Amir Timur heard these wailings he could no longer doubt but that his forebodings had been correct. The death of his son, which he now learned, caused the whole world for him to become black; his cheeks were continually wet with tears, and life became almost unbearable to him. The kingdom, which should have been overjoyed at the return of its mighty monarch, was become, instead, a place of desolation and mourning. The whole army, clothed in black and grey, sat down in mourning. The generals put dust upon their heads, and their eyes were filled with the blood of their hearts.

Though the Emperor was greatly overcome by grief at the loss of his son,
his noble intelligence fully realised that this world is but transitory, and that
every being must inevitably perish at some time—that we must "Verily all
return unto God." These considerations brought healing to the wounds of
his sorrow. He, moreover, instituted many pious works, and ordered alms
to be distributed in the form of food to the poor and indigent. His son's
body was carried to Kesh, where it was buried, and over the grave a beautiful
building was raised.\(^1\) The prince was twenty years of age when he died.
He left behind him two sons, one called Mirza Muhammad Sultan, by his
wife Khánzádah, and the other, Mirza Pir Muhammad, by his wife
Bakhtimulk Aghá, daughter of Ilyás Yasuri. This second son was born
forty days after his father's death, which happened in the year 777 of the
Hajra [A.D. 1375–6], the year of the Crocodile (Lui) of the Tartar cycle.

When Prince Saifuddin\(^2\) heard of this sad event, he became weary of life,
and begged Amir Timur to allow him to retire to the Hijáz.

CHAPTER XXIII.

AMIR TIMUR SENDS AN ARMY AGAINST KAMARUDDIN.\(^3\)

Amir Timur was so much afflicted by the death of his son, that he neglected
almost entirely the affairs of the State.

[Verses]: What value has this world compared with heaven?
Upon the other world my mind is set.
Why should I, for a meagre clod of earth,
Be forced to keep my spirit bound in chains?
Why for the sake of living our short life,
Should I be made to run the whole world o'er?

Put the chief men among his nobles and princes came to him, and having
done him obeisance, said: "The Almighty Creator and wise disposer of the
affairs of the universe has appointed kings on the earth to protect the sons
of men, and administer justice to them."

[Verses]: But if the mighty King do fall asleep,
His State will surely sink into corruption;
And if the Sultan’s sword be not kept bright,
The mirror of religion will grow dim.
The Sultan is the Shadow of the Giver of All Light,
And from his Shadow should the world become both fair and bright.

\(^1\) Or mausoleum.—R.
\(^2\) Uncle of Amir Timur.
\(^3\) This incursion appears not to have been counted as a fifth expedition into
Moghulistan, as will be observed from the heading of the next chapter. Also,
from Mirza Haldar's statement in the ensuing one, it appears that he regarded
Timur's expeditions against the Moghuls to have numbered five in all, while
Péris de la Croix reckons six.
Against Kamaruddin.

If the desire of their noble sovereign was to please God, nothing could be more acceptable in the eyes of the Preserver of Mankind, than the administration of justice and care for his subjects, for the most perfect and wisest of all men (upon whom be the most excellent prayers) said that he preferred one hour of his life, which should be spent in the administration of justice, to sixty or seventy years spent in worship.

Amir Timur accepted favourably the counsels of his servants, feeling that it was purely out of affection for himself, that they had addressed these words to him, and he thereupon began again to turn his attention to the affairs of the State. He also reassembled his troops and prepared them for an expedition.

At this time, news arrived that Adilsháh Jaláir was wandering about the hills of Karájik, with a few other persons; whereupon Amir Timur despatched Barát Khwája Kukildásh and Ichi Bughá, together with fifteen horsemen, in search of Adilsháh and his party. They set out from Samarkand in the night, and when they reached Otrár a few chosen men were despatched to the mountains to look for Adilsháh. They eventually found him in a place called Aksuná, when they seized him and put him to death, in accordance with the Yásák. Aksuná is a column [múl], built on the summit of the mountains of Karájik, to serve as a watchtower (didah bání) whence one may look out over the plains of Kipchák.¹

Sár Bughá also, who having deviated from the high road of reason, had become rebellious and fled, now, after two years' absence, being led by the true guide of the intelligence, returned again to court. He was pardoned by the merciful monarch, and received the government of his own tribe and country.

Soon after this, Amir Timur saw fit to send his son Omar Shaikh against Kamaruddin, and with him he also sent Amir Ak Bughá, Khitái Bábádur and other Amirs, commanding them to do their utmost to sweep the enemy from the face of the earth. Thus intent on making a great effort, they set out with all possible speed. In the desert of Kurátu they came upon Kamaruddin, and by the aid of the Almighty, their swords of emerald hue became ruby-coloured like pomegranates, with fighting, and the faces of their opponents grew amber-coloured with fear. Their charges were so fierce that at length the enemy had to fly, scattered in all directions. When Kamaruddin had fled, the victorious army pillaged all his country and returned home laden with booty.

¹ This tower, it seems likely, may have stood at the spot marked on some maps of Turkistan, "Ak sumbe ruins." The site appears to be on a spur of the range now called Kára-tágh, and would overlook the plains of Kipchák from a distance. Dr. Bellow calls the tower "a red-brick pillar built on the Kara Chao hill." (Yarkand Mission Report, p. 152.)
CHAPTER XXIV.

AMIR TIMUR’S FIFTH EXPEDITION INTO JATAH (THAT IS, MOGHULISTÁN).

No sooner had these victorious troops returned from their attack on Jatah (or Moghulistan), than Amir Timur resolved to make yet another expedition into that country, that same year. He sent forward, as an advance party, Muhammad Beg, son of Mussá (who, on account of his connection by marriage with Amir Timur, had a high opinion of himself), Amir Abbás and Ak Timur Bahádur. Marching, in obedience to orders, day and night, they came up with Kamaruddin at Bughám Issígh-Kul, and after a fierce fight, put him to flight. They then ravaged his country, and took his men prisoners. Amir Timur himself pursued Kamaruddin as far as Kuchkár.¹

At this place news reached the Emperor’s ears that Toktamísh Oghlán,² having lost his faith in Urus Khán, had come in hopes [of good treatment] to pay his respects at court. The Emperor at once commanded the Amir Tumán, Timur Uzbeg, to go and meet Toktamísh with all possible honour and ceremony, and accompany him back. Amir Timur returned from the direction of Inaghgu and alighted at Uzkand.³ Thence he reached Samarkand in safety.

On his arrival at the capital, Toktamísh Oghlán was brought before him by Timur Uzbeg and others of the nobles. Amir Timur received him with affection, and with all the honour due to a prince, none of the prescribed ceremonies being neglected; for after he had given a great feast in Toktamísh Oghlán’s honour, he loaded him and his retinue with magnificent presents, such as gold and jewels, robes of honour and girdles; arms, armour, horses, camels, tents, cymbals (kus), chargers, slaves, standards, and such like things; and as a proof of the extent of the love he bore him, the Emperor paid him the honour of calling him his son.

END OF EXTRACTS FROM THE ZAFAR-NAMA.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE LAST DAYS OF AMIR KAMARUDDIN.

I have heard from certain Moghuls that, towards the end of his life, Kamaruddin was afflicted with dropsy.⁴ While he was in this state news came, one day, that Amir Timur was approaching with

¹ Kuchkár, or Koshkar, is one of the head streams of the Chu, to the south-west of Issígh Kul. (See the map.)
² Toktamísh was nephew of Urus, and subsequently became Khan of the White Horde. (See note 5, p. 45).
³ This sentence may also be read—“turned aside from the road to Inaghgu.” Instead of the form Inaghgu, Dr. Bellows has read Jungghal, and this is likely to be correct, or nearly so; for another of the head streams of the Chu, in the immediate neighbourhood of Kuchkar, is called Junggin or Jungali. I can find nothing to answer to Inaghgu.
⁴ Some details, descriptive of the foul symptoms of the disease, are omitted.
his army; but Kamaruddin was too weak to mount his horse or to hold the bridle. So his people carried him into the depths of the jungle, and left him there with two of his concubines, and provisions for a few days. The rest then fled. After the invading army had withdrawn, and the scattered inhabitants had returned, they sought for Kamaruddin in the jungle, but not a trace of him or of his attendants, either dead or alive, could be found. Thus were the people released from his oppression. After his disappearance Amir Timur's mind was set at rest with regard to Moghulستان, and he made no sixth invasion of that country. In fine, the Moghuls enjoyed peace and rest.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF KHIZIR KHWAJA KHÁN, SON OF TUGHLUK TIMUR KHÁN.

It has been mentioned above, that Tughluk Timur Khán's youngest son was Khizir Khwája Khán, and that while he was yet at his mother's breast, he had been saved from the cruelty and enmity of Kamaruddin by Mir Ághá, the mother of Amir Khudáidád. When Khizir Khwája Khán attained the age of twelve years, [his friends] still fearing Amir Kamaruddin, removed him from Káshghar. Amir Khudáidád wished him to be accompanied by a few trustworthy men, but Mir Ághá opposed this plan, saying: "Do not send any of your own servants, for when the boy becomes Khán, base born people [such as they] will become influential, and then they will prove enemies to yourself and your children. They will imagine that the people do not pay them sufficient respect, but say among themselves, 'These are only servants.' For this reason rather send others than your own retainers—send strangers." So twelve men were sent with him, of whom every one eventually became an Amir, and many of their descendants are alive now. Among their number was Arjirák, from whom are descended the Amirs of Itárjí; Tájri.of Khwárizm, from whom are sprung the Amirs of Kunji; while another was of the tribe of Chálish Siádí [or Sayyádí]; and

1 Amir Kamaruddin was one of five brothers who were governors of districts in Moghulستان, and were heirs of former Dughlat Amirs (i.e., provincial governors), originally appointed by Chághhatai Khán. The brothers were Tulik at Kaslghar, Bulaji at Akau, Kamaruddin at Atbíshi, Shamsuddin, who is mentioned as having taken part in the battle of Lai (or the mine), and Sháikh Daulat, of whom nothing but the name can be traced. Tulik, the eldest, was succeeded as Ulusbegi by Bulaji, and he by his son Khudáidád, who was seven years old when his father died. (See Bellew, Yark. Report, p. 151.)
Reign of Khizir Khwája.

his sons also became Amirs, with the style \([\text{illegible}]\) of Kushjí, but they are also called Kukildásh.\(^1\) These persons all attained the rank of Amir, as did also the remainder of the twelve.

In short, they conducted Khizir Khwája Khán up to the hills, which lie between Badakhshán and Káshghar. But as the spies of Kamaruddin got news of his hiding-place, he was obliged to abandon it and take flight to the hills of Khotan. Then again fearing discovery, he passed on from this place to Sárigh Uighur,\(^2\) Jurján,\(^3\) and Lob Katak,\(^4\) in which regions he remained twelve years. On the death of Kamaruddin, search was made for Khizir Khwája Khán, and Amir Khudáídád sent some people to fetch him from where he was in hiding. As soon as he was brought in, Khudáídád called the people together and raised him to the Khánship. Thus did the splendour of the Khán come to illumine the sovereignty of the Moghuls, so that the affairs of Moghulistán prospered.

The Khán then concluded a peace with Amir Timur, who formed an alliance with him by marrying Tavakkul Khánim,\(^5\) a maiden from the royal haram. During his reign the Khán undertook a holy war \([\text{ghazát}]\) against Khitáí. He, in person, attacked and conquered Karákhoja and Turfán, two very important towns, situated at the border of Khitáí, and forced their inhabitants to become Musulmáns, so that at the present time it is called “Dár al Islám”\(^6\) As a seat of the Moghul Khákáns this country stands next in importance to Káshghar. It is moreover related that, in that campaign, this country was divided up in the manner ordained by the Holy Shariat. And there fell to the lot of the Khán, one piece of satin and one grey cow.\(^7\) The Khán’s object in doing this, was the glorification of the realm of Islám.

