

HISTORY OF INDIA,

AS TOLD

BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

EDITED FROM THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

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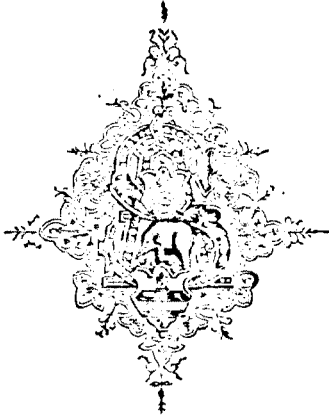
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STEPHEN AUSTIN



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PREFACE.

IN this volume the history of Muhammadan rule in India is commenced. The first volume was, from the nature of the materials, introductory in its character; this opens with the accounts of the earliest inroads of the Ghaznvide conquerors. The copious extracts which it brings together from the oldest and most approved of the native historians supply ample means for tracing the rise and progress of that power which was destined to bring the whole peninsula under its sway, and to stand for seven centuries a conspicuous and brilliant example of the strength and weakness, the crimes, vices, and occasional virtues of Musulmán despotism.

The history is here carried down to the year 1260 A.D., embracing the consecutive annals of the Ghaznvides, the Ghorians, and the Slave Kings, as far as the end of the reign of Násiru-d dín. The lives of the other Slave Kings will be drawn from the *Tárikh-i Firoz Sháhí* of Zíáu-d dín Barní, which, as its name implies, is a work more particularly devoted to the reign of Firoz

Sháh, and must, from the date of its composition, occupy a place in the next volume.

The portion of history over which this volume extends may be considered as nearly complete, though some scattered notices of the period embraced will be drawn occasionally from later writers, and Khondamír's account of the Ghaznivides will appear hereafter as the principal extract from the *Habíbu-s Siyar*.

Since the publication of the first volume of this edition, some animadversions have appeared in print upon the absence of any recognition of the assistance rendered to Sir H. M. Elliot in the preparation of the materials for this work; and one or two special claims have been made for acknowledgments of aid contributed and work done. The Editor is informed, by those best acquainted with the circumstances, that Sir H. M. Elliot was especially anxious to acquit himself of all obligation for assistance so rendered to him; but still, care has been and will be taken to acknowledge fully every contribution deserving of notice. It so happened, however, that the whole of the matter in the first volume, with the exception of two anonymous translations, was the work of Sir H. M. Elliot himself, his munshis, or the present Editor.

Sir H. M. Elliot was assisted by many friends, both English and native, in his search for rare works, and

notably by Dr. Sprenger; but at this distance of time it is impossible to do more than make a general acknowledgment of the fact. The notices, bibliographical and biographical, all appear to have been written by Sir H. M. Elliot himself, with the exception of those of the geographers and a few distinguished by brackets, which are the work of the Editor. There remain the translations, and it is in these that the greatest aid was received. Many of the contributed translations are by English officers, both civil and military; and many more by munshis. They differ greatly in merit; some are valuable, others require the Editor's incessant attention from beginning to end,¹ and in two instances it has been found necessary to entirely reject the work done. Under these circumstances, the Editor has resolved to make no general acknowledgment, but to give the translator's name whenever that name carries with it sufficient assurance, or when a translation proves to be accurate, and in want of little or no editorial revision. By this arrangement, the translator will bear the responsibility of his own work; and the extent and value of the aid rendered will be fully understood and appreciated by the reader. In cases of translations which require to be

¹ In pages 70 and 82 will be found two short passages showing the quality of one of these translations—a fair specimen of many others.

checked and amended throughout, no name has been or will be given. The original translator cannot lay claim to the revised work, and there are few who would like their names to appear as the authors of translations obnoxious to correction.

To set this question entirely at rest, the Editor here gives a complete list of the translations which appear in the first and in the present volume, with the names of those who are responsible for them. From this it will be seen that no one has any real ground of complaint. The list is confined to the translations, because all else is the work of Sir H. M. Elliot or the Editor, except a few contributions specially and scrupulously recognized where they appear.

VOL. I.

GEOGRAPHERS.

The bibliographical notices are by the Editor, excepting the notice of the *Ashkálu-l Bilád*, No. V., which is chiefly by Sir H. M. Elliot.

- I.—*Salsilatu-t Tawárikh*—Translated from Reinaud's French version by the Editor.
- II. III.—*Ibn Khurdádba* and *Mas'údí*—Translations printed in the old volume revised by Editor.
- IV.—*Istakhrí*—Editor.
- V.—*Ashkálu-l Bilád*—Partially revised by Editor.
- VI.—*Súru-l Buldán*—None.
- VII.—*Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*—The old translation revised after a collation of the various MSS. by the Editor.
- VIII.—*Idrísí*—Translated from Jaubert's French version by the Editor.
- IX.—*Kazwíní*—Editor.

HISTORIANS.

- I.—Mujmalu-t Tawárikh—Sir H. M. E. and the Editor.
 II.—Biládurí—Sir H. M. E. and the Editor.
 III.—Chach-náma—A munshi, revised by the Editor.
 IV.—Ma'súmí—Page 237 to 240 by Sir H. M. E., all the rest
 by Editor.
 V.—Tárikh-i Táhirí—Lt. Perkins.¹
 VI.—Beg-Lár-náma } A munshi, revised by the Editor.
 VII.—Tarkhán-náma }
 VIII.—Tuhfatu-l Kirám—Anonymous, but revised by the Editor
 and found to be accurate.
 Appendix.—Sir H. M. E.; excepting where brackets show the
 Editor's work.

VOL. II.

- I.—Tárikhu-l Hind } Sir H. M. E.
 II.—'Utbi }
 III.—Baihakí—From page 61 to 129 by a munshi, and although
 said to have been revised, it required very extensive cor-
 rection by the Editor; page 129 to 154 by Sir H. M. E.
 IV.—Jání'u-l Hikáyát—A munshi, whose style had been improved
 by an Englishman, but the translation needed a thorough
 revision by the Editor.
 V.—Nízamu-t Tawárikh—Sir H. M. E.
 VI.—Kámilu-t Tawárikh—Editor.
 VII.—Táju-l Ma-ásir—Sir H. M. E.
 VIII.—Tabakát-i Násirí—Page 266 to 359, a munshi, revised and
 sundry long gaps filled up by the Editor; page 360 to 383² by
 the Editor.
 IX.—Jahán-Kushá—Sir H. M. E.

¹ This translation bore no name, but the Editor has reason for believing it to be the work of Lt. Perkins. It was checked by the Editor and found to be very correct.

² Translations of this and of sundry other portions of the *Tabakát-i Násirí* had been made by an English officer; but the Editor, with every desire to make use of them and save himself labour, was obliged to reject them. Prefixed to the translations were the following notes, the later one written after Sir H. M. Elliot's death. These of themselves will show that no harsh judgment has been exercised:—

“This translation is imperfect. By allowing myself great latitude in guessing at the author's meaning, supplying words, sometimes whole passages, I have succeeded in making it appear a somewhat connected narrative. Had I marked in the margin

APPENDIX.

The various Notes are the work of Sir H. M. Elliot, excepting where the brackets show the Editor's additions, or special references are made to the sources of information, as in Notes B. and E.

Note C.—The translations of the extracts were made by munshis, and have been revised by the Editor.

Note F.—Majma'i Wasáyá—A munshi, unrevised.

Nigáristán,
Zínatu-l Majális, } A munshi, revised by the Editor.

Note G.—Mir-át-i Mas'údí—Translated by R. B. Chapman, Esq., B.C.S.

Note H.—Extracts translated by Sir H. M. E.

all the passages which were doubtful, I find I should have to mark the whole translation almost; I have therefore only marked those which are more especially obscure, and when the meaning appeared to be of more than usual importance.

"N.B.—This translation was done and the remarks in the margin made under the impression that it would be looked over by Sir H. M. Elliot."

 PORTRAIT.

The Portrait prefixed to this volume has been copied from a sketch made by an amateur on the occasion of one of Lord Dalhousie's official receptions. As chance would have it, this is the only likeness of Sir Henry Elliot extant, otherwise, neither the formal costume nor the profile face would have recommended themselves as best calculated to convey an effective representation of the author.

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ERRATA.

- Page 76, line 3 from the bottom, substitute "Manjurán" for "the wine-drinkers (mai-khurán)."—A subsequent passage shows the true reading.
- Page 129.—For "July, 1033" read "July, 1034."
- " 157.—For "(This last contains only) *the first two kisms*," substitute
" — part of the first kism as far as Chapter 25, where it ends abruptly."
- " 204.—For No. "IV." read "V."
- " 249.—To note add, "See Vol. I. p. 445."
- " 276.—In note 2, for "words" read "word"
- " 485.—For Appendix "E" read "F."

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

The Hindú Kings of Kábul.

Abú Rihán al Birúni has the following statement respecting this dynasty in his lately discovered Arabic work, entitled *Tárikhu-l-Hind*: —

“Kábul was formerly governed by princes of Turk lineage. It is said that they were originally from Tibet. The first of them was named Barhtigin, * * * * and the kingdom continued with his children for sixty generations. * * * * The last of them was a Katormán, and his minister was Kalar, a Bráhman. This minister was favoured by fortune, and he found in the earth treasures which augmented his power. Fortune at the same time turned her back upon his master. The Katormán's thoughts and actions were evil, so that many complaints reached the minister, who loaded him with chains, and imprisoned him for his correction. In the end the minister yielded to the temptation of becoming sole master, and he had wealth sufficient to remove all obstacles. So he established himself on the throne. After him reigned the Bráhman(s) Samand, then Kamlúa, then Blím, then Jaipál, then Anandpál, then Nardajanpál, who was killed in A.H. 412. His son, Bhimpál, succeeded him, after the lapse of five years, and under him the sovereignty of Hind became extinct, and no descendant remained to light a fire on the hearth. These princes, notwithstanding the extent of their dominions, were endowed with excellent qualities, faithful to their engagements, and gracious towards their inferiors. The letter which Anandpál wrote to Amir Mahmúd, at the time enmity existed between them, is much to be admired. ‘I have heard that the

¹ [The *Fragments, Arabes et Persans*, were published in 1845; and this note must have been written by Sir H. Elliot soon after.]