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\(^1\) The Turki MS. has \textit{Bukuldásh}; the Persian ones have \textit{Kukildásh} (or \textit{Gukildash}), meaning sworn friend or foster brother, which is no doubt the right reading.

\(^2\) The country of the Sárigh or Yellow Uighurs lay to the east of Khotan and Cháráchán. (See notes, pp. 9 and 349.)

\(^3\) \textit{Cháráchán}, or \textit{Cháráchland}, between Khotan and the Lob Nor country.

\(^4\) Or \textit{Lob Kanah}, the district about Lake Lob. (For \textit{Katak} or \textit{Kanah}, see note, p. 12).

\(^5\) She was the Khan’s daughter.

\(^6\) Which of the two towns—Turfán or Karákhoja—was called \textit{Dár al Islám}, or ‘the Seat of Islam,’ Mirza Haijáül leaves his readers to conjecture. They are in reality some twenty-six or twenty-seven miles apart. In our author’s time Turfán was the more important, and was usually the residence of the Khán of the State. But in earlier times Karákhoja was a place of consequence, so that it is very uncertain which may have been regarded as the capital, and the Seat of Islam, at the date he is speaking of. It is possible also, that he may mean to indicate the whole state, or province, of \textit{Uighuristan}, as he afterwards calls the Khánate which lay east of the modern Kuchar, and had for its capital Turfán. He is much given, as will be seen, to using copulate, or dual, names for countries or districts, and sometimes speaks of this same province of Uighuristan as “Chállish-Turfán.” (For the identity of Karákhoja (the Chinese Ho-Chow) with the ancient Kao-Chang, etc., see See v. of the Introduction.)

\(^7\) The ‘piece of satin’ and the ‘grey cow’ may have been some emblems of
It is related in the Zafar-Nâma, that as soon as Amir Timur had satisfied his lust for conquest in the north, south and west, he prepared an expedition against the countries lying to the east, especially against Khitâi, which is the most important of them; and a long description is given of the [projected] expedition, the substance of which is that he mustered an army of eight hundred thousand men, supplying them with provender sufficient for seven years—as was the custom in the armies of Irâk and Rum. As the country lying between Khitâi and Mávará-un-Nahr was but little cultivated and thinly populated, he ordered each man to take, in addition to other supplies, two miloh-kine and ten miloh goats, telling them that when their supplies should be exhausted, they were to milk these animals; and when, in turn, the milk should come to an end, they were to convert the animals themselves into provisions.

Having completed these preparations, Amir Timur set out from Samarkand, and for that winter took up his quarters [kishlâk] in Turkistân. While there, he sent to ask Khizir Khwâja Khân if it would be possible to cultivate the ground [in Moghulistân], in order to furnish supplies for the army.

I have frequently heard my father (upon whom rest the mercy of God) relate that in the beginning of the spring the new kimiz had come in, and on that day, according to an ancient Moghul custom, a great feast had been prepared. As Amir Khudâidád was on the point of offering a cup of kimiz to the Khân, one of the chief nobles announced the arrival of an ambassador from Amir Timur, and stated the purport of his mission. [The noble] added: “It is much to be regretted that we have not power to resist him, and that we should be compelled to pay him tribute.” At these reflections, the cup of kimiz fell from the hands of the Khân, whereupon Amir Khudâidád said: “You must now drink of the cup of tranquillity (ráhat), in conformity with this couplet:

To grieve over what has not yet come to pass is taking sorrow in anticipation.
’Tis better that I should defer to the morrow the things of to-morrow.”

Then he added: “It has been said that if an apple be thrown up to the sky, God has had time to bestow a hundred blessings before it descends again. Ere another year be passed, how many thousand favours may He not confer! This consideration ought to bring you comfort.”

power, or both may be corruptions of place-names, due to bad copying. There is, however, no doubt as to the reading of the texts; the words are Yak Altâs wa Yak Gâw Kabud—words in which I can trace no names of provinces or districts.
1 Persia and Turkey.
2 Kumiz or Kimiz is a bitter beverage made from fermented mare’s milk.—R.
Reign of Khizir Khudja.

Scarcely had he done speaking, when they saw advancing rapidly from the shore of Lake Kariás, a man mounted on a black horse, and clothed in white robes. He rode on as far as the executioner's tent, where it is customary to dismount. This man, however, rode on without stopping, right past the station of the guards who were sitting in a line. The chamberlains \([yasávul]\)
ran up from every side to try and stop him in his course, but he did not slacken his speed till he came up to where the Khán was standing. Then he called out in a loud voice: “Amir Timur is no more, he has died at Otrár!” Having uttered these words he again rode off at full speed. Many horsemen were sent after him, but none could overtake him; and no other intimation of the news was received. However, after an interval of forty-five days, information came that Amir Timur had died at Otrár; so there no longer remained any doubt about the matter, and the Khán was relieved of all anxiety and distress.

The Khán was born before the year 770 of the Hajra, and the above recorded events took place in 807 \(^2\) of the Hajra. But it is not known how long the Khán survived Amir Timur—God knows best.

When the Khán ascended the throne of the Khánate, the foundations of the State, which, under the usurpation of Kamaruddin and the ascendency of Amir Timur, had been much shaken, were once more strengthened and consolidated. Old customs and rights, which had fallen into disuse or oblivion, were revived, while the affairs of the kingdom and the business of the nobles were restored to order. Among other matters that received attention was the restoration to his rights of Amir Khudáidád.

For in the reign of Chingiz Khán there had been granted to the ancestors of Amir Khudáidád the following seven privileges \([mansab]\): \(^3\) 1. 
**2. Alam** (or the Standard), the former being called in Turki “nakára,” the latter “tumán tugh.” 3. Two of his servants might wear the “Kushun-tugh.” Kushun-tugh is synonymous with “chápár tugh.” 4. He might wear the **Kur** in the councils of the Khán, though it is a custom among

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\(^1\) *Yasávul* may be translated chamberlain, or sometimes mace-bearer.

\(^2\) Timur's death took place in February, 1405, or about the middle of the Hajra year 807, which began on 10th July, 1404, and ended 28th June, 1405.

\(^3\) In the text used by Mr. Erskine, twelve mansab—privileges or prerogatives—appear to be mentioned. (See *Hist. of India*, i, p. 43, where, however, no detail is given.) From his abridged MS. translation at the British Museum, it is evident that Mr. Erskine found only eleven detailed, as is the case in the three texts used by Mr. Ross. Dr. Belch (Yarkand Report, p. 153) has ten, and his list differs in many respects from the one given above. The word mansab means, properly, office or dignity, but here prerogative or privilege best answers the meaning. A good account of these prerogatives is given by Professor Blochmann in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (pp. 364-5), as derived from the *Abarnamah* of Abul Fazl.

\(^4\) Perhaps *girdle* or *garter*, though the text would appear to imply the meaning *quiver*. Dr. Bellow translates: *qur*, “armour” (p. 153), and Mr. Blochmann.
the Moghuls that no one but the Khán may carry his quiver in his hand. 5. Certain privileges in connection with the Khán's hunt. 6. He was to be an Amir over all the Moghuls, and in the firmán his name was to be entered as "Sirdár of the Ulus of Moghuls." 7. In the presence of the Khán, the other Amirs were to sit a bow's length further than he from the Khán.

Such were the seven privileges bestowed upon Urtuba by Chingiz Khán. When Amir Buláji had brought Tughluk Timur Khán from the land of Kipchák, and had set him on the throne of the Khánate, he, in return for his services, received in addition to the seven privileges above enumerated, two others, so that he enjoyed nine in all. The first of the new privileges was, that he should have the power of dismissing or appointing Amirs of Kusíns (that is, Amirs who had one thousand followers) without applying to, or consulting with, the Khán; and the second was as follows: Buláji and his descendants should be permitted to commit nine crimes without being tried. On committing the tenth offence, trial should be conducted under the following conditions:—The accused should be set upon a white two-year-old horse; under the hoofs of the horse, nine folds of white felt should be placed—as a token of respect—and he should in that position address the Khán, while the Khán should speak to him from an elevation. When the interrogatory and investigation had been conducted in this fashion, if the offence should be a mortal one, and the other nine crimes should also be proved against him, two Amirs should stand by and watch him while his veins were opened and all his blood drawn from his body. Thus he should perish. Then the two Amirs, wailing and lamenting, should carry his body out.

These nine privileges were contained in a firmán issued under

"a collection of flags, arms, or other insignia, which follow the king wherever he goes" (p. 50).

1 These are given in the texts, but are unintelligible to some of the best translators to whom Mr. Ross has shown the passage. Erskine also failed to translate it in his abridged MS. at the British Museum. Dr. Belieu has "jirgu—hunting circle—with power to punish, according to rule, those who infringed its regulations." Mr. Blochmann writes: "He could enclose (qurg) a forest as his private hunting-ground, and if any one entered the enclosure, he forfeited his personal liberty" (p. 364).

2 Written orders.—R.

3 These original prerogatives carried with them the title of Tarğhán—a very ancient rank, of order of nobility, among the Mongols. (See Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, pp. 287 and 456). The Tarğháns are constantly spoken of by Asiatic authors as a tribe, but this need not imply that they were of any particular racial descent. Distinctions between tribes and orders, or families, are not always accurately drawn. Thus Amir Timur, in his Institutes, enumerates twelve of the forty tribes (Atmáka) which had submitted to his government; Barárá, Tarḵhán, Arqhum, Jalair, Tulkhí, Dildí, Moghul, Sulduz (Salduz), Tughlâq, Kipchák, Arlát, and Tátar. Some of these names imply race distinctions: others only orders or families. (Davy's Institutes of Timur, p. 91.) The word Barárá means "hero," and some of the others may have special meanings also. Mr. R. B. Shaw translated Tarḵhán by "Franklin."
Reign of Khizir Khwája.

the seal of Tughluk Timur Khán, which I once saw myself. For it was handed down in our family, and ultimately came into the hands of my father (upon whom be the peace of God). It was however destroyed or lost, in the disturbed times of Sháhi Beg Khán.\(^1\) It was written in the Moghul language and character, and bore the date and place of the year of the Hog, at Kunduz; which goes to prove that Tughluk Timur Khán's rule extended as far as Kunduz. No one alive now knows anything about the reign of that Khán, but I have copied into this history the account of it given in the Zafar-Náma.

Since Khizir Khwája Khán had been saved from the yawning abyss of Kamaruddin's violence, and had been placed upon the throne of the Kháns, by the aid of Amir Buláji's son, Amir Khudáidád, he rewarded the latter Amir by superadding three privileges to the nine existing ones; making the prerogatives of Amir Khudáidád twelve in number. Thus:

10. That on the occasion of festivals, when the Khán's chamberlains [yasavul] arranged the ranks, one of the chamberlains of Amir Khudáidád, taking part in the proceedings, should stand on the right hand side, holding the Khán's cup: another on the left side, should hold the cup of Amir Khudáidád, and these two cups were to be exclusively reserved for the Khán and Amir Khudáidád.

11. That he should set his seal on all firmáns that might be issued, but that the Khán's seal should be set above his.

12. [No 12th mansab is mentioned in any of the texts].

Such were the twelve prerogatives [mansab] for which a firmán was granted to Amir Khudáidád, after whose death they descended to his son Amir Muhammad Sháh Kurkán. When this latter died, they devolved on Amir Sayyid Ali Kurkán, the son of Muhammad Sháh's brother, and after Sayyid Ali to Muhammad Haidar Mirzá Kurkán his son, and after him to his son Muhammad Husein Mirzá Kurkán, father of the present writer Muhammad Haidar, known familiarly as Mirzá Haidar.

After the martyrdom of my father, my uncle, Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá, attached himself to Sultán Aash-Shahid-Sultán Said Khán; the Khán Said Shahid confirmed all these privileges to my uncle. The particulars of the matter are recorded in the Second Part of this Tarikh-i-Rashidi. These privileges (that is to say, the first [seven] of them) were in force from before the year 625 of the Hajra, which is the date of Chingiz Khán,\(^2\) down to the death of the Khán and the murder of my uncle, the date of which was the

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\(^1\) Shaibání Khan, the Uzbeg leader.

\(^2\) This date is intended, evidently, for that of Chingiz Khan's death, which is usually taken to be 1227. The Hajra year 625 began 12th December, 1227, so that nearly the whole of it fell within 1228. But the date of the death of Chingiz is very variously stated in different chronicles.
1st of Moharram, 940 of the Hajra. When this calamity took place and the Khánship came to Sultán Rashid, the customs of our forefathers were exchanged for other, and very different, practices.

Praise be to the gracious Creator, in that when my turn arrived to be created, he made me a free man and independent of the Khán, for the great "mansab". He has granted me, is but an atom of those boundless favours which are the salvation of this world and the next. In the same way that thou hast made me materially free, make me also spiritually independent and prosperous!

[Verses]: Oh! God, make all the world my ill-wishers, And keep me apart from them all. Keep my heart from worldly matters, And cause me to have but one purpose and aim in life.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MUHAMMAD KHán, SON OF KHIZIR KHWÁJA KHán.

This Muhammad Khán was the son of Khizir Khwája Khán, who had, besides Muhammad Khán, other sons; among these were Sham-i-Jahán Khán and Nakhsh-i-Jahán Khán. After Isán Bughá Khán, excepting Tughluk Timur Khán, there was no one left in the country of the Moghuls who was of the first rank of Khákâns. This fact I have already mentioned. After the death of Tughluk Timur Khán, Amir Kamaruddin murdered all Tughluk's sons, so that there was no one left but Khizir Khwája Khán. (This I have also already stated.) This last Khán left many sons and grandsons; the details of the lives of all of them have not, however, been preserved in the Moghul traditions. In fine, I have recounted what I considered worthy of belief regarding the history of the ancestors of the Khákâns. But I have not been able to learn any details concerning their uncles and cousins. Consequently I have only mentioned the sons of Khizir Khwája Khán, as for example, Muhammad Khán: for in him the race of Moghul Khákâns came to an end.

Muhammad Khán was a wealthy prince and a good Musulmán. He persisted in following the road of justice and equity, and was

1 Said Khan died on this date. The author's uncle, Sayyid Muhammad Mirza, was murdered by the Khan's son and successor, Rashid, a week or two afterwards. The 1st Moharram, 940, fell on 23rd July, 1533.

2 The discrepancies of various authors regarding the sons and successors of Khizir Khwája have been remarked upon in the Introduction. See Sec. ii., pp. 69 seq.
so unremitting in his exertions, that during his blessed reign most of the tribes of the Moghuls became Musulmáns.

It is well known what severe measures he had recourse to, in bringing the Moghuls to be believers in Islám. If, for instance, a Moghul did not wear a turban [Dastár], a horseshoe nail was driven into his head: and treatment of this kind was common. (May God recompense him with good.)

In the Moghul records it is stated that Amir Khudáidád himself raised six Kháns to the Khánate, and this Muhammad Khán was one of the number.

Muhammad Khán built a Rabát on the northern side of the defile of Chádir Kul. In the construction of this building he employed stones of great size, the like of which are only to be seen in the temples [Imárát] of Kashmir. The Rabát contains an entrance hall 20 gaz¹ in height. When you enter by the main door, you turn to the right hand along a passage which measures 30 gaz. You then come to a dome which is about 20 gaz, and beautifully proportioned. There is a passage round the dome, and in the sides of it; and in the passage itself are beautiful cells. On the western side there is also a mosque 15 gaz in height, which has more than twenty doors. The whole building is of stone, and over the doors there are huge solid blocks of stone, which I thought very wonderful, before I had seen the temples in Kashmir.²

¹ Whether the diameter or the height of the dome is not stated. A great variety of gaz are in use in India, Bokhara, and other places. Baber made his gaz about thirty inches, but it was popularly taken at a little less, perhaps about twenty-seven inches. Mirza Haidar’s gaz may be assumed as about equal to Baber’s. (See Memoirs, p. 4; also note, p. 256.)

² The ancient temples in Kashmir are noticed again towards the end of the history. The Rabát, or traveller’s rest-house (caravan-sarai) here recorded to have been built by Muhammad Khan at a short distance north of the Chádir Kul, would seem to be in existence still. Its ruins stand on the main road from Almati (i.e., Vierny) to Kashghar, by way of the Nárin fort, and they have been seen, of late, by several European travellers. One of these is Dr. N. Seeland, whose account of the building is quoted, in English, by Dr. Lansdell, in his recently-published book of travels in Chinese Turkistan, and is so confirmatory of Mirza Haidar’s description, that it may usefully be transcribed: “The traveller,” says Dr. Seeland, “is not a little astonished to see a stone construction, hoary with age, about 48 paces long by 36 wide, with a flat roof, from the middle of which rises a rough, half-ruined cupola about 25 feet high. The entrance, fairly lofty and vaulted, conducts to an interior without windows. Under the cupola is a sort of chamber or hall, with vaulted wings, 9 feet high, of rooms or cells running off in four directions in the form of a Latin cross. The entrance wing has lateral corridors on one side only, and in these, as in those of the other wings, openings from 30 to 36 inches are contrived in the wall. They lead to separate cells, which are square at bottom, circular at top, and perfectly dark, except where the ceiling has, in some cases, fallen in. The entrances are so low as sometimes to necessitate crawling, and the interiors have no trace of chimneys, niches, or places to sit or sleep. No trace exists of refectory, kitchen, or even fireplace, throughout the building, which is constructed with mortar of fragments of local blueish and reddish schist. In the central hall are a few remains of plaster, but none of ornamentation.” On the whole, Dr. Seeland considers that the building has no resemblance to other rest-houses or caravan-sarais in Central Asia, but I am not aware that he connects it with any ruin dating from the time
In the time of Muhammad Khan, the learned Mirza Ulugh Beg was reigning in Māvará-un-Nahr by the appointment of his father, Mirza Sháh Rukh; he was the founder of the famous observatory and the author of the astronomical tables called Zīj Kürkân. Mirza Sháh Rukh was king of Khorásán and Irák. The dates of his birth and death are not known, but if we refer to other dates, we find that he must have died before 860 of the Hajra. (But God knows best.)

of the Nestorians. Dr. Lansdell does so, conjecturally. He infers that the Rabát, being on the “direct route between the Christian see of Kasghar and the Christian settlements on the Chu, it seems not improbable that the ruin may represent the monastery indicated on the Catalan map.” A reference to this ancient map—it was constructed in 1375—will, however, scarcely aid us in falling in with Dr. Lansdell’s conjecture. In the first place, the “monastery of Armenian Friars and Body of St. Matthew” is marked on the reduced fac-simile published in Yule’s Cathay, as standing on the margin of Lake Issigh-Kul, that is, just at a spot where we know, from the narratives of modern travellers, many remarkable remains are to be seen—namely on the shore, but mostly at the bottom of the lake, near the shore. The site of Muhammad Khan’s Rabát, would be some 180 miles to the south of the lake, by the Nūrin road, or 120 miles in direct distance. In the second place, Dr. Lansdell cites, from Dr. Bellow, a passage purporting to be from the Tarikh-i-Rashidi, to the effect that Muhammad Khan “converted the ancient Hindu temple (resembling, in the massive blocks of its stone, the temples of Kashmir) called Tish-Rabát, on the pass to the Chadir Kul, into a fortified post to protect his capital (Kashghar) from the incursions of the Kirghiz.” The strange circumstances about this quotation are: (1) that I have been unable to find the passage in either of Dr. Bellow’s works (The Yarkand Mission Report or his Kashmir and Kashghar); and (2) that no one of the texts of the Tarikh-i-Rashidi in the British Museum, contains anything about the origin of the stones used in building the Rabát. These texts state, simply and clearly, that which has been translated above, and nothing more. Thus, all that can be said is: (1) almost contemporary evidence proves that Muhammad Khan built a Rabát of huge stones; (2) that this building stood in a region where Nestorian Christianity flourished in the Middle Ages; and (3) in a land where many ruins, whose origin is not yet determined, are known to exist. I have not been able to obtain Dr. Seeland’s full description, but may remark that no more conjectures to the effect that the Tish-Rabát is unlike ordinary rabats, or that it is like a monastery or what not, would shake the very clear evidence of Mirza Haidar. What he states, when coupled with Dr. Seeland’s discovery, is interesting enough. The descriptions of the building and its geographical position agree, in a remarkable manner, in identifying Dr. Seeland’s ruin with Muhammad Khan’s Rabát.

1 Strange as it may appear in the case of so eminent a personage as Ulugh Beg, Mirza Haidar’s statement that the date of his birth is not known, is correct. It is known, however, that he began to reign at Samarkand in A.H. 812 (or A.D. 1409), some thirty-eight years before the death of his father Sháh Rukh, who was the fourth son of Amir Timur. At Sháh Rukh’s death in A.H. 850 (= 1446-47 A.D.) he was succeeded by Ulugh Beg, who, however, only continued to reign for a further period of two and a-half years. In the dissections and wars which took place after Sháh Rukh’s death, Ulugh Beg was taken prisoner and put to death by his own son, Abdul Latif (Ramzian, 853, or 27th October, 1449). Thus Mirza Haidar’s calculation of the approximate date of Ulugh Beg’s death is not greatly in error, though the circumstance that he should be able to give only an estimate, shows that the chronology of his history is not always to be relied on. As the author of the astronomical tables, Ulugh Beg has a world-wide reputation. It is said that not only was the design his, but that he assisted in the computation of tables. The chief computers were, according to Erakine, first, Maulana Saláh-ud-Din Mous, better known by the name of Kázi-Zádah Rumi; then (after the Kázi-Zádah’s death) Maulana
CHAPTER XXVIII.

SHIR MUHAMMAD KHÁN, SON OF MUHAMMAD KHÁN.

MUHAMMAD KHÁN, also, had several sons, two of whom were Shir Muhammad Khán and Shir Ali Oghláñ. Shir Muhammad Khán succeeded his father, and as long as he governed, the people were peaceful and prosperous. During his reign, his brother Shir Ali Oghláñ died at the age of eighteen, and thus never attained to the rank of Khán. He, however, left one son, Vais Khán by name, between whom and Shir Muhammad Khán there arose great disputes, as will be related below. Shir Muhammad Khán, who was also a contemporary of Mirzá Sháh Bakh, enjoyed a longer reign than Muhammad Khán.

CHAPTER XXIX.

EARLY LIFE OF VAIŚ KHÁN.

SULTÁN VAIŚ KHÁN was the son of Shir Ali Khán; ¹ after the death of his father, he was in the service of his uncle, Shir Muhammad Khán. After a time he began to find this condition irksome, and therefore fled from the court, and took to the life of a robber [Kázáki]. Many distinguished Moghul youths volunteered to follow him. Among this number was my grandfather Mir Sayyid Ali. I am the grandson of Vais Khán, on my mother's side. Amir

¹ Ghiás-ud-Dín Jamshídi; and, lastly, Ibáu Ali Muhammad Koshji. The geographical tables were first published in England by Graves in 1711, and the tables of fixed stars, by Hyde, of Oxford, in 1708. In France, Lalando published the astronomical tables in 1792. Baber, in his description of Samarakand, notices the college, observatory, and other buildings erected by Ulugh Beg. The observatory, he says, stood on the skirts of the hill of Kohik, and was three stories in height:—“By means of this observatory, and its astronomical apparatus, Ulugh Beg Mirza composed the Zích-Kurkání, which are followed at the present time, scarcely any other being used.” Mr. Schuyler was shown a hill called Chupán Altí, near the city of Samarakand, on which the observatory is said to have stood. There is now, however, no trace of it. (See Stanley Lane Poole's Muhammadan Dynasties, p. 268; Erskine's Hist. of India, i., p. 103; Ib., Mem. of Baber, p. 51; E. Schuyler's Turkistan, i., p. 233; also Beale's Oriental Biograph. Dict., 1881, p. 276; and d'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale).