Turks have invaded your dominions, and have spread over Khurásán; if you desire it, I will join you with 5,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and 100 elephants, but if you prefer it, I will send my son with twice the number. In making this proposal, I do not wish to ingratiate myself with you. Though I have vanquished you, I do not desire that any one else but myself should obtain the ascendancy.' This prince was a determined enemy of the Musulmáns from the time that his son, Nardajanpál, was taken prisoner; but his son was, on the contrary, well-disposed towards them."

The publication of this extract by M. Reinaud has excited considerable discussion, and has given rise to some ingenious remarks and comments by those interested in this period of history, in which we have a series of names recorded, which add nearly a century to the barren annals of India previous to the Muhammadan conquest. A paper by Mr. E. Thomas, of the Bengal Civil Service, published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX. p. 177, is especially valuable, as in it he has endeavoured to trace the names of these particular kings upon a series of coins denominated Rájput, of the bull and horseman type, and hitherto doubtfully ascribed to periods extending from A.D. 1000 to 1200. I shall avail myself freely of his remarks, though I am not prepared to coincide in his conclusions, for taking into consideration the difficulty of identifying Hindi names in Arabic manuscripts, in which ignorance and carelessness give rise to every imaginable kind of error, he has endeavoured to correct the Arabic from the unquestionable record of the coins themselves, which have hitherto existed without the ascription of a kingdom and a date, and "instead of applying coins to kings, to apply the kings to their own coins." It may easily be supposed that this principle gives too great a license to speculation, and it will appear in the sequel that very few of the attempted identifications can be admitted without question.

Before we examine these names in detail, it will be necessary to make a few general remarks on the subject of these Turks, and especially respecting Kanak, the most celebrated of them.

First of all, it admits of great question what particular position in the series of Kábul Turkish kings this Kanak occupied. M. Reinaud both in his translation of Al Bírúni in *Fragments Arabes*, and his

Mémoire sur l'Inde, considers him to be the great Kanika or Kanishka of the Buddhists, and it is respecting this Kanak that the anecdote is related which will be found in this work, Vol. II. p. 10. Mr. Thomas, trusting to translations or abstracts of Al Birúni, makes Kanak the last of the Turkish kings, and the immediate predecessor of the Brahmin Samand; but as the existence of the great Kanak who opposed the Ráf of Kanauj is not to be disputed, he must consider that the last of the Turks was a second Kanak.

This point requires further consideration, and we must consider what our several authorities say concerning it. The passage in the first line of the extract which I have translated thus, "The last of them was a Katormán," is in the original Arabic of Al Birúni—

وكان اخرهم لكتوزمان

which M. Reinaud translates, "The last of them (the Turks) was Laktouzémán," which is certainly correct, provided the reading is admitted to be so; but Mr. Thomas, after examining various copies of the *Jámi'ut tawárikh* and *Binákiti*—the former of which is a translation, and the latter an abridgement of Al Birúni's account, finds great reason to dispute it, and leans altogether to another interpretation. He finds the following in an excellent Arabic version of the *Jámi'*, in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society—

ورجع كنگك الي ورايته وهو آخر ملوك كتورمان

"and Kanak returned to his country, and he was the last of the Katormán kings."

The corresponding passage in the Persian *Jámi'* in the British Museum is—

وكنك بلولايت خود معاودت كرد و آخرين بادشاهان كتورمان بود
Binákiti has the following—

و بعد از و كنگك و او آخرين بادشاهان كتورمان بود

"and after him was Kanak, and he was the last of the Katormán kings."

All the copies of *Binákiti* which I have seen concur in this reading, and of three several copies of the Persian *Jámi'ut tawárikh*

which I have examined, two are in conformity with the extract given above, with the exception of reading Katoriyán for Katormán, and a third has—

بعد از باسديو از جمله ملوك ايشان يكي كنگت بوده و ان آخرين
بادشاهان كيورمان بوده است

“after Básdeo from among their rulers (*i.e.*, of the Indians), one was Kanak, and he was the last of the Kayormán kings.”

The omission of all notice of the Kábul Turkish dynasty, and the making Kanak succeed Básdeo, and the Brahmans succeed Kanak, without any notice or allusion to there being intermediate kings, is a culpable omission on the part of Rashídu-d dín and Binákítí. The making Kanak the last of the Turkish dynasty does not seem authorized by the only original of Al Birúní's *Tárikhu-l Hind* which we possess, and Rashídu-d dín must have had other copies or other works to have authorized him to make this statement. M. Reinaud (*Mem.* 30) considers that he has used some other work of Al Birúní's which has not come down to us, but this may reasonably be doubted.

M. Reinaud altogether ignores these readings of the manuscripts consulted by Mr. Thomas, and merely observes upon them, “On a vu ci-devant, que le vizir de Perse Raschid-eddin, avait, dans son Histoire des Mongols, mis à contribution un écrit d'Albyrouny autre que celui-ci, et que ne nous est point parvenu. Malheureusement, les manuscrits de l'ouvrage de Raschid-ed din diffèrent entre eux : au lieu de *Laktouzeman*, ils portent *Katourman*, et on ne distingue pas bien s'il s'agit là d'un prince ou d'un pays.” Notwithstanding this, I have been given to understand by those who have seen the original manuscript of the *Tárikhu-l Hind*, that even that bears a closer resemblance to *Katourman* than *Laktouzeman*.¹ Taking all circumstances into consideration, I am disposed to get rid of the name of *Laktouzeman* from the *Tárikhu-l Hind*, and to substitute for it, by two slight changes in the original, al Katormán, which repre-

¹ [The name occurs only twice in Reinaud's printed extract. In the first instance, it is given as quoted above, but in the second it is لكتوزمان *Laktúrzamán*. See *Fragments*, p. 135.]

seats the name of a tribe, or prince of that tribe, as well as the name of the country in which that tribe resided. I have therefore translated the disputed line, "The last of them was a Katormán."

Let us now enter upon some of the considerations which this name suggests.

The Katormáns, or Kators, have hitherto been better known to modern than ancient history. We are informed that it was the name of one of the tribes of Káfiristán,¹ and that the ruler of Chitral to this day bears the title of Sháh Kator,² and I have heard the same designation given to the chief of Gilgit. The country of Kator is also spoken of by Sádik Isfaháni, as being the country of the Siyáh-poshes, or black-vested, on the borders of Kábul.³

These Kators boast still of their Grecian lineage, and their claim to this honour is by no means, as many have supposed, of modern origin, attributable to our own enquiries after the descendants of the followers of the Macedonian conqueror.⁴

We find at the period of Timur's invasion of India, the Katorians making themselves conspicuous for their opposition to that monarch. After leaving Inderáb he entered their difficult country by way of Kháwah, and after an expedition of eighteen days reduced them to submission. As we thus have proof that this country and people were called by the name of Kator at so early a period, it seems probable that the Kators whom we read of in Abú-l Fazl Baihaki are no other than the descendants of the dynasty we have been considering, and that the Ghaznvide sovereigns organized them among their troops, as we know from the *Tárikh-i Yamini* that Mahmúd was in the practice of doing with conquered nations, as exemplified in his treatment of the Khiljis, Afgháns, and Indians. It is evident from the extracts given in this work from the *Tabakát-i Akbari* and the *Tárikh-i Mas'údi*, that a body of Kator troops was kept in pay, and that the Tilak mentioned therein was the commander of these foreign troops,

¹ Elphinstone's *Kabul*, vol. ii. pp. 376, 387.

² Barne's *Bakhara*, vol. ii. p. 269; and *Journal A. S. Bengal*, vol. vii. p. 331.

³ *Takwimu-i-buldán*, p. 127.

⁴ [For other references to the Kators, see *Thomas's Prinsop*, I. 314. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* III. 890, 1176. Masson's *Narrative*, I. 193. Vigne, *Ghazni*, etc., p. 235. Trumpp, in *Journ. R. A. S.* xix. 1. *Jour. des Sav.* Vol. V., 1855, where M. Viv. de St. Martin attempts to identify them with the Cadru-ii of Pliny VI. xxiii.]

which were rated as Indian, he being in one passage spoken of as commander of the Indians, in another of the Kator troops. It opens a very interesting subject of investigation to enquire if these Kators have no memorials of themselves in India. The identity of name and the period of the establishment of the Kators in Kumáun appear to render it probable that we have in them the descendants of those Kators who fought under the banners of the first Muhammadan conquerors.

A curious coincidence of names seems worth noticing in this place. It will be observed that Al Birúni makes the Turk kings of Kábul come from the mountains of Tibet, and Grecian and Chinese authors concur in saying that in the first years of the Christian era the valley of the Indus and some of the neighbouring countries were occupied by a race from Tartary. Ptolemy, Dionysius, and the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, give to the country watered by the Lower Indus the name of Indo-Scythia, and Ptolemy applies the same name to a country at the bottom of the Gulf of Cambay. The Chinese writers inform us that a people of Tatar race named Yue-chi or Yue-tchi crossed the Hindú-kush, and established themselves in Afghánistán. Fa-Hian speaks of these barbarians having occupied, long before his visit to India, the province of Pesháwar.

De Guignes has informed us, after Chinese authors, that the nomade race of Yue-tchi, being driven about the year 160 before Christ from its original seat in the western provinces of China, by another race called Hioung-non, established themselves in Transoxiana, and spread over the countries in that neighbourhood. Abel-Rémusat and Klaproth have also furnished us with further particulars from the same sources. We learn that the Yue-tchi took part in the struggle which took place between the Greek princes of Bactria and the Arsacidan monarchs of Persia, and that they contributed to the downfall of the former. A few years before Christ, the Yue-tchi chief, named Khieou-tsieou-hy, after subjugating the other independent rulers of his own tribe, proclaimed himself king, and conquered the countries situated between the Oxus, Hindú-kush and Little Tibet. His successor, Yan-kao-tchin, penetrated as far as India.