¹ Properly, Shir Ali Oghlán, not Khán. He is called by Erskine and some other writers Shir Kúli. But Ali and Kúli may easily be taken one for the other by Persian copyists. (See the Genealogical Table attached to this volume.)
Sayyid Ali is my paternal grandfather, and this Amir Sayyid Ali was the son of Sayyid Ahmad Mirzā, son of Amir Khudáidád. I think it is fitting in this place to give the history of Amir Sayyid Ali.

CHAPTER XXX.

AMIR SAYYID ALI AND STORIES RELATING TO HIM.

As has been already mentioned, Amir Khudáidád lived in Moghul-istán in the service of the Kháns. His native country was Káshghar, which had been given as a fief [akta'a] to his ancestors, by Chingiz Kháń. This matter however will be referred to in the Second Part, when I speak of the country of Káshghar.

Amir Sayyid Ahmad had an impediment in his speech, and only those who were accustomed to hear him speak, could understand him. He was also hard of hearing, so that it was necessary to speak very loudly to him in order to make him understand. His father sent him to Káshghar as governor, which position he retained for a considerable time, till at length Khwája Sharif, one of the nobles of Káshghar, became very powerful and all looked to him for help and advice. Khwája Sharif was a noble-minded man, but he was displeased with Sayyid Ahmad Mirzá, so he handed over the government to Mirzá Ulugh Beg, while Amir Sayyid Ahmad fled from Káshghar to his father, and soon afterwards died.

Amir Ali, the son of Sayyid Ahmad Mirzá, lived with his grandfather, Amir Khudáidád, who loved him better than all his other children; for he was without rival in stature and strength as well as in courage, talent and understanding. He used to be called Sayyid Ali Alif.

When Amir Sayyid Ali took the daughter of Isán Bughá Kháń for his son Muhammad Haidar Mirzá (as will be related below), he marked his joy by striking a nail into a wall, which I have myself seen. If one man stand upright, and a second, placing his feet on the first, also stand upright and stretch out his hand, he will not reach the nail by about an ell [gaz].

On this account Amir Khudáidád loved Amir Sayyid Ali better than all his children.

1 Sayyid Ali was the author's great-grandfather, as he shows elsewhere. (See Genealogical Table of the Dughlãts in Sec. ii. of Introduction.)
2 It is curious that this Khan's name should be written sometimes Amir Sayyid Ahmad, and at others Sayyid Ahmad Mirza, within a few lines. The texts, however, have been followed as they stand.
3 In allusion to his upright figure—like the letter alif.
4 On account of his stature, etc.
At this time a certain Ahmad Mirzá, one of the Timuri Mirzás of the line of Mirzá Sháh Rukh, having fled [from his own country] had come [to Moghulístán]. He had [with him] a sister, for whom Amir Sayyid Ali conceived a great affection; so much so that Amir Khudáídád and others begged her to become Amir Sayyid Ali’s wife. She, however, refused, saying: “I cannot stay in Moghulístán, but if he will accompany me to my own country, it can be arranged.” She then immediately set out for her own country, accompanied by Amir Sayyid Ali. When she arrived at Andiján, Mirzá Ulugh Beg despatched a man to kill Ahmad Mirzá, and himself married his sister, at the same time throwing Amir Sayyid Ali into prison at Samarkand, where he remained one year. Here he fell sick of dysentery, and when on the point of dying, Amir Ulugh Beg sent for the doctors, whose remedies, however, were all without effect. One day somebody brought some kumiz. The Mirzá implored the doctors, saying: “As the medicines have done me no good, I should much like to try a little kumiz, for which I have a great craving.” They at last agreed [to grant his request] as a desperate experiment, saying: “It will very likely give him strength.” They then gave him as much kumiz as he wanted, and from that moment he began to show signs of recovery. On the following day they gave him some more, and he became perfectly well.

About this time, Mirzá Ulugh Beg was going to wait on his noble father Mirzá Sháh Rukh. Amir Sayyid Ali being quite recovered, Mirzá Ulugh Beg ordered a horse and arms to be given him, that he might accompany him to Khorásán. His object was to show off Amir Sayyid Ali to the people of Khorásán, as if he would say: “This is the sort of booty we take in Moghulístán.” One night when the Mirzá was in his tent, the torch-bearers were passing by, and he saw Amir Sayyid Ali with his bow, which was fourteen spans long—longer than that of anybody else. The Mirzá thought to himself: “If this man wishes to aim his arrow at me, who will be able to prevent him?” He became very nervous, and immediately sent for Amir Sayyid Ali and said to him: “This journey into Khorásán must be very irksome and unpleasant to you. You can return to Samarkand when I get back I will give you leave to go to Moghulístán, and you shall be the intermediary between myself and Shir Muhammad Khán, so that matters may be settled in a peaceable way.”

So he gave him leave to return, and sent a man to accompany him. He also wrote to the Governor of Samarkand, telling him to treat him with every mark of respect. But he sent a secret message to the governor telling him to keep Amir Sayyid Ali in prison.

When Amir Sayyid Ali arrived at Samarkand with his companion,
he gathered from the behaviour of the latter that he was not
going to be well treated. When they had entered the town, his
companion placed him in a house, and himself went before the
governor. No sooner was he gone than the Amir left the house, on
foot, and proceeded to Táshkand. When the man returned to the
house from visiting the governor, he found the Amir's horse, and
arms, and servants, but the Amir himself had disappeared. They
inquired after him from his servants, who replied that he had
just departed on foot. They then searched carefully for the Amir,
but could not find him.

Meanwhile the Amir had fallen in with some Kalandars on the
road, and having dressed himself as one of them, arrived in safety
at Táshkand. The Kalandars gave the Amir the name of Ashtar
Abdâl, and bestowed on him some of the provisions out of their
wallets. Thus, in the guise of a Kalandar, he reached Taráz,
which is another name for Yângi, where he was recognised by the
Shaikh of the "Shrine of the Companions of the Cave," which is
called in Moghulistán "Mamlakat Atá." The Shaikh sent his
son Shádika with the Amir, and caused him to be conducted
into Moghulistán and brought before Amir Khudáidád. This
Shaikh Shádika became one of the Amir's intimates, and gained
the title [lakab] of Vafádár [the Faithful]. There are descendants
of his still alive, but they have not attained to any celebrity.

At the time when the Amir re-entered the service of his dis-
tinguished relation, Amir Khudáidád, Vais Khán had separated
from his uncle Shir Muhammad Khán, and had taken to highway
robbery. Amir Khudáidád said to Amir Sayyid Ali: "I think you
had better go and join Vais Khán, for if you stay here you may
come to some harm." He then selected sixty young men and
despatched them with Amir Sayyid Ali, to Vais Khán. The Amir

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1 This name is written in the Persian texts in such a way that it may read
Yângi, Yânki, Nîki, or even Mâski. In all probability Yângi is intended, though
the word is spelled without an alif. Further on, the author tells us that Yângi
is another name for Târdz, and as other writers state the same thing (see note,
pp. 79–80) I think it is fair to assume that the name here written Yângi is merely
an oversight—that an alif has been omitted by mistake. The position of ancient
Târdz or Tâlás has given rise to some discussion, while several writers have been
led to the opinion that Târdz stood on the Sir, and was merely another name for
the town of Turkistan, or for Otrar. Modern investigation, however, has shown
these views to be untenable. That Târdz was situated on, or close to, the banks
of the Tâlás river, there can no longer be any reasonable doubt. The names of
town and river are practically one; and there seems to be no reason to question
the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Schuyler, that the ancient Târdz stood probably,
very near the site of the modern town of Aulia-Ata. He speaks of some ruins
on the Tâlás, ten miles below Aulia-Ata, which were called by the natives
Tiume-Kent (Tumi Kauf ?), and thinks that, on investigation, they may perhaps
prove to be the remains of Târdz. Sir H. Howorth, Dr. Bretschneider, and
Captain Valkhanof are of the same opinion as Mr. Schuyler. (See Howorth, ii.,
p. 286; Schuyler, ii., pp. 129–1; Bretschneider, i., pp. 18–19 and 228; Valk-
hanof in Russiane in C. Asia, p. 104.)

2 Or, perhaps, Mâlikat Atá.—R.
served the Khán well, and obtained in return the Khán's sister, Uzun Sultán Khánim, in marriage.

Countless were the laudable actions which Amir Sayyid Ali performed whilst in the service of the Khán. They would, however, take too long to relate. I have mentioned a few of them in my account of Vais Khán.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ENLARGED ACCOUNT OF WHAT PASSED BETWEEN SHIR MUHAMMAD KHÁN AND VAIS KHÁN.

When Vais Khán, as has been related above, fled from his uncle Shir Muhammad Khán, a number of people attached themselves to him, and they took to plundering in, and on the confines of, the territory of Shir Muhammad Khán; especially in the neighbourhood of Lob Katak and Sáriagh Uighur.

It is related that when Uzun Sultán Khánim was given in marriage to Amir Sayyid Ali, this latter, in order to procure food for the feast, went out hunting, and returned, having killed two stags (Gavazan), which were eaten at the banquet. From this, one can form some idea of the splendour of the marriage festivities.

But [Vais Khán] finding little scope for activity in that country, [left it and] went to Turkistán. At that Amir Shaikh Nuruddin, son of Sár Bughá Kipchák, one of Amir Timúr's greatest generals, was Governor of Turkistán. With him [the Khán] had some intercourse, and since he was at enmity with Shir Muhammad Khán, he gave his daughter Daulat Sultán Sakanj,¹ in marriage to Vais Khán. He also gave the Khán much assistance in his attacks on Shir Muhammad Khán, and for a long time there was continual conflict between Vais Khán and his uncle, the latter being as a rule, victorious. One of these encounters took place at a spot in Moghulistán called Karang Kaínglígh. Vais Khán, after a long and rapid march, surprised Shir Muhammad Khán in his camp at midnight. [Tho assailants] were four hundred strong. When the alarm was raised, Shir Muhammad Khán threw himself into a ditch, while Vais Khán, surrounding the camp, searched till dawn for Shir Muhammad Khán, slaying all whom he met. Yet, notwithstanding their search and the violence they used towards the people in the camp, no trace of Shir Muhammad Khán was to be found. When day broke they fled. Then Shir Muhammad

¹ The Turki MS. has Daulat Sultan Begum.—B.
Khán came out of the ditch, and his men having again collected round him, he set out in pursuit of Vais Khán, who only saved himself after a hundred narrow escapes. In fine, this hostility continued between them until the natural death of Shir Muhammad Khán, whereupon Vais Khán succeeded to the Khánate.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE KHÁNSHIP OF VAIS KHÁN.

When his turn came, Vais Khán showed himself to be religiously inclined; he was moreover distinguished among his race for his bravery. Since he had forbidden the Moghuls to attack Musulmáns, he made war against the infidel Kálmáks; and though he was frequently defeated by them, he persisted in hostilities against them, not wishing to relinquish the holy war [jahád]. He was twice taken prisoner by them. The first occasion was in a battle at a place called Ming Lák, where the Khán, having been seized, was led before Isán Táíshi. This latter thought to himself: “If he is really a descendant of Chingiz Khán, he will not do me obeisance, but will look upon me as an inferior.” When the Khán was brought in, he dismounted (for he was on horseback) and [Isán Táíshi] advanced towards him with great respect [Sar-Zadah]. But the Khán turned away his face and did not raise his hands. Isán Táíshi was then convinced, and treating the Khán with much honour, set him at liberty. The Khán, on being asked afterwards why he had not done obeisance [to Isán Táíshi] replied: “If Isán Táíshi had treated me in a lordly manner, I should, out of fear for my life, have approached him with reverence. But since he came towards me with bowed head, it occurred to me that the hour of my martyrdom had arrived; and it is not fitting for a Musulmán to do homage to an infidel, or to countenance his actions, therefore I did not salute him.” It was the Khán's faithful observance of his religion that saved him from the abyss.

On another occasion, he fought a battle with this same Isán Táíshi at a spot called Kabáka, on the confines of Moghulistán. Here, too, he suffered defeat. His horse being shot under him by an arrow, the Khán was obliged to continue on foot. He was on the point of being captured, when Amir Sayyid Ali, dismounting

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1 Sar-Zadah usually means “ill-mannered,” but here it is obviously intended literally, “with bowed head.”—R.
Reign of Vais Khan.

from his horse, gave it to the Khan, while he threw himself on his face on the ground. The infidels, thinking him dead, shot an arrow at his head. When they came near enough, the Amir contrived to lay hold of one of them (who happened to be a man of some distinction), and lifting him up by his coat, turned him from side to side as a shield against the arrows, running all the while by the side of the Khan's bridle, so that it was impossible to shoot an arrow at the Amir. In this way he continued fighting and carrying the man by his clothes for a whole farsák, till they came to the River Ailah. He then threw the Kálmák into the water, and seizing the bridle of the Khan's horse, entered the stream, which came up to his chest. Several men were drowned. The Khan's horse began to swim, while the Amir held up its head, and thus safely conducted the Khan, mounted and armed, across the river. Many men were drowned on that day.

It is related that the Khan had with him, on that occasion, two cousins, Hasan Sultán, who wore red armour, and Lukmán Sultán, who wore blue [kabud]. They were both drowned on entering the stream. Amir Sayyid Ali, keeping hold of the Khan's bridle with one hand, did his best to save these two men with the other, but could not reach them. The Khan declared he could distinguish their red and blue jackets deep down in the water. Vais Khan gave Amir Sayyid Ali five presents— one for each [of the following] acts. (I.) He had given his horse to the Khan and had himself remained on foot. (II.) He had seized the Kálmák. (III.) He had used him as a shield for a whole farsák. (IV.) He had brought the Khan fully armed and mounted across the River Ailah. (V.) Although he had hold of the Khan, he twice stretched out his hand to save the drowning men. The Khan then added: "I know that the Amir has such strength that if one of my cousins had been able to seize him by the hand, the Amir would have saved him too, and brought him across the water." In consideration of these five actions, he gave the Amir five

1 The word is juldu, which signifies in Turki "royal gift," a "prize," or a "trophy," for valour.
2 The farsák, or farasang, is usually reckoned at four statute miles.
3 There is nothing to show in what locality this fight took place. There were Kalmucks on both the northern and eastern "confinés" of Mogholistan, and I can find no trace of Kabaka. In all probability, however, it was on the upper Ailah, which may also be read Ilah, and is the river nowadays called the "Illi," which passes by Kulja and flows into the Balkhis lake. "Illi" is the Chinese pronunciation, while the Turki-speaking people of the present day call it "Ila." As regards its being on the "confinés of Mogholistan," as the author has it, Breitseiner quotes Quatremère's translation of the Masulch-Alabair to the effect that the Illi river, in the first half of the fourteenth century, formed the eastern boundary of Mavari-un-Nahr. (Med. Researches, i. p. 18.) But the limit was soon afterwards pushed much farther westward, and at the time of Vais Khan could hardly have been formed by the river. The extreme upper and lower waters of the Illi, however, were near two of "the confinés."
Aimáks as a reward. 1. Turkát. 2. Hibat Shirá Sut. 3. Uzbek, a tribe of Khotan. 4. Darughá, also a tribe of Khotan. 5. Kukánit, also a tribe of Khotan.¹

Sultán Vais Khán had another combat with Isán Táíshi, in the vicinity of Turfán, and was again defeated and taken prisoner. Isán Táíshi said [to Vais Khán, on his being brought before him]: “This time I will only set you free, on your giving me your sister Makhtum Khánim, as a ransom.” There being no help for it, Makhtum Khánim was given to him, and the Khán was set at liberty. It is commonly reported that the Khán had sixty-one engagements with the Kálmaéks: once only was he victorious; on every other occasion he was put to rout. (But God alone knows the truth.) I have frequently heard from Maulání Khwája Ahmad that the Khán was a very powerful man, and that he used, every year, to go hunting wild camels in the country round Turfán, Túrim, Lób and Katak, which places I have spoken of in the Second Part. When he killed a camel he would skin it with his own hands, and take the wool to his mother Sultán Khátun; the Khátun would spin it and make it into shirts and breeches for him, which he wore with sumptuous robes outside. In Turfán water is very scarce, and it was the Khán himself who irrigated the land. He did not get his water from any stream, but having dug a deep well, drew from it a supply of water for irrigation. Khidmat Maulání told me the following story of his uncles, who used to say: “We have often seen the Khán, during the hot season, with the help of his slaves, drawing water from the well in pitchers [kuzak], and pouring it himself over the land.” His agriculture was carried out on such a small scale, that the produce of it never attained the value of an ass’s load: but this served him for a yearly supply of food.

He was a disciple of Maulání Muhammad Kháshání, who was a disciple of Hazrat Khwája Hasan (may God perfume his tomb), and Khwája Hasan was a disciple of Hazrat Kutb-i-Masnúd Arshád Khwája Baháuddín Nakhshbandi² (may God bless his spirit). Being a king did not prevent Vais Khán from passing his time in such studies [as theology]. During the reign of this prosperous Khán, Amir Khudáidád went on a pilgrimage to Mekka. Moghul records state that Amir Khudáidád raised six

¹ All five Aimáks are probably only small local clans. No. 2 may also read Habá-sharí-na.

² This Khwája Baháuddin (sometimes, though probably wrongly, called Shálk Baháuddin) was the founder of a sect, or an order, of Sufis known as the “Nakhshbandi.” He is said by Mr. Beale (Oriental Biogr.Dicty.) to have died in Persia in the year 857 a.h. (1453), and to have been the author of a work on Sufi-ism called the “Dulit-ul-Ashikin.” As late as 1886 there lived at Bukhara a noted Pir, or religious leader, called Ir Nazar Khwája, Samarkandi. Ir Nazar claimed to be a descendant of Khwája Baháuddin, and was (perhaps is still) regarded as the chief of the Nakhshbandi Order in Central Asia.
Kháns to the Khánship, "with his own hand." They were as follows:—Khizir Khwája Khán (whom we have mentioned), Sham-i-Jahán Khán, Nakshsh-i-Jahán Khán, Muhammad Khán, Shir Muhammad Khán, and lastly Vais Khán.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

AMIR KHÚDÁIDÁD AND HIS JOURNEY TO MEKKA.

I have already told the history of Amir Khudáidád in part; but in this chapter I have to relate the rest of his deeds and his death. All the Moghul traditions are agreed as to the country over which he was Amir. I remember hearing from my father (upon whom be the grace of God) and from my uncles (may the pardon of God be on them) that their father had 24,000 families under him. He was Amir before the year 765 of the Hajra [A.D. 1363-4] and he made his journey to Mekka before the year 850 of the Hajra [A.D. 1446-7]. He was Amir for ninety years.¹ He exercised absolute power over the whole of Káshghar, Yárkand, Khotan, Aksu, Báí, and Kuchár. In spite, however, of all this, he was never a wealthy man, and during most of his life had not even a horse to ride. When travelling from place to place, the people of the country used to furnish him with a horse. And in the army it was just the same. He spent much of the revenue of his State in releasing and ransoming Musulmán prisoners. In those days the Moghuls were constantly attacking Turkistán, Shásh and Andiján, and carrying off Musulmáns as prisoners. The Amir would buy these prisoners from the Moghuls, and supply them with provisions and transport to enable them to return home. He used also to provide them with tents, in which they had room to kneel down and say their prayers. In the performance of good actions such as these, and pious works, did the Amir pass his life.

¹ A little lower down, the author tells us that Mir Khudáidád was ninety-seven years of age when he went on pilgrimage to Mekka. Both ninety years for the length of Khudáidád's reign and ninety-seven years for his age, are probably mere figures of speech, intended to indicate a great number. A man of ninety-seven could not accomplish a pilgrimage from Káshghar to Mekka and Medina, as Khudáidád is said to have done, and in all probability his reign was much less than ninety years. The chronology throughout this part of Mirzá Haider's history is very loose and cannot be relied on. He probably had only rough estimates—little more than guesses on the part of his informants—to go upon, and if in the case of so prominent a person as Ulugh Beg, he could be several years in error, there is no reason why he should be more accurate in that of the Beg's contemporaries. As Mirzá Haider's is the only book (so far as we know at present) that gives the history of this branch of the Moghuls, as a whole, there is no other chronology by which his dates can be tested.
his Journey to Mekka. 69

There are also many miracles attributed to him. One of them, that was related to me by Khidmat Maulânâ Khwája Ahmad, I will quote here. Khwája Záhid of Káshghar was a great and pious man.\(^1\) Amir Khudáidád sent a person from Moghulístan to beg for one of Khwája Záhid’s handkerchiefs. The Khwája’s wife, however, thought that it was not fitting to send the Khwája’s handkerchief to a Moghul in Moghulístan, and that it would be a sin to do so. Therefore she sent one that was not the Khwája’s. When it was brought to the Amir, he, with much praise-giving, wiped his face therewith. But the next moment he returned it to the messenger, saying: “If this is, in truth, the handkerchief of the Khwája, I have no need of it.” So the messenger returned and gave it back to the wife of the Khwája. At this she was much astounded and told the Khwája what had passed. Khwája Záhid reproved his wife, saying: “The Amir is one of this sect;\(^2\) why did you act thus?” Thereupon the Khwája sent his own handkerchief. When the messenger delivered it over to the Amir, he, having wiped his face with it, said: “Verily this is the kerchief of the Khwája—and I have faith in the Khwája.” Many miracles, such as this, are recorded of the Amir.

At last when the Amir reached the age of ninety-seven, he was possessed of a very strong desire to make the pilgrimage to Mekka. But in spite of much entreaty, Vais Khán refused his consent to this stop. The Amir secretly sent to Mirzá Ulugh Beg, saying: “If you will come, I will disable the Moghuls and deliver them into your hands.” Now, as Mirzá Ulugh Beg had suffered much annoyance from the Moghuls, and was continually engaged in repressing them, he immediately mounted his horse and set out [for Moghulístan]. When he reached a famous town in Moghulístan called Chu,\(^3\) the Amir having deserted his own troops, joined Mirzá Ulugh Beg; and, in consequence, the Moghuls were scattered in every direction. When the Amir met Mirzá Ulugh Beg, he said to him: “I committed this act because I could not obtain leave to go to Mekka: this was my excuse for coming over to you, but now I don’t see fit to go.” They then left that place, the Mirzá treating the Amir with all possible honour and respect. When they reached Samarkand, Mirzá Ulugh Beg said to Amir

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1. The Turki MS. says “zealot.”—R.

2. Probably the “sect of sorcerers,” or something equivalent, is meant. Secret sects or bodies, as the Babís in Persia for instance, are, in fact, spoken of as “that sect,” “this tribe,” etc.

3. In some MSS. this name may be read "Jubut" but three dots instead of one under the first letter would convert it into the name of the river Chu, which flows through the western part of Moghulístan, and it is possible that there may have been at this period a town, or at least, of the same name on the banks of the river. There is every reason to believe that about the time here spoken of, there were large cities and ruins of ancient towns on and near the banks of the Chu, though perhaps not actual towns, in the proper sense of the word. The word for “town” or “city,” however, is one that is much misused by Oriental writers.
Khudáiddád: “There is no one who knows so much about the Turah\(^1\) of Chingiz Khán as you do; I beg you to tell me all its regulations, as I have a great desire to know all about it.” The Amir replied: “We have completely discarded the infamous Turah of Chingiz Khán, and have adopted the Shariát [or Muhammadan Law]. If, however, Mirzá Ulugh Beg, in spite of his common sense and good judgment, approves the Turah of Chingiz Khán, I will teach it him, that he may adopt it and forsake the Shariát.” The Mirzá was much perturbed at these words, and did not learn the Turah.