Some time after, the monarch of the Yue-tchi, whom the Chinese

call Ki-to-lo, which Klaproth has converted into Ghidor, descended to the south of the Hindú-kush "in following the valley of the Indus" (?), and invaded India on the north. Among other regions he reduced the province of Pesháwar; but being himself compelled to return westward, left the government of the conquered country to his son.¹ M. Reinaud is of opinion² that it is to this Ki-to-lo that Fa-Hian alludes, when he says, "Formerly the king of the Yue-tchi, levied a powerful army, and came to attack the country he was anxious to obtain."

The conquerors, who remained in the valley of Kábul, received the name of the "Little Yue-tchi," while the mass of the nation was designated the "Great Yue-tchi." In these Little Yue-tchi we have the ancestors of our modern Játs, a subject which I may, perhaps, discuss at further length hereafter.

It is impossible not to be struck here with the coincidence of the name of Ki-to-lo with Kitor or Kator, the *l* and the *r* being as usual convertible. Here we seem to have the origin of the name Kitor, the establishment of a prince of that name between Kábul and the Hindú-kush, on the very site of the modern Káfiristán, or land of Siyáh-poshes and the country of Kitor, according to the authorities given above. It is probable that we are to look to one of his descendants for the Katormán, who was the last of the Turkish dynasty; and these united considerations have combined to induce me to adopt the readings to which I have given the preference above.

It is to be observed that Al Birúni asserts the Turkish dynasty of Kábul to have lasted for sixty generations; but we are not to suppose that the crown continued in the same family or tribe, but that they were members of the great Turkish stem of nations, which conveys no more definite notion than the Scythians of the ancients, or the Tartars of the moderns. There may have been Turks of other tribes who ruled in the kingdom, who, whether Sakas, Turushkas, Duráris, Yue-tchis, or Kators, would still be classed under the generic designation of Turks, as the last of the Turks appears to have reigned about A.D. 850. If we allow fourteen years as the

¹ *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*. Tom. i. p. 223. Laidlay's *Translation of Fa-Hian*. *Foe-kow-ki*, p. 81. *Tableaux Historiques d' l'Asie*. p. 134.

² *Mémoires sur l'Inde*, p. 63, from which work the preceding abstract of Yue-tchi history is taken.

average duration of their reigns, we shall find the period of the conquest occurring about the first year of the era of Our Saviour; and if we allow sixteen years as the average duration, we shall exactly bring it to the period of the downfall of the Greco-Bactrian Empire in 125 before Christ.

Here, then, there is reason to suppose that the first monarch of the Turkish dynasty must have been the subverter of the Grecian Empire in the East. He is called by Al Birúni "Barhtigin;" tigin being a common Turkish affix, signifying "the brave," as Alp-tigin, Subuk-tigin. M. Reinaud conjectures that Barb or Barba answers, probably, to the word *pharahatassa*, which Lassen and Wilson have read on certain Greco-Barbarian coins, and to be the same name which the Greeks have converted into Phraates and Phraotes.¹ Al Birúni informs us that the names of these princes were recorded on a piece of silk, which was found in the fort of Nagarkot, when it was taken by the Muhammadans; but that circumstances prevented his fulfilling his anxious desire to examine it.

Al Birúni mentions that Kanak was of the number of these kings, and that he founded the Vihár, or Buddhist monastery at Pesháwar, called after his name even in Al Birúni's time, and which, probably, occupied the site of the present conspicuous building, called the Gor-khattí, at the eastern entrance of that town. The romantic anecdote which he relates of him, and which, probably, has little foundation in truth, will be found among the extracts translated from the *Tárikhu-l Hind*, in this volume.

M. Reinaud considers this Kanak to have reigned a little prior to the commencement of our era, and to be the same as the Kanika or Nika of Fa-Hian; the Kanishka of Hiuén-thsang and the Rájá-tarangini and the Kanerkes of the Greco-Barbarian coins; and General A. Cunningham has formed the same opinion independently with reference to the two first identifications, considering the same monarch to be the Kanika of the Chinese, and the Kanaksen from whom many Rájput families trace their lineage.²

According to Hiuén-thsang, Kanika or Kanishka reigned over

¹ *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 73.

² *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 73; Thomas' *Prinsep*, Index "Kanishka," *Jour. As. Soc.*, Vol. xxiii.

the whole valley of Kábul, the province of Pesháwar, the Panjáb, and Kashmir. He crossed the Hindú-kush and Himalaya, and subjected Tukháristán and Little Tibet. He received the title of the Lord of Jambu-dwípa, which is equivalent to "The Paramount of all India." He was a long time a stranger to the dogmas of Buddhism, and despised the law; until, by chance, he was converted to that faith, and became one of its most zealous disciples and promoters.

The same Chinese author states that he reigned four hundred years after the death of Buddha, which, as it occurred 544 years before our era, would bring it to more than a century before Christ; but as he expresses his dates in round numbers, we cannot rely much upon his precision. We may with more probability look for it a century later, if, at least, he be the same as Kanerkes, for among the coins and other objects bearing his name, which were found in the tope of Manikyála, and which would appear to indicate that that monument was constructed under the reign of that prince, certain Roman medals were also found of the period of Octavius and Antony extending to as low as 83 B.C.¹

The Yue-tchi evidently established themselves in Kábul subsequent to the reign of Kanishka, and probably not long after, for Fa-Hian, about the year 400 A.D., speaks of their occupation of that valley, as if it were a transaction of no recent date. If we assign to Ki-to-lo the date of A.D. 200, we shall have nearly seven hundred years from the first to the last of the Katormán dynasty, during which, probably, other families and other tribes may have intermediately occupied the throne, without entirely subverting the right of the Yue-tchi conquerors of the valley.

The statement of Al Birúni, respecting the occupation of Kábul by the Turks, is in strict conformity with Biláduri and Tabari, and with the brief notices which the other early Arabic historians and geographers have given us respecting that city. They couple it, however, with the curious announcement of an occupation divided between the dominant Turks and subject Hindús. Mr. E. Thomas

¹ M. Raoul-Rochette, *Journal des Savants*, ann. 1836, p. 70. [Thomas' *Prinsep*. I. 150, and Index, v. Manikyála.]

has considered this subject at considerable length in another excellent paper by him, on the Coins of the Ghaznivides.¹

The first in order is Mas'ûdî, who visited the valley of the Indus in 303 A.H. = 915 A.D. He says nothing of the political and religious revolution which we have been considering, by which Brahmans had been substituted for Buddhist Turks. On the contrary, he designates the prince who reigned at Kâbul by the same title as he held when the Arabs penetrated for the first time into those regions.

Istakhrî, who wrote within six years after Mas'ûdî travelled in India, says :—

وكابل لها قنبدز موصوف بالتحصن واليه طريق واحد وفيها المسلمون ولها
الريض بيا الكفار من الهند

“Kâbul has a castle celebrated for its strength, accessible only by one road. In it there are Musulmâns, and it has a town, in which are infidels from Hind.”

Ibn Haukal began his travels in 331 A.H. = 942 A.D., and wrote an account of them thirty five years later. He follows his predecessor implicitly in the main points, but respecting the occupants of the town, the Bodleian copy varies² from the Lucknow one, which bears the name of *Ashkâlu-l Bilâd*. In the former, “Hindû infidels” is converted into “Infidels and Jews.” The latter reads :—

وليس في هذه المدن التي في نواحي بلخ اكثر مالا وتجارة من غزنة
وانها فرضة الهند وكابل لها قلعة حصينه واليه طريق واحد فيها المسلمون
ولها ريض به الكفار من الهند

The statement of Al Bîrûnî, in his *Kânûn-i Ma'sûdî*, written less than a century after this, is :—

قلعه كابل مستقر ملوكهم التترات كانوا ثم البراهمه

Here there is no specification respecting the different occupancy of the castle and town, but nothing to impugn the correctness of what is asserted by Istakhrî and Ibn Haukal. There is no occasion to

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ix. p. 267.

² *Ibid*, p. 266.

quote any of the later geographers, who add nothing to our information, and are careless as well as confused in their statements.

Before concluding this subject of the Turkish occupation of Kábul, the statement of Ibn Khallikán should be noticed, who states in his article on "Ya'kúb bin Lais," that Kábul, in the times of that prince, was inhabited by a Turkish race who appertained to a tribe called *Durári*. This name is new, and the assertion would authorise us to conclude that in his time the Turks were still predominant, though that fact would scarcely seem consistent with what we shall have to advance under *Kamlúa*. It is possible that the term *Durári* may have connection with Darra, a hill pass, and that allusion may be to the country to the north of Kábul, just in the same way as in modern times the inhabitants of those same tracts are styled in Kábul "Kohistánís," or hill-men.

It does not appear when the city was either first or finally subdued by the Muhammadans. It is evident, however, that the first inroads were not followed by permanent occupation, and that there was no entire subversion of the native dynasty till the Ghaznivide dynasty rose to power.

The first invasion we read of was in the time of 'Abdu-llah, governor of 'Irák, on the part of the Khalif 'Usmán. He was directed by the Khalif to send an emissary to explore the provinces of Hind; and notwithstanding a discouraging report, 'Abdu-lla ordered the country of Sijistán to be invaded by one of his cousins, 'Abdu-r Rahman, son of Samra. 'Abdu-r Rahmán advanced to the city of Zaranj, and besieged the Marzabán, or Persian governor, in his palace, on the festival of the 'Id. The governor solicited peace, and submitted to pay a tribute of two millions of dirhams and two thousand slaves. After that, 'Abdu-r Rahmán subdued the country between Zaranj and Kish, which was then styled Indian territory, and the tract between Ar-Rukhaj (Arachosia) and the province of Dáwar—in which latter country he attacked the idolaters in the mountain of Zúr, who sued for peace; and though he had with him 8,000 men, the booty acquired during this incursion was so great, that each man received four thousand pieces of silver as his share. Their idol of Zúr was of gold, and its eyes were two rubies. The zealous Musulmánís cut off its hand and plucked out its eyes, and then

remarked to the Marzabán how powerless was his idol "to do either good or evil." In the same expedition, Bust was taken. After this, 'Abdu-r Rahmán advanced to Zábul, and afterwards, in the time of Mu'áwiya, to Kábul.¹ The year in which this inroad was made is not mentioned, but as 'Abd-ulla was removed from his government in 36 A.H., we may consider it to have taken place about the year 35.