In short, the Amir went to Mekka. When my father (God have mercy on him) went to Khorásán, as I have mentioned in the Second Part, he found there one of the generals of Sultán Husain Mirzá, named Sultan Ali Barláś, who was a very old man, being nearly one hundred years of age. He had been held in great honour by the Mirzá. My father questioned him concerning his ancestors and their times. He replied: “My father’s name was Sháh Husain Barláś. He was one of the Moghul Barláś, and a distinguished Mir. Amir Khudáiddád travelled with him from Moghulistán.” When my father heard this story, he became greatly interested and begged [the Barláś] to narrate the whole history. The latter began: “I was quite a boy when Mir Khudáiddád undertook his pilgrimage to Mekka, and my father accompanied him, for he was in the service of the Amir. We fled from Moghulistán and wandered from town to town, till we set out upon the journey to visit the holy town of Mekka; when we had been a few days on our return journey, the Amir asked where Medina was; they told him that Medina lay in a different direction. At this the Amir was much distressed, and said: ‘I have come a great distance and suffered many privations; yet I have not made the tawáf [circuit] of the garden of the Prophet (may the peace and prayers of God be upon him); and it is a long journey home again.’

“He then gave all his servants and porters leave to return home with the caravan, sending with them many letters and messages for his children in Moghulistán. One of these letters has passed down from father to son, into my possession, for it had always been carefully preserved in our family. In short, the Amir and his wife started for Medina, unencumbered, making an Arab go in front to guide them. My father sent me with him too, so I was of the Amir’s party. After a long journey we arrived at Medina. The Amir made the tawáf of the garden of the Prophet (upon whom be the most excellent of prayers), and we passed the night in the house of a dervish. As night came on a

\(^1\) Turah, as we have seen, was another name for the Yásák or Yázíd of Chingiz Khan.
great change manifested itself in the Amir. He called my father
(i.e., Sháh Hussain Barlás) and said to him: ‘Read me the chapter
called Ya-sin;’ when my father came to the verse ‘Mishkum
Balá,’ the Amir expired. We were all astounded at this occur-
rence. With the break of day, many of the nobles and people of
Medina came to the house, asking: ‘Did not some one die here
last night?’ and when we told them, they began to condole with
us, and said: ‘We have this night seen the Prophet in our sleep,
and he said to us: a guest has come to me to-night; he had made
a very long journey to visit me, and he has died here during the
night: bury him at the foot of the tomb of the Commander of the
Faithful, Ósmán.’ Then the Prophet drew a line with the end of
his stick. As soon as we awoke, we went and found that a line
had been drawn there. Happy the man who has been honoured
with such a favour! The nobles of Medina buried the Amir at the
feet of Ósmán, with great honour. On the following night the
wife of the Amir died also, and she was buried near where her
husband had been laid.”

When Sultán Ali Barlás reached this point in his narrative, my
father showed signs of great happiness; whereupon they questioned
him as to the cause of his delight. My father replied: “This
Amir Khudáidád was my grandfather.” Sultán Ali Barlás im-
mediately got up and having embraced my father, said: “What I
have told you is true. But no news of the death of the Amir ever
reached Moghulístán, for on our return journey we settled down
for some time in Irák, and then in Khorásán, and no one brought
the news into Moghulístán. Thanks be to God that I have been
able to give this news to you, and tell you what a noble death
Amir Khudáidád died.”

Moghul tradition says that when Amir Khudáidád went to
Mekka, his rank and titles were given, by Vais Khán, to the Amir’s
oldest son Mir Muhammad Sháh.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE MARTYRDOM OF VAIŚ KHÁN.

A short time after the departure of Amir Khudáidád for Mekka, and
the accession of Mir Muhammed Sháh to his father’s rank and titles,
Vais Khán’s destiny was achieved. It came about in the follow-
ing way. Sátuk Khán—one of those men upon whom Amir
Timúr had conferred the title of Khán—had been placed within
four strong walls in the centre of the town. The place is called
nowadays, in Samarkand, Hiyāt-i-Khán [the walls of the Khán].
It is a large place and each division of it has a separate name.
One of them is the Haouz-i-Bostān-i-Khán [the reservoir of
the Khán’s garden], which is one of the loveliest spots in Samarkand.
In the days of Amir Timur, Yusurghâtmish Khán occupied this
place; he, however, went away to Irâk, and Sultân Mahmûd Khán
was appointed to the Hiyât-i-Khán in his stead. All the mandates
[munshur] of Amir Timur bear the name of these two Khás. So
also the mandates of Mirzá Ulugh Beg bear the name of Sâtuk
Khán. Mirzá Ulugh Beg removed this Sâtuk Khán from the
Hiyât-i-Khán, and put some one else in his place, whom he also
made Khán. He then sent Sâtuk Khán into Moghulistan.

Vais Khán was in Issigh Kul, at Bakâbulung. I have heard
Maulâna Khwâja Ahmad say: “Khwâja Abdul-Karim, my cousin,
who was on very intimate terms with Vais Khán, used to relate
that one Friday, just before the service, Vais Khán, who had
performed his ablutions and had been shaved, came to me and
asked: ‘Of what is my head, in its present state of cleanliness,
worthy?’ I replied: ‘A jewelled crown.’ He said: ‘No, it is
worthy of martyrdom.’ He had scarce uttered these words when
a messenger came running up, to say that Sâtuk Khán had arrived.
Vais Khán immediately ordered them to sound the drums, while
he himself began to put on his armour. The men who were near
at hand quickly gathered round him, and they set out to meet the
enemy. There was a stream running between them. When the
two forces came in contact, the Khán himself charged forward, and
wished to make his horse jump the stream, but the horse sank up
to his head [in the mud] on the bank of the river. One of the
servants of Mir Muhammad Shâh (Jâkir by name) was such a
good archer that he had not a single rival in the whole tribe, and
for this reason the Khán had begged him of Mir Muhammad Shâh,
for his own service. At the moment when the Khán fell from his
horse, Jâkir arrived on the spot, and mistaking the Khán for one
of the enemy, aimed an arrow at the waist of the Khán, who on
being struck rolled over on his back. Then Jâkir recognised the
Khán, and threw himself upon him. When the news reached

1 Perhaps, better, the Enclosure, or Garden of the Khán.
2 This name usually stands Suyurghâtmish. His nominal reign dates from
1389 to 1388, and that of Mahmûd from 1388 to 1398. (See S. L. Poole’s
Muhâm. Dynast., p. 268.) They were both puppets set up by Timur, and what
Mirza Haidar briefly relates of them here, shows how they were treated by
the great Amir.
3 Or Yakhâmulung: but the Turki MS. does not mention the place. There are
two rivers called Bâkâbulân in Moghulistan, on Ritter and Oetzl’s map, but
neither is near Issigh Kul. One is some distance to the north-west of the lake,
and the other a tributary of the lower Chu. The name of Kâbulân occurs on
the east shore of the lake, and though less like the word in the text than is
Bâkâbulân, it may represent the spot mentioned by the author.
4 Probably “ran to his aid” is intended.
Sátuk Khán, he set out for the spot and, on his arrival, lay the Khan’s head upon his breast, but the last breath of life had fled."

The Moghul tribe were in the greatest disorder and, moreover, refused to obey Sátuk Khán; so that this latter could no longer remain in Moghulistán, but retired to Káshghar. Here he was overpowered by Karákul Ahmad Mirzá, who was a grandson of Amir Khudáidád. Soon after this, Mirzá Ulugh Beg sent an army to Káshghar. They seized Karákul Ahmad Mirzá and carried him off to Samarkand, where they cut him in half.

CHAPTER XXXV.

RUIN OF [THE PARTY OF] IRÁZÁN AFTER THE DEATH OF VAIS KHÁN.¹

After the death of Vais Khán, the tribe of the Moghuls fell into great disorder. But they became more tranquil when they learnt the news of the death of Sátuk Khán. Vais Khán left two sons, Yunus Khán and Isán Bughá Khán. Yunus Khán was the elder, and [at his father’s death] was thirteen years of age. There arose a dispute among the princes [as to who should succeed]. There were two men named Irázán Bárin and Mirák Turkomán, who had first of all been in the service of Amir Khudáidád, and afterwards in that of his son Mir Muhammad Sháh; but at the death of Vais Khán, these two men had separated themselves from Mir Muhammad Khan [Sháh?], by force of arms, and having attached themselves to Yunus Khán, began to stir up rebellion in his favour; while the rest of the people were on the side of Isán Bughá. But as most of the generals were on the side of Isán Bughá Khán, it became impossible for the party of Yunus to remain in Moghulistán. So Irázán and Mirák Turkomán, together with thirty thousand households and Yunus Khán, set out for Samarkand, while Isán Bughá Khán and the rest of the Moghuls remained in Moghulistán.

¹ The *Viráni of Irázán seems to have been a long-remembered event among the Moghuls. The word may mean ruin, devastation, or calamity, also expulsion, dispersion, etc. In reality it was the party of Irázán Bárin that was ruined and expelled, though the calamity fell on the Moghul tribe generally, and more especially, perhaps, on their chiefs, a number of whom were massacred. Baber mentions the matter in his *Memoirs*. He says three or four thousand families accompanied Irázán and Mirák, when these two carried the young Khan off to Samarkand. Ulugh Beg gave them a bad reception, imprisoning some and dispersing the rest in all directions: "so that the Dispersion of the Irázán has become an era among the Moghuls." (*Memoirs*, p. 11.)
CHAPTER XXXVI.

RECEPTION OF YUNUS KHÁN AND IRÁZÁN, IN SAMARKAND, BY MIRZÁ ULUGH BEG.

When Mirzá Ulugh Beg heard of the approach of Irázán Bárin and Mirák Turkomán, he set out from Samarkand to meet them. On their arrival, he promised to supply them with provisions, and said: "Every household must come into the fort separately, where the members will have their names written down, each Moghul will receive an ass's load of provisions and then pass on." Thus, hopeful of supplies, the people entered, but when they arrived at another door they were obliged to wait. Then their chiefs were killed and the rest of them were taken prisoners. Of all that entered the fort no one came out again to tell his story. Mirzá Ulugh Beg finished this business in a few days, and then despatched Yunus Khá́n, with a fifth of the spoil, to his father Mirzá Sháh Rukh. The Khá́n was kindly treated—more like a son than a prisoner. He was sent to Maulá́ná Sharaf-ud-Din Yazdí, that under him he might continue his studies. Many of the Maulá́ná's verses and Kassidas are dedicated to the Khá́n.

He spent altogether twelve years with the Maulá́ná, in the acquirement of science and letters. In fact, as long as the Maulá́ná lived he remained with him, but on the death of the latter, he quitted Yazd and made a journey through Irák, Arabia and Fárs. He was twenty-four when the Maulá́ná died, and he returned to Moghulístán, as pándisháh, at the age of forty-one, as will be mentioned below (if God will).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

KHÁ’NSHIP OF ISÁN BUGHÁ’ Khá́N, SON OF VAIS Khá́N, AFTER THE RUIN OF IRÁZÁN.