In the year 44 A.H. Muhallab ibn Abú Sufra, whose army chiefly consisted of the tribe of Azd, which was very powerful in Khurásán, and contributed largely to the downfall of the Ummayyides—advanced on the Indian frontier as far as Banna (Banú) and Alahwáz [or "Alahwár" = Lahore?] two places situated between Kábul and Multán. Firishta makes him penetrate as far as Multán, and opens his history by saying he was the first chieftain who spread the banners of the true faith on the plains of Hind. He says he plundered the country and brought back to the head-quarters of the army at Khurásán many prisoners who were compelled to become converts to the faith. Muhallab had been detached from the main army which had invaded

¹ Biládufí, quoted in *Memoirs*, p. 173, and in *Geschichten der Chalifen*, vol. i. Anhang, p. x. *Tarjuma-i Futuhát* of Ahmad bin 'Asmi Kufí.—[I have found two Persian extracts from the *Futuhát* of Ahmad among the papers. They are short and important, so I give translations.—Ed.]

Conquest of Sijistán by 'Abdu-r Rahmán Samrat under the Khalif 'Usmán.—'Abdu-llah, son of 'Amir, wrote for his nephew on the father's side, 'Abdu-r Rahmán Samrat bin Jandab bin 'Abd Shamsh bin 'Abd Sináf, and having fitted out an army for him, sent him to Sijistán. 'Abdu-r. Rahmán led his forces to Zaranj. The people of the city offered battle, and a fierce fight ensued between the opposing parties. The city was taken, and the Musulmán's obtained great spoil, carrying off many captives from Sijistán, and incalculable wealth. 'Abdu-r Rahmán then marched to subdue Kábul.

Conquest of Kábul.—When 'Abdu-r Rahmán came in sight of Kábul, the ruler of the place (Kábul Sháh), who was lame, was in the city. He came out and fought several engagements with the Musulmán's, but retreated into the city, and came forth no more. 'Abdu-r Rahmán besieged it, and remained seated before it, fighting with the garrison for a whole year. He and his soldiers had to endure many hardships during the siege, but at length they carried the place by assault; and when they entered it, they put the fighting men to the sword, and made the women and children prisoners. Kábul Sháh was taken captive, and brought before 'Abdu-r Rahmán; but when he was ordered to be beheaded he turned Mubammadan, and repeated the creed. 'Abdu-r Rahmán treated him with honour and kindness. The plunder and the captives which had been taken in Kábul, Zaranj, and Sijistán, was collected, and a fifth portion was set apart and sent to 'Abdu-llah bin 'Amir, with a report of the conquest of Sijistán and Kábul.]

Kábul from Merv, under 'Abdu-r Rahmán bin Shimar, and had made converts of twelve thousand persons. Muhallab subsequently made himself conspicuous as governor of Alahwár, and exterminator of the Azrakian insurgents, and as a traitor to his master, 'Abdu-llah ibn Zubair, the Khalif of Mecca. He was the ancestor of those chiefs, who, under the name of Muhallabís, often occur in the history of the later members of the Ummaya family, until they were nearly exterminated at Kandábil in 101 H.¹ Gildemeister doubts the truth of this expedition, as Sijistán had not yet been conquered; but he forgets that the Musulmán did not penetrate to India through Sijistán, but through Kábul.

In Biláduri's account of this interesting expedition, there is a curious relation which must not be altogether omitted. He informs us that in the country of Kíkán, Muhallab encountered eighteen Turks, mounted on horses with their tails cut. As they were all killed fighting, Muhallab attributed the activity and valour of "the barbarians" to the fact of their horses' tails being cut. "Upon which he ordered his own horses' tails to be docked; and he was the first amongst the Musulmán who adopted the practice."²

About the same time, 'Abbád, the son of Ziyád, made an incursion on the frontier of India, by way of Sijistán. He went through Rúdbár to the Hindmand (Helmand), and after staying at Kish, he crossed the desert, and reached Kandahár. Although the country was conquered, many Musulmán lost their lives in this expedition.³

Biláduri informs us that under the Khiláfat of Mu'áwiya, 'Abdu-r Rahmán, son of Samrah, penetrated to the city of Kábul, and obtained possession of it after a month's siege. He conquered also the circumjacent countries, especially Ar-Rukhaj (Arachosia). The king of Kábul made an appeal to the warriors of India, and the Musulmán were driven out of Kábul. He recovered all the other conquered countries, and advanced as far as Bust, but on the approach of another

¹ *Egyptii Elnacin Historia Saracenicæ*, ann. 101.

² Biláduri, see Vol. i. p. 116. Briggs, *Furukhta*, vol. i. p. 4. The Chinese authorities seem to allude to this expedition. *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, Tom. xv. p. 474. See also Tom. xvi. p. 372-5. Hammer, *Gemüdeaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, vol. ii. p. 9.

³ Biláduri, ut supra. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. i. p. 292.

Musulmán army, he submitted, and engaged to pay an annual tribute.¹

The Kábuls subsequently profited by the contests which distracted the Khiláfat, and the tribute was withheld; but in 64 A.H. = 683-4 A.D. 'Abdu-l 'aziz, the governor of Sístán, declared war against the king of Kábul, and in the combat which took place, that king was defeated and killed. The war continued under his successor, and he was compelled to submit to the payment of tribute, but whenever opportunity offered, renewed efforts were made by the Kábuls to recover their lost independence.²

Amongst the earliest attempts against Kábul may be noticed that of 'Abdu-llah, governor of Sístán, in 78 A.H. = 697-8 A.D., or according to some, in the following year. When he arrived at Nímroz, Hajjáj desired him not to linger in Sístán, but to march without delay towards Kábul to enforce the payment of the tribute from Ranbal, to which that chief had agreed; and ordered him peremptorily not to return until he had subjugated the whole province. Ranbal retiring before his assailant, detached troops to their rear and blocking up the defiles, entirely intercepted their retreat, and in this situation exposed to the danger of perishing by famine, 'Abdu-llah was compelled to purchase the liberation of himself and followers for a ransom of seven hundred thousand dirhams.³

To wipe out the disgrace which the Muhammadan arms had sustained, 'Abdu-r Rahmán bin Muhammad bin Asha's, was despatched to Kábul by the famous Hajjáj in 81 A.H. = 700-1 A.D.;⁴ or in the preceding year, according to some authors, he was sent at the head of forty thousand men into Sístán, and having there united to his own troops the troops of the province, marched without delay against the prince of Kábul. 'Abdu-r Rahmán returned to Sístán laden with booty, but incurred the displeasure of Hajjáj by not remaining to secure his conquest. Exasperated by a threat of supersession, he determined to carry his arms against his master, and, in order to strengthen his power, concluded a treaty with the enemies of his faith, in which it was

¹ *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 179.

² *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 178.

³ *Tárikh-i-Afsh*, Ann. 68, p.m. Muhammad. See the extracts from that work in a subsequent volume of this compilation. Price's *Mahomedan Hist.*, Vol. i. p. 454.

⁴ *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 179; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Tom. I. p. 449; Ockley's *History of the Saracens*. [82 A.H.] Eohn's Edit. p. 490.

stipulated that if his expedition should be attended with success, Rābāl should be absolved from every species of tribute, provided the latter should agree to afford him an asylum in the event of failure. After many vicissitudes of fortune, 'Abdu-r Rāhmān was at last compelled to seek the protection of his ally, who, after treating him for some time with kindness and hospitality, was at last seduced by the promises or by the threats of Hajjāj to deliver up his guest. 'Abdu-r Rāhmān frustrated the vindictive designs of his enemy by throwing himself down from a precipice while he was on his way—A.H. 84.¹

The interest which this contest excited throughout the Khilāfat seems to have invested the Prince of Kābul with a fictitious celebrity, insomuch that he is the hero of many Arab stories of the holy wars on the frontiers of Hind. Nevertheless there is no certainty as to the proper mode of spelling the name. The various readings of the European authors who have noticed him show how little the orthography is settled. Ockley² calls him "Zentil;" Weil,³ "Zenbil;" Reinaud,⁴ "Rathyl" and "Zenbyl." Wilson,⁵ "Rateil, Ratpeil, Ratbal, Rantal, Zantil—variations easily accounted for by the nature of the Persian letters." E. Thomas,⁶ "Ratpīl;" Price,⁷ "Reteil," "Ratteil," or "Retpeil."⁸

Price observes that the name bespeaks him to be either a Tartar or Hindú, and that the real name might perhaps have been Vittel, still common among the Hindus. Wilson considers it as a genuine Indian appellation; Ratná-pāla or Rutun-pāl.⁹

¹ Price's *Mahomedan History*, Vol. i. pp. 455-463.

² *History of the Saracens*, Bohn's Edit., p. 490.

³ *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i. pp. 449, 461.

⁴ *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 71, 72, and 178. ⁵ *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 133.

⁶ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. xii. p. 314.

⁷ *Retrospect of Mahomedan History*, Vol. i., pp. 454-5.

⁸ [The *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh* (Paris MS. p. 274); says:—

و پادشاهان زمین کابل و سندرا رتیل گویند

"The Kings of Kābul and Sind are called Ratbil." Ibn Khurdādba (Oxford MS. p. 26), has *ملک سمرقند طرخان سگستان رتیل* which M. Barbier de Meynard (*Journ. Asiatique*, 1865, p. 251), renders "*Le roi de Sistan Rothil*." Mas'ūdi (Paris Ed. ii. p. 87), has "Zenbil qui est resté commun jusqu' à ce jour." The various readings of the *Jamī'ul Hikāyat* have been noticed in a previous page, *supra*, 178.]

⁹ *Ariana Ant.* p. 133.