After Mirák Turkomán and Irázán had carried off Yunus Khá́n to Samarkand, the whole of Moghulístán became subject to Isáń Bughá Khá́n: all the Amírs offered to serve him, and thus the affairs of the Khá́n made great progress. Amir Sayyid Ali was untiring in his efforts to help the Khá́n, and as soon as the latter was firmly established on the throne, Amir Sayyid Ali begged him
for permission to go to Káshghar. For, as I have already related, Khwája Sharif of Káshghar had given that place to Ulugh Beg Mirzá, and had expelled Mir Sayyid Ahmad, the father of Amir Sayyid Ali. Mirzá Ulugh Beg had, in the first place, appointed Amir Sultán Malík Duládái to be Governor of Káshghar, and after him Háji Muhammad Sháyistah, and after him Pir Muhammad Barláš.

Amir Sayyid Ali pointed out that it was a very fitting opportunity for him to go to Káshghar, and added: “I will see if I cannot restore to our family its old possession, of which for forty years it has been deprived. If I fail I shall merit your scorn.” The Khán thereupon gave his consent.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

AMIR SAYYID ALI’S EXPEDITION TO, AND REDUCTION OF, KÁSHGHAR.

At this time, the greater part of Mangálái Suyah was under the administration of the Dughláts. But Andiján and Káshghar had fallen to the government of Samarkand; while Issígh Kul, from the numerous vicissitudes to which it had been exposed, was sinking into disruption; the rest of the country, however, was still in the hands of the Dughláts Amir. Just at this period the brothers and cousins of Amir Sayyid Ali were [governing] in Aksu, Kus and Báí. Amir Sayyid Ali came to Aksu, and leaving his family there, proceeded to Káshghar. When the Amir arrived in Aksu, a great conflict arose between himself and his two brothers, Munin Mirzá and Sayyid Mahmud Mirzá. The Amir came off victor, in the end, after having killed many of his relations. About this matter there are many conflicting traditions. It appears, at all events, that he first got the upper hand of his relatives and then set out for Káshghar. He had 7000 men in his following. When he arrived within the territory of Káshghar, Háji Muhammad Sháyistah repaired to a place called Uch Barkhán, which is about three farsákhhs distant from Káshghar, to oppose him, with 30,000 cavalry and infantry. But at the first attack of the Amir, Háji Muhammad Sháyistah took flight. The Moghuls started, in hot haste, after the Chaghatáí, who in order to gain greater freedom in their flight, threw aside their armour before the enemy were able to overtake them, and uttered cries of distress. For this reason the battle was called “Saláí Begum,” that is to say, “Mir-i-man biandázam,” or “I throw down my Mir.” This was one
of the most famous battles ever fought in that country, and formed an epoch in its history. The people of Kásghar enabled the fugitives to creep into the citadel, while the Amir laid waste and pillaged all without, and then departed with the spoil.

The following year, when the corn was ripe, the Amir returned, and no one dared to leave the city. Háji Muhammad Sháyistáh fortified himself in the citadel, while the Amir ravaged the whole country round. He laid siege to, and captured, one of the neighbouring fortresses, called Alákú, and again retired.

Then Khwája Sharif went to Samarkand to implore the assistance of Mirzá Ulugh Beg. While he was there, the Mirzá one day asked him: “Are there any donkeys in Kásghar?” Khwája Sharif replied: “Since the Chaghatáí have come, there are a great number of donkeys.” Khwája Sharif took Pir Muhammad Barlás with him to Kásghar, while Mirzá Ulugh Beg withdrew Háji Muhammad Sháyistáh to Samarkand. When Pir Muhammad Barlás arrived in Kásghar, the people gave him the surname [lakab] of Bangi, but they derived no benefits from him,1 and Khwája Sharif began to despair of the Chaghatáí.

When the Amir advanced against Kásghar for the third year in succession, the people of that country addressed a complaint to Khwája Sharif, saying: “We have lost the crops of two successive years; if we lose this year’s crop too, there will be a famine in our country.”

On the Amir’s arrival in Kásghar, the people of that town, having bound Pir Muhammad Barlás, gave him up to the Amir.2 The Amir thereupon divested Pir Muhammad Barlás of his mantle of life, and entered the town of Kásghar, where he administered justice to the people. He governed the country during twenty-four years; and under him the State was so prosperous and happy, that he is talked of to this day. During all this time, the Amir paid so much attention to agriculture and the breeding of cattle and sheep, that when he died, leaving three sons and two daughters, one of his sons, Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, my grandfather, received as his share 180,000 sheep.

I once heard from Khwája Fakhruddin, a merchant of noble birth and pleasant of speech, that the Amir occupied himself with hunting during three months, every winter. No one but soldiers were allowed to take part in the royal hunt. But as many soldiers as the Amir was able to provide for, used to join in the party, and during those three months, each one was supplied with meat and flour, which was distributed to them at the different halting-places [manzil]. On some days as many as 5000 sheep were given out,

1 That is: this change of governor did not improve the state of affairs.

2 Lit., as an istibhil—i.e., the present offered to a person of consequence, by those who go out to meet and welcome him on his arrival.—R.
together with a proportionate amount of flour and barley and hay. Some years, 3000 persons were in attendance on the Amir, and each one was supplied with his provisions. The inhabitants of the different villages were always anxious for the Amir to come to stay in their village, and the hunting party, on its arrival, would make them participate in their own store of good things. Fakhruddin used to relate that on one occasion, when they had alighted in our village, which is Artuch, the Amir’s master of the hunt [Mir-shikár] having brought some flour, gave it to a poor woman to bake, promising her, as a wage for her work, one of the six loaves, which were to be made from the flour he had supplied her with; but when the woman brought the loaves, he refused to give her one of them, saying: “I supplied the flour and the wood and the salt; what have you deserved of me?” At that moment the Amir happened to be passing by on horseback. He stopped and asked the woman what her trouble was: the woman laid her complaint before the Amir, who then questioned the master of the hunt. As this latter acknowledged the truth of the poor woman’s story, the Amir said to him: “Why did you not bake your own bread, instead of troubling this woman?” The Amir then sent to a blacksmith’s-shop for some pincers, and caused all the wretched man’s teeth to be drawn from his head. I have repeated this tale as a proof of the Amir’s justice. There are still existing in Kashghar, many sacred edifices and charitable institutions, which were founded by the Amir. During the twenty-four years of his government, many important events occurred, which shall hereafter be related in detail.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE QUARRELS OF ISÁN BUGHÁ KHÁN WITH HIS AMIRS.

When Yunus Khán left the country, the whole tribe submitted to Isán Bughá Khán, and for a few years the country enjoyed repose. The Khán, however, by reason of his youth, was but lightly esteemed by his Amirs. One of the Amirs, a certain Timur of the Uighur tribe of Turfán, had enjoyed the special favour of the young Khán; the other Amirs being annoyed at his elevation, and at the small degree of attention they themselves received, could no longer contain their wrath, and one day, in the

1 No doubt Artuch, or Altun Artuch, on the spurs of the hills, one short march north of Kashghar—a favourite summer resort of the townspeople.
presence of the Khán, seized the unfortunate man and cut him in pieces. After this there was a division among the Amirs, and the Khán, much alarmed at what had taken place, fled.

When this news reached Amir Sayyid Ali in Káshghar, he at once set out for Moghulistán. He found the Khán at Ak Kabás, and, accompanied by a few men, carried him off to Aksu, of which town he made him governor.

Meanwhile the Moghul Amirs were acting each in his own way. Mir Muhammad Sháh had taken up his abode in Atbáshi, but after some correspondence and promises of friendship, between himself and his nephew Amir Sayyid Ali, he joined the Khán in Aksu; he was beloved and esteemed to the end of his life.

Another was Mir Karim Bardi, who was also a Dughlát. He built a fort on the frontier of Moghulistán, on the side of Andiján and Farghána. It stood on the summit of a hillock at a place called Alábughá, and its ruins are still to be seen. He spent his time in ravaging and plundering Andiján and the Musulmáns.

Mir Hakk Bardi Begijik went to dwell in a place called Kui Sui, which is in Issigh Kul. Here he built a fort, and put his wives and family on the island in Issigh Kul, that they might be

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1 This appears to mean that Kui Sui was the name of the island. There are now no islands in Issigh Kul, but the name of Koi-Su is found, on some maps, among those of some small rivers discharging into the eastern end of the lake. Kostenko tells us that although no islands exist, there are numerous shoals in its waters, and since there is every reason to believe that the level of the lake has altered within historic times, it is possible that some of these shoals may have been above the surface four hundred years ago. He points to some evidences of the lake having fallen rather than risen, but he is speaking of geological periods in one instance, and of a statement of the local Kirghiz, that the water has subsided “during the last ten years,” in another. Mr. Schuyler gives a good account of the lake and comes to a different conclusion. He writes: “Lake Issik-Kul, which is a large body of water, 120 miles long by 33 wide, has at present no outlet. Its shores, however, afford indubitable evidence of numerous elevations and depressions.” He admits that “at one time” the water may have reached the bases of the mountains 100 feet above its present level, but adds (in another place): “the fact that ruins are visible under the water would seem to show either a subsidence of the soil, or that the lake is higher than it once was.” He relates that “diamond-shaped tiles, some plain red, others covered with a blue glaze, have been obtained partly from the lake and partly from ruins, ploughed up by the peasants. At a place on the northern side of the lake called Koroi-Saroi, and in two places at the eastern end, remains of submerged cities are still to be seen a few feet under water. Many objects have been found here, some thrown up by the waves and others fished out of the water, chiefly broken pottery and pieces of metallic vessels.” He mentions the discovery of two ornamented copper kettles, a lamp bearing an inscription in an unknown alphabet, etc., and continues: “These ruins have never been carefullly investigated, but in 1889 General Kolpakofsky examined some of them, and says that between the mouths of the streams 2nd and 3rd Koi-Su, at seven feet from the shore and at a depth of three feet, there are visible traces of brick walls which go parallel to each other at a distance of a few feet until the depth of the lake prevents their being seen. He also saw a large stone, on which was carved the representation of a human face, and which he succeeded in getting out of the water. Subsequent observers, who had succeeded in rigging out a boat, assured me that especially near the river Tub, on a clear day, they could see the remains of buildings.”
safe from the attacks of the Kalmaks. Having done this, he went forth to lay waste Turkistan and Sairam. The Amirs of Jaras and of the tribe of Barin went to join Amasani Taishi, son of Isan Taishi, who was [chief] in the land of the Kalmaks, while Kaluji and Balghaji and several families joined Abulkhair Khan in Turkistan. The Amirs of Kunji and several others wandered, in confusion and disorder, over the desert plains of Moghulistan.

But when Isan Bughah Khan had become firmly established in Aksu, first of all Mir Muhammad Shah came to him [and submitted], and after that, others returned to him in numbers. The Khan, too, repenting of his former deeds, began to treat his people with great kindness. As soon as he had regained complete authority, he made a simultaneous attack upon Sairam, Turkistan and Tashkand, and having devastated these countries, returned home. This expedition took place before the year 855 of the Hajra [1451]. A second time also, he made a similar foray into this country. At that time Sultán Abu Said Mirzá was pâdíshâh of Mavara-un-Nahr. He pursued the Khan and overtook him in Yangi, which in books of history is called Taráz. The Moghuls

Issig-Kul means warm lake, and is the equivalent of the Chinese Jue-hai. Other Chinese names are Yen-hai, salt lake (for the water is brackish), and Tsing-hai, or clear lake. By the Kirghiz it is sometimes called Tsu-Kul, meaning ‘salt lake,’ and by the Kalmaks Timurtu Nor, or ‘iron lake,’ on account of the ferruginous sand found on its shores. Schuyler remarks that old Chinese maps place the city of Chi-gu on the shores of Issig-Kul, while the Catalan map of 1375 (as noted already) marks on the southern shore, a Nestorian monastery containing the bones of St. Matthew. Bretschneider mentions a curious statement found in the work of Arab Shah, who reports that Amir Timur, in 1403, banished a Tartar tribe (the Kara Tatar) from Asia Minor “to the fortress Dowaiera, which was situated in the middle of the lake called Issicoul. This lake, he says, was at the boundary between the dominions of Timur and Moghulistan.” The passage is apparently taken from Péris’ translation of the Zafar-Nama, or Hist. of Timur Boc. Thus two native authors, writing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively, mention islands in Lake Issigh-Kul. (See Kostenko, Turkistan, English tr., i., pp. 155-6; Schuyler, i., p. 54; ii., pp. 129-31; Bretschneider, ii., pp. 244-5.)