Mas'údi, in his chapter in the *Murúj*, which is consecrated to the kings of Syria, makes mention of a prince who reigned in the valley of the Indus, and who after having subjugated Eastern Persia, advanced to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. The name of this prince was Ranbal, under one of its various modifications, and he adds that the name formed in his time the designation of the indigenous princes of the country, and he calls the Buddhist princes of Kábul by this epithet, which he makes common to all. In this he is borne out by Tabarí, and M. Reinaud is induced therefore to consider the word significative.¹ But it is not improbable that this assertion arises from the ignorance of the Muhammadans, and that they were ready to apply all the stories relating to the border chiefs of India to that one who had obtained the greatest notoriety with historians by his transactions with the generals of the Khiláfat, just as the *Hádika Sandt* speaks of Jaipál being the king of India in the time of Bahrám, and Hátifi speaks of Rái Pithaurá as the same even in the time of Timúr.

The *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát* ascribes the name to a contemporary of Ya'kúb Lais, which would make him one hundred and sixty years later than the invader of Syria, a long time for a title to have remained attached to a succession of petty chiefs. Moreover, at one time we find him ruler in Sind, at another in Kábul, though at the period spoken of those countries were not united under one dominion.

Khákí Shfrází says:—"In the year twenty-two the province of Sijistán was conquered for 'Umar-bin Khatáb, by the hands of 'Amru bin al Tamímí; and in the same year Makrán was subdued by Abdu-llah bin 'Abdu-llah Anán, who marched against it from Kirmán. The ruler of that province, whose name in the language of the country was Zambil, was also ruler of Sind, and was killed."

In the opening of the history of Mas'úd the Ghaznivide, by Abú-l Fazl Baihakí, reference is made to the Palace of Ranbal, where it certainly seems to apply to an individual rather than a class.²

The Ranbal of whom we have been speaking as the opponent,

¹ *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 178.

² [Tabarí, the *Mujmal*, and Mas'údi are all clear as to the import of the name, and its use as a dynastic royal title. Weil says it is "a general name for the king of the Turkomans, but more especially for the prince of Kábul and the territories between Hirát and Kábul.—*Geschichte*, p. 449."]

ally, protector, and betrayer of 'Abdu-r Rahmán, must have been one of the Turkish dynasty of Kábul, of the Buddhist persuasion. We find, from the Arabic histories of the period, that some of his relatives still held dominion in Transoxiana, though the relationship was probably rather that of tribe than family. If the family had been Hindú rather than Turkish, Ran-bal, "strong in battle," would have been sufficiently significant to render that the most likely reading of this disputed name. The probable prevalence, however, of the language of the Hindús in these parts might still have encouraged the use of the terms, notwithstanding that the Brahmans had not yet attained their supremacy.

In 107 A.H.=725-6 A.D., under the Khiláfat of Hashám, part of the dominions of Kábul was taken, but the capture of the town itself is not noticed.¹

The lieutenants of the Khalifs Al Mahdí and Ar Rashíd took tribute from the Ranbal of Sijistán, proportioned to the strength or weakness of that prince, and named governors to the countries where Islám prevailed—A.H. 153-193=A.D. 775-809. When Al Mámún was made governor of Khurásán, he demanded double tribute. He took Kábul, and the king submitted, and professed Islám. An agent on the part of Mámún resided in that city, and a post was established which enabled Al Mámún to procure from it fresh myrobalans.²

After this we read nothing of Kábul till the time of the Saffárides—A.H. 256=A.D. 868-9.³ In the succeeding year⁴ Ya'kúb Lais took Kábul, and made its prince a prisoner. The king of Ar Rukhaj was put to death, and its inhabitants forced to embrace Islám. Ya'kúb returned to his capital loaded with booty, and carrying with him the heads of three kings; and many statues of Indian divinities, which were amongst the booty, were sent to Baghdád for presentation to the Khalif.⁵

This Muhammadan conquest appears to have been more durable

¹ Gladwin's *Ayin Akberi*, Vol. ii. p. 209. Price's *Mahommedan History*, Vol. i. p. 567.

² Biláduri, quoted in the *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 196-7.

³ *Historia priorum regum Persarum*, etc., p. 19.

⁴ *Tabakat-i Ndsiri*.

⁵ Ibn Asir, *Kitabul-i Ahrist*, and Ibn Khallikán, quoted in *Mém. sur l'Inde*. p. 209.

than the preceding ones, for we find coins of Ya'kúb struck at Panjshír, to the north-east of Kábul, in the years 260 and 261 H.¹

By referring to the passages given above from the geographers, we shall learn the state of the occupancy of Kábul from the time of the Saffárides to that of the Ghaznivides, which commenced as early as the time of Alptigin, according to the statement of Abú-l Fazl, and it is probably to his time that the story related by Al-Birúni refers, where he states that when the *Espehbed*, or general-in-chief, had the gates of Kábul opened to him, the inhabitants imposed upon him the condition not to eat cow's flesh or indulge in unnatural crimes.² Neither condition is strictly observed by the modern occupants.

We will now proceed to examine more particularly the attempted identification of the several names of this series of Kábul kings :—

| | | |
|------------|--|------------|
| TURKS. | | Kamlú. |
| Barhtigin. | | Bhim. |
| Kanak. | | Jaipál I. |
| Katormán. | | Anandpál. |
| • • • | | Jaipál II. |
| BRAHMANS. | | Bhimpál. |
| Kalar. | | • • • |
| Sámand. | | |

Barhtigin has been already sufficiently remarked upon.

Kanak—Katormán.—Both these names have also been the subject of extended remarks. It will be observed that all the authorities quoted above from the original, make Kanak the last of the Turks, excepting only the *Tárikhu-l Hind*, which makes him only one, and the most famous one of the middle series of the Turkish kings for sixty generations. Allowing that Kanak is Kanishka, for which ample ground has already been advanced, this becomes impossible, and we must fall back upon the better authority of the *Tárikhu-l Hind*, and consider the Katormán or Laktúzamán as the last. In the more modern narratives of Rashídu-d dín and Binákifi we must place a full stop after “Kanak returned to his country.” Then proceed, “the last of the kings was the Katormán.” This requires

¹ *Fraehn Summarische Uebersicht*, etc., and *Bulletin de l'Académie*, Tom. x. p. 81.

² *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 246.

no violent alteration of the text. Indeed the mere omission of هو from the Arabic, and او from the Persian reconciles everything, and this last omission is actually made in the British Museum MS.

The writers themselves knew little of the state of the case, and wished merely to translate Al Bírúni, who knew well enough what he was writing. For instance, Binákítí wishing to reduce the narrative of the *Jámi*, makes it appear that Ujen was the predecessor of Kanak. Haidar Rúzi, again, among the names of the illustrious kings of India who succeeded Basdeo (here meant not for him of Kanauj, but the great Krishna) mentions Arjun and Jasand (the former being manifestly the famous hero of the *Mahá-bhárata*, and the latter Jarásandha), and "after him came Kanak, Chand." This, thorough indifference to correct chronology, enables us to see that by Ujen is meant Arjun, the senior of Kanak by several centuries. Mr. Thomas is persuaded that to this Kanak, the last of the Turks, are to be ascribed the coins which bear the name of Sri Vanka Deva "of the elephant-and-lion type of coin, which preceded the bull-and-horseman money introduced by the Brahmans. The similitude of names and the needful correspondence of all available evidence are surely sufficient to authorise our indicating Vanka Deva" as the Kanak above mentioned. This is by no means admissible, and he has himself since found that the real reading on the coin is "Varka," and has, consequently, altogether abandoned this speculation.¹

Kálar "is, we have little doubt, the Syálapati of our coins. There is less difference in sound between Syála and Kalar than would at first be imagined; so that if our translator, Al Bírúni, wrote his Arabic version from oral tradition, this slight change in the initial pronunciation of the name would be fairly probable." This is carrying speculation to an extreme, and there is no warrant whatever for the presumed identification.

¹ [Mr. Thomas, who might naturally desire to reply to these early criticisms on his confessedly initiatory essay on the coins in question, agrees with me in thinking that Sir H. Elliot's text should be preserved intact in the present publication, without comment or controversy on his part. This kind of knowledge is happily progressive, and many valid advances may be admitted to have been made between the theories of 1847 and 1868, without compromising the original author, or his censor of days gone by. Many of the objections here advanced have already been answered, in anticipation, by Mr. Thomas, in his edition of *Prinsep's Essays* (London, 1858), an extract from which will be found below (p. 428).]

It is to be observed that the *Jámi'u-t Tawdrík* and its followers omit all notice of Kalar, making Sámánd the immediate successor of Kanak.

The Syála or Syál-pati (*πρωτς* in Greek), of whom so many coins are found in Afghánistán, was probably a leader, and, perhaps, even the progenitor of the Syál Játs of Jhang Syál and other localities in the Panjáb.

Samand.—Coins of Samanta, or Samanta Deva, are found in great profusion not only in Afghánistán, but throughout the Panjáb and the whole of Northern India, and one has even been found in the province of Posen.¹ Mr. Thomas is of opinion that this is owing to his having called in the coins of his Buddhist predecessors, in order to give prevalence to his own creed of Brahmanism by the substitution of the bull-and-horseman type for that of the elephant-and-lion, which is considered emblematic of Buddhism;² but this supposition seems defeated by the fact of our finding Samanta coins with the elephant also upon them. The name of this reviver of the old faith became so celebrated, that we find it upon the coins of his successors, extending even down to the Muhammadan conquest of Dehli, in 1192 A.D., and the coins of Ráf Pithaurá.

Professor Wilson attributed these coins to a Rájput prince, who lived many years afterwards. M. Reinaud never hesitated to recognize in these medals the name of the king of Kábul, and his opinion was confirmed by the examination which M. Adrien de Longpérier made of them.³

It may be considered presumption to oppose such an array of authority in favour of this identification, but, nevertheless, I hesitate to concur in it without more cogent arguments than those that have yet been adduced. Putting aside the improbability that one man's name should be stamped on a series of coins, extending through more than two centuries, sometimes in supercession, and sometimes in conjunction with, that of the reigning monarch—and that, too, even in the case of the later Ghaznivides—there seems so obvious a solution

¹ M. Longpérier in *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 223.

² *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ix. p. 181.