1 Taishi was the title by which Kalmak chiefs were designated, and from the combination Khán-Taishi, the word Contaish, used by early European writers for a Kalmak king, is said to be derived. The statement made by the author that “Amasanji Taishi was in the land of the Kalmaks,” contains, probably, an omission of the word chief or some equivalent of it. It should probably read: “Amasanji Taishi was chief in the land.”

2 Abulkhair was the chief of the Uzbek in and about the plains of Kipchak, Mavara-un-Nahr, and Turkistan, and grandfather of the famous Shalbani, or Shahi Beg, Khan. He died 1469.

3 This is the second time that Mirza Haidar gives an equivalent for Taráz, which may be read in several different ways, as for instance Yangi, Maniki, Masiki, Batiki, etc. It is more than probable that Yangi is intended, but Erskine, when preparing his Hist. of Indie, seems to have read, in this place, Massiki. He notes that Baber refers to the event mentioned in the text, thus: “Baber says that Abu Said advanced beyond Yangi, and gave Isanbugha a severe defeat at a town in Moghulistan called Aspera. (Mem., pp. 11, 12.) Mirza Haidar makes him overtake the Khan at Masiki, in books called Taraz... Otrar is known by the names of Taraz, Yangi (or Yangi Kent), and, it would appear, of Masiki.” Baber does say, on the first page of his Mémoires, that “in
fled without offering battle, and Sultān Abu Said Mirzā returned to his own country [Mávará-un-Nahr]; but when he had taken

former times” there was a city called Yangi, “known in books of history by the name of Otrār,” but he adds that in his own time it was in ruins and depopulated. Quatremeré also took Tārāz to be another name for Otrār, because the latter had at one time borne the name of Yangi. But there are, and have been at all times, many towns of the name of Yangi, or Neo, either used alone or combined with Kand, Hisar, Shahr, etc., just as we have everywhere in England, Newton, Newport, Newcastle, etc. Indeed, in most countries the adjective “new” is one of the commonest parts of place-names.

Tārāz, as we have seen in note 1, p. 63, was without doubt situated on the Talas river, probably at or near the modern Aulia-Ata, and would therefore have stood about one hundred and sixty miles, in direct distance, to the eastward of Otrār. Thus the only inference is, that two places of the same name are spoken of by some of the Oriental writers. There was indeed a third in this particular region, for Mr. Lorch, in 1867, explored and made us acquainted with the ruins of an ancient Yangi, or Yangi-Kand on the Shihun, some distance below Otrār.

As regards Baber’s Yangi, mentioned in reference to the pursuit of the Moghuls by Abu Said, it is obvious that neither of those on the Shihun can be indicated, for we are clearly told (1) that the Moghuls were flying towards their own country, and (2) that they were defeated at Asparah. If they had passed by Otrār, they would not have been going in the direction of Moghulistan, and there is no Asparah in that direction. In order to retreat to Moghulistan, on the other hand, they must necessarily have passed by, or near, Tārāz, while beyond that place they would have come to Asparah. Thus there is, I think, sufficient evidence to identify the Yangi, or Yangi-Kand, of Mirza Haidar with Tārāz, and to regard the Masiki of Erskine as a mere misreading of the text he used. Moreover, it seems possible that he may have been misled into this reading through the frequent mentions by Baber, in his Memoirs, of a place which he writes Masikha. Although, as Erskine himself has shown in his map, it is an entirely different place, and should never be confused with his Masiki or Yangi, still the writing in the original text may have misled him.

But if Erskine read Masiki as an equivalent for Tārāz he is not singular, for Quatremeré thought that the original of Haidar Rāzi might possibly be read in the same, or nearly the same, way. Thus he translates the “meadows of Talas and Kentchek which are vulgarly called Meski and Taras”; though he notes that perhaps the word Meski may stand for Yangi. This, however, is only a question of reading the texts—not of the identification of the places—and an inspection of the text of Haidar Rāzi, would probably show that the word was written in the same way as Mirza Haidar has written it.

Farther on, in this history, we shall see that Mirza Haidar again refers to Tārāz as a city mentioned in books, where “it is written that the Moghula call Tārāz, Yangi.” Here there is no question of any other reading of the text. He adds that traces of several other ancient towns are found in the same neighbourhood, but that “it is not known which of these old cities was Yangi, or what were the names of the others.” This point may be cleared up by a reference to Quatremeré’s translation of the Masalak Al Abdār (a work of the first half of the fourteenth century), where we are told that from Samarkand to Yangi twenty days’ journey was reckoned, and that the latter city consisted of four towns, separated one from the other by a distance of one “parasang.” Each town had its own particular name, one being named Yendi, the second Yendi-balik, the third Kenchak, and the fourth Talas (or Tārāz). Again, in the Huffet Ikām (Quatremeré) it is said that “Tārāz ... bore also the name of Yangi”; while in the geography of Sādik Ispahānī (Ouseley) we find the two names coupled together thus: “Yangi-Tārāz, a city of Turkistan.” The Arab writer, Mukadasi (according to Sprenger) included Tārāz in a list of towns belonging to the province of Tabijab, which is the ancient name for Sairām, near Chimbent. Istakhri and Idrisi (according to the same authority) make the distance from Samarkand to Tārāz twenty-two and twenty-three days respectively. Ibn Khordudbeh reckons it about five days (twenty-six farsakhs) from Tabijab; while Arab Shah (on Bretschneider’s authority) places it about four days from Sairām (which
Khorásán, he repaired to that country. Isán Bughá Khán went to Andiján, where Mirzá Ali Kuchuk, having been put in command by Mirzá Sultán Abu Said, had fortified the citadel. The Khán had troops enough to enable him to surround the citadel with a triple line of men. He ran mines in every direction. The outer fort was taken. . . . Finally peace was concluded, and many complimentary presents given [pishkash]. The Khán having taken possession of the whole district of Andiján, departed. There are to this day in Káshghar, descendants of the men who were made prisoners in this war, and they are Moghuls.

When Sultán Abu Said Mirzá heard this news, he was at a loss to know how he could put a check on Isán Bughá Khán. For if he advanced into Moghulistán, the Khán would withdraw to the farthest extremities of the country, whither it would be impossible for the army of Samarkand to follow him, and when the army should retreat the Khán would follow after it. Again it was out of the question to be always sending people to oppose him; for Isán Bughá’s strength and numbers generally proved obstacles to the Amirs who were sent.

All this time Mirzá Sultán Abu Said was intent upon an expedition against Irák, but on account of the trouble and annoyance caused him by Isán Bughá Khán, he was not able to carry out his plan of marching into Irák. So he sent to summon Yunus Khán, the elder brother of Isán Bughá Khán, from Irák.

agrees fairly with Khordádbah), though he makes it fifteen only from Samarkand. These distances, except perhaps the last mentioned, would suit well for a position on the Talás river.

On the whole, no further evidence is, I think, needed to demonstrate (1) that Mâsskî, or Masikî, is only a misreading of Yangî; and (2) that Yangî and Taráz were one and the same place and stood on, or about, the same site as the modern Aulia-Ata—though there were several other Yangis in Central Asia. It may be added here that D’Avezac gives some curious variants of the name Yangi Kand or Yangi-Kent, culled from old authors—viz., Ianike, Janekine, Tâkym, Sakine, Sargutt, etc.

(See Baber, pp. 1, 11, 12, 101, 102; Erakine’s Hist., i., p. 47; Yule’s Cathay, p. ccxiii; Schuyler, i., pp. 404, and ii., pp. 120-1; Breteneider, ii., p. 252; Sprenger, pp. 19, 22, 23; Quatremère, Not. et Extr., xiii., pp. 224-26; D’Avezac, Recueil de Voyages, iv., pp. 503 and 513; Sadik Isphahani, p. 56; Howorth, ii., pp. 386 seq.; Thonnelier, Dic. Géogr., pp. 45 seq.)

1 Sultan Abu Said Mirza was great-grandson of Amir Timur, and grandfather of Baber. He was ruler of Mávará-un-Nahr from 1451 to 1468, and at the time spoken of in the text (963 H., or 1459) had also conquered Khorásán and Bâlkh. He was perhaps the most powerful chief then ruling in Central Asia, and his capital, Herat, was famed for its institutions, its architecture and its men of learning.

2 An unintelligible passage of six words occurs here.—R.

3 This is the literal translation of the sentence. The meaning probably is, as Erakine has inserted it in the Introduction to his Hist. (p. 48)—"and they are become perfect Moghuls."

4 This is exactly the difficulty that Timur experienced in dealing with the Moghuls under the leadership of Kamaruddin. Their traditional tactics, as described here, seem alone to have rendered them formidable to their western neighbours.
where, as has been already mentioned, Yunus was living at that time; he then despatched Yunus Khán against Isán Bughá Khán, in order that while the two brothers were engaged in fighting one another, his own country might enjoy a little peace. The Moghul Amirs who had separated from [Isán Bughá] Khán and all those who, having built castles, would not yield obedience to him, the Khán did not oppose in their proceedings, in the hope that they would again return to [their allegiance to] him.

At that time Abulkhair Khán exercised full power in the Dasht-i-Kipchák. He had been at war with the Sultáns of the race of Juji; while Jání Beg Khán and Karáí Khán fled before him into Moghulistán. Isán Bughá Khán received them with great honour, and delivered over to them Kuzí Báshi,¹ which is near Chu, on the western limit of Moghulistán, where they dwelt in peace and content. On the death of Abulkhair Khán the Ulus of the Uzbegs fell into confusion, and constant strife arose among them. Most of them joined the party of Karáí Khán and Jání Beg Khán. They numbered about 200,000 persons, and received the name of Uzbeg-Kazák.² The Kazák Sultáns began to reign in the year 870 [1465–66] (but God knows best), and they continued to enjoy absolute power in the greater part of Uzbegistán, till the year 940 [1533–34 a.d.]. Karáí Khán was succeeded by Baranduk Khán, who was in turn succeeded by Kásim Khán, the son of Jání Beg Khán. Kásim Khán subdued the whole of the Dasht-i-Kipchák. His army numbered more than a million [a thousand thousand] men. Excepting Juji Khán, there had never reigned a greater Khán than he in that country. He was succeeded by his son Mímásh Khán, who was succeeded by his brother Tahir Khán. During the rule of this Tahir Khán, the Kazáks began to diminish; after him his brother Birlásh reigned. During his rule there were only 20,000 Kazáks left. In 940 he died, and the Kazáks disappeared entirely. From the days of Isán Bughá Khán to the time of Rashid Khán,³ friendly relations generally existed between the Moghuls and the Kazáks. But Rashid Sultán upset this state of affairs, as will be related (God willing) in the account I shall give of Rashid Khán.

¹ Another reading of this name is Jud Kuzí Báshi. It is not traceable on modern maps.

² This brief statement is valuable, as showing not only how this particular tribe came into existence, but, generally, how a new tribe with a new name may arise from mere local circumstances and passing events. For some remarks on this particular event and on the passages which follow, see note 1, p. 272, and Howorth, ii., p. 6.

³ Isán Bughá reigned from 832 to 866 H. (or 1429–62 a.d.). Rashid’s reign dates from the end of 939 H., or 1533, and lasted till 973 H., or 1565–6; but the alienation of the Kazáks took place in the early years of his rule. Thus the alliance continued for about a hundred years. Regarding the author’s statement that the Kazáks “disappeared entirely” from about the year 940 H. (1533), see note 1, p. 272, and Sec. vi. of the Introduction.