³ *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 212. *Journal Asiatique*, Feb. 1845, p. 192, and *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 219.

of this continuance of a single name, that it requires far less boldness to adopt this simple explanation, than to seek grounds for establishing a position which, from its many improbabilities, is always open to question. It may, perhaps, be admitted that the coins which bear the simple name of *Srī Samant Deva* are to be referred to the *Sāmānd* of *Abū Rihān*; but even that admission is open to objection, there being a double mis-spelling in the name, for in the former we have a short *a* instead of a broad one, and a *t* instead of a *d*.¹

It appears to me, then, that *Samanta*, whenever it is found with another name, is throughout merely a title, meaning the warrior, the hero, the *preux chevalier*, the leader of an army, the *Amir*; and that after being used concurrently with *Srī Hamir* on the later *Ghaznvide* coins, it was by the early *Ghorian* monarchs altogether displaced by that more appropriate title.

At this latter period the prevalence of the title of *Samant* is obvious from its frequent use by the bard *Chand*, who has celebrated the exploits of *Rāi Pithaurā*, and his three hundred *Samants*, or stalwart knights.

Kamlūa.—Mr. Thomas wishes to appropriate to this monarch a medal bearing the legend of *Khvadavayaka* or *Khedavayaka*, while he confesses that even to liberal ears these names are not quite accordant in sound. He then seeks to justify the appropriation by mutations, blots, or intermixture of letters.² We must reject this, it being not worthy of the least credit; and the discovery of the name of *Kamlūa* in another history sets the question at rest, and establishes the correctness of *Al Bīrūnī*.

This discovery is in other respects important, as enabling us to fix a synchronism by which we may conjecture the periods of the other monarchs of this dynasty. In one of the stories translated from the *Jāmi' u-l Hikāyat*,³ it will be found that he was a contemporary of *'Amrū Lais*, who reigned between 265-287 A.H. = 878-900 A.D. *Kamlūa* is there called the *Rāi* of *Hindūstān*, and he must have ruled sometime within this period.

If we admit that these names represent a continuous series of

¹ [Longpérier reads the name with a long *a*—*Sāmanta*. See *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, 221-223.]

² *Jour. R. A. S.*, ix. p. 186.

³ See *supra*, p. 172.

successive monarchs, and not rather those who alone were conspicuous, we shall have to place the commencement of Kamlúa's reign as late as possible within the twenty-two years above-named. For we must connect it with another synchronism which we obtain from the same *Jámí'u-l Hikáyát*, wherein we learn that Mahmúd was only fourteen years old when the defeat of Jaipál occurred near the miraculous fountain, which—as he died in A.H. 421,¹ when he was sixty-three years old—reduces that date to 372 A.H., or 982-3 A.D., fifteen years before the death of Subuktigín.

Jaipál died in 1002 A.D., and it is evident from the statement in the *Tárikh-i Yamíní*, that he was then a very old man. He had opposed Subuktigín, while yet that warrior was only general of Alptigin, and therefore before 976 A.D., making his reign at least a quarter of a century. If we assume that Kamlúa's reign commenced in 890 A.D., being about the middle of that of 'Amrú Lais, we shall have to divide the period extending from 890 to 1002 A.D., between the reigns of Kamlúa, Bhím and Jaipál, being an average of thirty-seven years for each, which seems much too long. But as there is no disputing the dates, we must admit the long duration of 112 years for only three reigns, or admit that the names of unimportant monarchs have been omitted; just as in the case of the Turkish series, of which only Kanak is mentioned, between the first and last of the dynasty.

In the same way, between Kalar and Sámánd, and Sámánd and Kamlúa—there may have been other omissions, and even long interregna of Muhammadan supremacy; and we may thus throw back the period of the Brahmanical revolution to an earlier date than has yet been conjectured. It must be confessed this would relieve us of some difficulties, and enable us to dispose of other names of this series, of which we have incidental notice elsewhere: as, for instance, in the *Sairu-l Mulúk*, where we meet with the name of Lomak.

Syála, Khedavayaka, Varka, and even Ranbal may have been individuals of the Kábul series, either Turk or Hindú, though not honoured with distinct mention by Abú Ríhán. Numismatists,

¹ April, 1030. See the inscription on his tomb in Thornton's *Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India*, vol. i. p. 200, [and *Journ. R. A. S.*, xvii. p. 161.]

indeed, are now so certain that these coins do belong to the Kábul series, and trace with such confidence the relative antiquity of each extant medal from the difference in devices and execution, that we may readily concede the point to such able and experienced enquirers. All that is required is that there should be no unnatural forcing to suit preconceived theories. -

Mr. Thomas has conjectured on other grounds that the accession of Sámand occurred in 935 A.D.,¹ but his computation does not rest on any such specific dates as the two mentioned above, and he considers that, under any circumstances, it is imperfect, and that "the utmost the materials at our command enable us to assert with any degree of certainty is that Syála's usurpation took place early in the tenth century;" but even this certainty is dispelled by the establishment of the fact that Kamlúa was, unquestionably, a contemporary of 'Amrú Lais. Altogether, we may consider the subversion of the Turk by the Brahman dynasty to have occurred about 850 A.D., shortly before its capture by Ya'kub Lais; and as it appears from the Arab geographers that Musubnáns held the castle, it is evident that the Brahmans were only occasionally dominant, and did not hold their power without long and frequent interruptions.

Bhím.—The coins of Bhím are found in Kábulistán, but are seldom, if ever, met with in India. There is no reason to doubt that this is the same Bhím as the Srí Bhím Deva of the bull-and-horseman series, and this is the only one of which the identification can be admitted without question.

M. Reinaud considers that this Bhím is the one mentioned by 'Utbi and Firishta as the founder of Nagarkot;² but there is more reason to believe the hero of the *Mahá-bhárata* to be the one indicated.

Jaipál I.—It is strange that no coins of Jaipál are found. Firishta calls him the son of Ishtpál,³ and distinctly avers that he was a Brahman, and Birúní also includes him in that dynasty; but the introduction of the term Pál, which is now continued to the close of the dynasty, might incline us to suppose that a new family had com-

¹ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ix. p. 179.

² *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 277.

³ [Briggs' translation says "Hutpál," but the lithographed text has "Ishtpál."]

menced. This seems in other respects not improbable, for in the opening of the *Tārīkh-i Yāsbī* we find Jaipāl's western border extended no further than Lamghān, Kābul being already in possession of Subuktigin. It seems probable, therefore, that the succession of the real Kābul sovereigns ceased with Dhūm, and that the king of Northern India succeeded to the paramount sovereignty which, as far as the Muhammadans were concerned, had hitherto been held by the ruler of Kābul. It is a mistake to suppose that Jaipāl was king of Dehli. It does not appear that any such place existed in his time, and Abū-l Fidā's determination of its latitude and longitude on the authority of the *Kānūn-i Mas'ūli* is a misquotation, which it is of importance to correct, for there is nowhere mention of Dehli either in that work or in the *Tārīkh-i Hind*. The principal places of his residence appear to have been Lahore, Bhera, and Wāhīnd; and it may be doubted if any of these places, except perhaps the last, had been held by the kings of Kābul.

The assertion that he was a Brahman probably arises from ignorance on the part of Firishṭa. Al Bīrūnī is not specific in his statement that he was a Brahman, but merely includes him in the dynasty which commenced with a Brahman, and he may no more have been really of that caste than were the Bahmanī sovereigns of the Dekhin, though they were called after one. The term Brahman, in the conception of a Musulmān, might merely imply that he maintained the doctrines of that faith, and from his position was its staunchest defender and champion. There seems ground to suppose he must have been a Rājput, and some reasons have been assigned in the note on Mahmūd's invasion for considering him a Bhattī.

Anandpāl.—Mr. Thomas observes¹ that the coins of Anandpāl are common, and are plentiful in the Panjāb and the northern parts of the Ganges Dūāb. But these are evidently to be referred to the monarch of Delhi, who lived a century and a half later, and we have to deal with Anandpāl not Anangpāl. Utbi calls him Andpāl.

Jaipāl II.—This is not the name given by Al Bīrūnī, where it appears more like Tardijanbāl, and in the other authors who mention him it goes through various forms. Tadan Jaipāl, Nanduwa

¹ *Jour. R. A. S.*, ix. p. 121, [and later, *Prinsep's Essays*, i. 330.]

Jaipál, Turu Jaipál, Parou Jaipál, Nardajanpála, Niranjanpál, Tasdar Jaipál, and many more.¹ The latest reading proposed by M. Reinaud is Trilochan Pál, after the "three-eyed" Siva. Persian authors generally call him Nabíra Jaipál, or the grandson of Jirpál, and in that relationship no doubt he stood to the first Jaipál. Hence Dow calls him "Pitterugepál." The real name was, perhaps, Púr Jaipál, or Jaipál junior, Jaipál the son or grandson. Al Bírúní tells us that his father Anandpál was an inveterate enemy of the Musulmáns from the time that Púr Jaipál was taken prisoner, but Púr Jaipál himself was well disposed towards them.

According to 'Utbi we find him holding dominion as far eastward as Kanauj and the Ráhib, respecting which the note on the ninth and twelfth expeditions of Mahmúd may be consulted. The same author mentions another son of Anandpál, by the name of Brahman Pál, who is probably a different one.

Abú Rihán informs us that he was killed in 412 A.H.—1021-2 A.D. It does not appear exactly when he began to reign, but he certainly opposed Mahmúd during the Kanauj campaign in 409 H.

Bhím Pál.—In him we have the last of the dynasty of Kábul and Northern India. As he is mentioned by Abú Rihán, he must have succeeded to some remnant of his father's domains; but it does not appear that in his time he contested the advance of the Muhammadans, though before he ascended the throne we find him taking an active part in defending his father's dominions, under the name of Nidar Bhím, "Bhím the Dauntless."²

From his letter to Chand Rái, which is recorded by 'Utbi, it would appear that he was inclined to peaceful counsels, and that bitter experience had taught him the hopelessness of contending with his relentless and sanguinary rivals.³

From a statement in the *Tárikhu-l Hind*, we may infer that his capital was Bári, to the east of Kanauj.

Neither of Bhím Pál, nor of any other of the Pál family, are any coins extant.

Bhím Pál survived his father five years, and died, therefore, in 417 A.H., the eventful year of the capture and plunder of Somnát. Haidar Rázi gives nine years as the period of his reign.

¹ [See *supra*, pp. 45-47.]

² [Supra, p. 38.]

³ [Supra, p. 43.]

NOTE B.

Extract of Mr. Thomas' Edition of Prinsep's Essays, (1858. Vol. I. p. 331), referred to in page 9 supra.

"Before I leave the subject, I may be permitted to make some observations in reference to an original suggestion of my own, that the Sri Hamirah, on the reverse of the immediately succeeding Moslem coins, was designed to convey the title of the spiritual representative of the Arabian Prophet on earth, embodied for the time being in the Khalif of Baghdád. Sir H. M. Elliot, placing himself under the guidance of Capt. Cunningham, has contested this inference. I am not only prepared to concede the fact that Muhammad bin Sâm uses this term in connection with his own name on the lower Kanauj coins, but I can supply further independent evidence, that my opponents could not then cite against me, in the association of this title with the name of the early Sultáns of Dehli in the Palam Inscription (1333 Vikramáditya); but, on the other hand, I can claim a still more definite support in an item of testimony contributed by the consecutive suite of the selfsame fabric of coins, where the **हमीरः** (*hamirah*) is replaced by the word **खलीफ** (*khalifa*). As far as I have yet been able to ascertain, this transition first takes place on the money of 'Alau-d din Mas'úd (639-644 A.H.); and here, again, I can afford, in all frankness, to cite further data that may eventually bear against myself, in recording that this reverse of *Sri Khalifa* is combined in other cases with a broken obverse legend of . . . **अमीरलिम** . . . which, being interpreted to stand for the *Amiru-l Múminin* of the Arabic system, may either be accepted as the Sanskrit counterpart legend of Altamsh's anonymous coins in the Persian character,"¹ or be converted into a possible argument against my theory, if supposed to represent the independent spiritual supremacy claimed by subsequent Sultáns of Dehli; which last assignment, however, will scarcely carry weight in the present state of our knowledge. As regards the difficulty raised respecting the conventional acceptance of the *Sri Samanta Deva* of the coins as an historical, rather than an individually titular, impress, I have always been fully prepared to recognize the linguistic value of the

¹ Pathán Sultáns of Dilli, by E. Thomas. London, Wertheimer, 1847; p. 17.

word *Samanta*, and yet claim to retain the *Sri Samanta Deva*—which comes down to us, in numismatic sequence, in the place of honour on so many mint issues—as an independent name or title, to which some special prestige attached, rather than to look upon it as an ordinary prefix to the designation of each potentate on whose money it appears. And such a decision, in parallel apposition to the succession of the titles of *Sri Hamira* and *Khalifa*, just noticed, would seem to be strikingly confirmed by the replacement of this same legend of *Sri Samanta Deva* on the local coins of Cháhád Deva, by the style and title of the Moslem suzerain, to whom that rája had eventually to concede allegiance.

The two classes of coins to which I allude may, for the moment, be exemplified, the one in the type given in 'Ariana Antiqua,' xix. 16; the other in pl. xxvi. fig. 31, Vol. i. (*Prinsep*).

The former, when corrected up and amplified from more perfect specimens, will be found to bear the legends: Obv. असावरी श्री समन्त देव. Rev. श्री चाहड देव—while the latter will be seen to display an obverse epigraph of असावरी श्री समसोरत देव, with a reverse similar to the last.

I understand this obverse legend to convey, in imperfect orthography, the name of Shamsu-d dín Altamsh—whose other coins, of but little varied type, have a similarly outlined name, with the Moslem *Sri Hamirah* on the reverse.

NOTE C.

The Historians of the Ghaznivides.

The contents of this volume relate more especially to the history of the Ghaznivides. It therefore seems expedient to take a general review of the authors who have particularly treated of that dynasty.

First in order comes 'Utbi, who has already been sufficiently noticed. It may be remarked generally that he is deficient in dates, and, though the chief and earliest authority on all which relates to the early invasions of India, he evidently had no personal knowledge of that country, a circumstance which of course greatly detracts

from his value. He is fuller in the reign of Subuktigin and the transactions in Turkistán than any of his successors.

Thirty years later comes Abú-l Fazl Baihaki, of whose voluminous and important work only a portion has come down to us.

After an interval of more than two centuries follows the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh*, composed in 674 H., about a century after the extinction of the dynasty. The short notice which this work devotes to the Ghaznivides has been translated as an extract from that work, but it is of little authority, and confuses dates irremediably towards the close of the dynasty, in which the transactions were carried on too far eastward to be within the foreign ken of the author. Indeed he confesses that he knows nothing of their successors, the Ghorians, beyond the names of three of their kings.

The next, but after a period of two hundred years from 'Utbi is the *Tabakát-i Násiri*, the chief value of which is that it quotes the lost volumes of Abú-l Fazl Baihaki. It is for this reason, however, greatly to be regretted, especially as he is one of the earliest Muhammadan authors who wrote in India, that his notice of Mahmúd's reign is so very curt; for it is that in which we most feel the want of Baihaki's familiar gossiping narrative. It is true he is quoted in the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyát*, *Tárikh-i Guzida*, *Ráuzatu-s Safá*, and *Firishta*; yet it may be doubted if any except the author of the first ever saw his *Tárikh-i Násiri*, which is mentioned by name in the *Tabakát*. In some of the other Ghaznivide reigns, this work differs from others, as will be seen from the passages which are extracted in the article *TABAKÁT-I NÁSIRI* in this volume.

The great copyist and extractor, Rashídu-d dín, follows after the lapse of about twenty years. In his *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, he follows 'Utbi implicitly, as far as the *Yamini* extends, taking out not only his facts, but giving a literal translation of that work, even to the images and similes. So little does he attempt to improve upon the *Yamini*, that he even leaves out the important expedition to Somnát, which was undertaken after the close of that work. This resource fails him altogether in the later reigns, which are consequently very unsatisfactorily disposed of in the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*.¹

About twenty years later follows the *Tárikh-i Guzida* of Hamdu-lla

¹ [See an article by Major Lees, in *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. iii. N.S., 1868.]

Mustauffi—although he mentions the *Makámát* of Abú Nasr Miská'ti, and the *Mujalladát* of Abú-l Fazl Baihaki, he does not appear to have read them: at least he gives no information derived from them, and altogether his account of Mahmúd's reign is very meagre. He mentions the names of the towns taken by him, omitting, however, all notice of Somnát, and without stating the dates of their capture. He is so often quoted by Mirkhond, Khondamír, and Firishta, that he has had more credit than he deserves in this portion of his universal history.

After a long interval of about a century, we have Mirkhond, who in his *Rauzatu-s Safá* has given us the first detailed account of the history of the Ghaznivides. It is founded in the early portion upon the *Yamini*, but in later reigns rests upon some other authorities which are not quoted. Those which are mentioned, as the *Násiri* and *Guzida*, are too meagre to have furnished the fuller information found in the *Rauzatu-s Safá*. This portion has been translated by F. Wilken into Latin, and published with the original text at Berlin in 1832, under the title of *Historia Gasnevidarum*. He has added in footnotes passages from Firishta and Haidar Rázi, where the details are more complete than in the *Rauzatu-s Safá*. Haidar Rázi, however, is no original authority. I have found all the passages, except two, quoted by Wilken to be word for word the same as the *Tárikh-i Alfi*, even where other authorities are quoted, as Ibn Asír, Ibn Kasír, and Háfiz Abrú. The chief omission to be noted in Mirkhond's account is that of the expeditions to India intervening between those of Kanauj and Somnát, and the attack upon the Játs of Júd after Mahmúd's return from Somnát.

Mirkhond is followed by his nephew Khondamír in the *Khulásatu-l Akhbár* and the *Habibu-s Siyar*. The former has been translated by Price with additions from Firishta, and from the latter a translation will be found in a later volume of this work. He follows the *Rauzatu-s Safá* closely, and has no new authorities, omitting some passages, but dealing more copiously with the biographies of cotemporary poets and ministers. Altogether, Mirkhond's narrative is preferable, and in this, as well as in many other portions of his history Khondamír might have saved himself the trouble of attempting to rival his uncle.

The next authority of any value is the *Tárikh-i Alfi*. Like as in other portions of that work, it is, in the history of the Ghaznivides, also somewhat deficient in connexion, and troublesome, from adopting a new era; but, altogether, it is copious and correct. 'Utbi and Mirkhond are the chief authorities of the *Tárikh-i Alfi*, but something is added from the less known histories, which have already been mentioned as being quoted at second hand by Haider Rázi. It is to be regretted that Abú-l Fazl Baihaki is not amongst them. Here also we have no detailed account of the Indian expeditions between those of Kanauj and Somnát, and that to Thánesar is not mentioned.

Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, in his *Tabakát-i Akbari*, gives a succinct account of the history of the Ghaznivides, and is particular in mentioning his dates. He notices very cursorily the events in Turkistán, Sistán, and 'Irák, confining his attention principally to what related to India. In his work we, for the first time, find mention of several expeditions to India, which are passed over by his predecessors; and it is, therefore, to be regretted that he does not signify on what authority he relates them. The only probable source, among those mentioned as his general authorities, is the *Zainu-l Akhbár*. Nizámu-d dín is followed closely by Firishta.

'Abdu-l Kádír, in his *Tárikh-i Badáúni*, follows Nizámu-d dín implicitly; but, in order to show the variations, he occasionally quotes the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh*, and the *Lubbu-t Tawárikh*. He adds, also, some verses of poets who were contemporary with the Ghaznivides.

The *Muntakhabu-t Tawárikh* of Kháki Shirázi is very brief, and scarcely deserves notice. It chiefly follows the *Habibu-s Siyar*.

We next come to the history of Firishta, which gives the most complete and detailed account which we have of the Ghaznivides. Dr. Bird complains of the author's ignorance of the geography of Upper India; but he has exhibited no more than his predecessors, and in one or two instances attempts corrections. His chief resource is the *Tabakát-i Akbari*, but he has also used the *Tárikh-i Yamini*, the *Tárikh-i Guzida*, the *Rauzat-u Safá*, and the *Habibu-s Siyar*. Some of the other works which he quotes there is reason to believe he never saw. The translation by Briggs is generally correct and faithful in this portion, and there are no omissions in it of any great consequence.

The *Khuldsatu-t Tawdrikk* discusses this history in a peculiar fashion of its own. It omits all notice of transactions on the frontiers of Persia and Turkistán, and confines itself solely to India, insomuch that it leaves out whole reigns in which the sovereign had no connection with India: and, in consequence, preposterously confines the whole number of reigns to seven only. There is no other novelty in this chapter, except that it substitutes two new readings of places, which if they are derived from the history of Mahmúd by 'Unsuri, which is quoted in the preface, may be considered authentic.

These are all the authorities which it seems necessary to notice, as all the subsequent ones follow in the wake of Firishta. Abú-l Fidá, Ibn Shuhna, Ibn Asír, Ibn Kasír, Nikbí, and Lári, have had all that is valuable in them extracted by the diligence of European authors, who have translated, abridged, or commented on the reigns of the Ghaznivides. The Turkish histories of the period, such as the *Nakbbatu-t Tawdrikk*, and the work of Munajjim Báshí, we may fairly presume to have been exhausted by the industry of Hammer-Purgstall amongst the fourteen different histories which he quotes as authorities upon Mahmúd's reign—so that the only hope now left us for ascertaining any new fact with respect to the history of the Ghaznivides is in the recovery of the missing volumes of Memoirs, which we know to have been written by contemporary writers, and to have been in existence less than two centuries ago—such as those of Abú-l Fazl Baihaki, Abú Nasr Mishkání, and Mulla Muhammad Ghaznawí. The Makámát of Abú Nasr Mishkání¹ (Mishkání) is mentioned by Firishta (Briggs I. 32 and 97), and the same author is referred to in Wilken (*Gasnevidarum*, p. 189). Firishta quotes from him the anecdote about Mas'úd, which has been given from the *Tabakát-i Násiri* (*supra*, p. 271), and which is there also attributed to Abú Nasr Mishkán. The *Tárikh-i Mulla Muhammad Ghaznawí* is mentioned by 'Abdu-r Rahmán, who wrote the *Mir-át-u-l Asrár* and *Mir-át-i Mas'údi*, in Jahángír's time. The author was contemporary with Sultán Mahmúd, of whom his work is said to give an ample account.

¹ [In Briggs' translation, the name is written "Mukutty."]

NOTE D.

Mahmūd's Expeditions to India.

The times, places, and numbers of Mahmūd's expeditions to India have offered great difficulties to those who have dealt with the history of that ferocious and insatiable conqueror. We look in vain for any enquiry on the subject from the native historians of this period, who, in their ignorance of Upper India, enter names and years without the scruples and hesitations which a better knowledge or a more critical spirit, would have induced.

It is only when European authors begin to discuss the matter that we are taught how many difficulties there are to solve, how many places to identify, how many names to restore. Those who have added most to our knowledge of this period, and have occasionally interspersed their narratives or notes with illustrative comments, and who will be quoted in the course of this Note, may be thus named in the order of their publications:—D'Herbelot,¹ De Guignes,² Hunt (?),³ Dow,⁴ De Sacy,⁵ Mill,⁶ Wilson,⁷ Audiffret,⁸ Rampoldi,⁹ Briggs,¹⁰ Wilken,¹¹ Ritter,¹² Bird,¹³ Hammer-Purgstall,¹⁴ Elphinstone,¹⁵ and Reinaud.¹⁶ It is needless to mention Gibbon, Malcolm, Conder, Gleig, Murray, and others, whose works, however useful, are mere copies and abstracts of others, and add nothing to our previous information.

It has been usual to consider the number of Mahmūd's expeditions

¹ *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. "Mahmoud." Paris, 1697.

² *Histoire Générale des Huns*, Tom. II. Paris, 1756.

³ *Modern Universal History*, Vols. II. and III. London, 1766.

⁴ *History of Hindoostan*, Vol. I. London, 1768.

⁵ *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, Tom. IV. Paris, 1798-9.

⁶ *History of British India*, Vol. II. London, 1818. ⁷ *Ibid*, 1840.

⁸ *Biographie Universelle*, Art. "Mahmoud." Tom. XXVI. Paris, 1820.

⁹ *Annali Musulmani*, Vol. VI. Milan, 1823.

¹⁰ *History of the Mahom. Power in India*, Vol. I. London, 1829.

¹¹ *Historia Gænevidarum*. Berolini, 1832.

¹² *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. Part 1. Berlin, 1835.

¹³ *History of Gujarat*. London, 1835.

¹⁴ *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, No. 73. Wien, and *Gen.-ödesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Vol. IV. Leipsig, 1837.

¹⁵ *History of India*, Vol. I. London, 1843.

¹⁶ *Memoire sur l'Inde* in the *Mémoires de l'Institut*, Tom. XVIII. Paris, 1849.

to India to be twelve. The first authority for this number is Nizámu-d dín Ahmad in the *Tabakát-i Akbari*; and as Dow has also numbered them as twelve, most English authors following him as the standard, have entertained the same persuasion. But it is curious to observe that, while Nizámu-d dín mentions that there were altogether twelve, in recording them *seriatim*, he enumerates no less than sixteen; and Dow, while he marginally notes twelve, records no less than fifteen different invasions. Even Elphinstone, though he notes twelve, records more. The *Khuldsatu-t Tawárikh* gives twelve, and confines itself to that number, or in reality only to eleven, as by some mistake an expedition to Kashmír and Kálinjar are placed in one year, and the tenth expedition is omitted. The *Akhbár-i Muhabbat* follows it in both errors. I will not attempt to maintain this established number of expeditions, but will consider them in the actual order of their occurrence.

First Expedition.—Frontier Towns. A.H. 390 (1000 A.D.)—Nizámu-d dín Ahmad and Firishta mention that about the year 390 H. Mahmúd marched in the direction of India, and, after taking many forts and provinces, and establishing his own governors in them, he returned to Ghazní. This rests solely on the authority of these two authors, and is not supported by the *Tárikh Yamini*; but there is no improbability in the statement.

It was to have been expected that Mahmúd, after establishing himself on the throne of Ghazní, would have embraced the first opportunity of invading India; for, while yet a prince, he had seen how easily the hardy warriors of Zábulistán had overcome the more effeminate sons of India. His father Subuktigin is described in the *Yamini* as making several attacks upon the country of Hind, independent of the three which are more specifically mentioned, the scene of which was Kusdár and Lamghán. Even during the fifteen years of Alptigin's reign, Subuktigin is represented by Firishta in an untranslated passage to have made frequent attacks upon India, and even to have penetrated as far as Sodra on the Chináb, where he demolished idols in celebration of Mahmúd's birth, which as it occurred on the date of the prophet's birth, Subuktigin was anxious that it should be illustrated by an event to the destruction of the idols in the palace of the Per-

by an earthquake, on the day of the prophet's birth. In the words of the *Bostán* :—

چو صتیش در افواه عالم نتاد تزلزل در ایوان کسرلی فتاد

Near the Lamghán valley two actions were fought, or more probably in the valley of Jalálabád, for as the plural, Lamghánát, is frequently used, there seems reason to believe that the valley to the south as well as the north of the Kábul river was included in that province. The first action fought in this neighbourhood was brought to a conclusion by the effect of the miraculous fountain or stream in the hill of Ghúzak, which emitted storms, thunder, and cold, whenever some impurity was cast into it. A more particular account of this will be found in the extracts from the *Yamini* and the *Jámi'u-l-Hikáyát*.¹

What could have given rise to this extraordinary story is not easy to conceive, and no one has attempted an explanation. The most probable solution seems to be that a snow-storm came on, and not only harassed but alarmed the Hindús, who had never witnessed such a thing before; for it is quite compatible with probability that although the Lamghánát were then included in the country of Hind, yet that the soldiers, who, for the most part, came from the more eastern provinces, might never have seen a fall of snow. It is to be observed that the *Tabakát-i Akbari* expressly says that Jaipál and the Hindús were unaccustomed to the cold, and that was the reason why they suffered more than the Musulmán's. It may fairly be surmised, then, that the snow and frost totally paralysed the Hindú warriors, and were felt as grievously by them as, nine centuries afterwards, by Indian and British troops combined, when they sustained the most grievous disaster that has ever befallen our nation. It is an extraordinary coincidence that the very scene of this first and last defeat of an Indian army was the same—what wonder if the cause also did not differ?

The minds of the natives of India would naturally have tried to account for such a supernatural phenomenon as a fall of snow, and superstition was at hand to render her assistance.

¹ [Supra, pp. 20 and 182.]

There was a stone, celebrated amongst the Turkish nations, which had the peculiar property of causing rain, and hail, and snow, and excessive cold, and violent tempests, if the possessor, after repeating the name of God, and breathing upon it, threw it into the water. This stone is called the "Yedeh," or "Jedeh." The first stone of the kind was said to have been given to Japhet by Noah, to whom the secret was disclosed by Gabriel. The stone came into the possession of Turk, the eldest son of Japhet, and in an action which was fought between him and his nephew, for the possession of the stone, the latter was killed; and, as he was the father of the Turkománs, this stone is said to be the cause of the unceasing enmity between that tribe and the Turks. Subsequently, the art of using this stone was more generally disseminated, and occasioned magicians to be generally called "yedehehís;" and we have frequent mention of its use in Mongol history for purposes similar to those for which we suppose it to have been applied on the present occasion. As early as the year 2634 before our era, we find the following statement in a quotation by M. Klaproth, to prove the antiquity of the compass among the Chinese: "Tchi-yeou raised a thick fog, in order that by means of the darkness he might spread confusion in the enemy's army. But Hiuan-yuan constructed a chariot for indicating the south, in order to distinguish the four cardinal points."¹

In an action between the Mongols and Chinese, with respect to the latter, Rashidu-d dín says: "In consequence of the arts of the magician, the Chinese felt, in the middle of summer, a temperature which they had never experienced, even in winter, and were paralysed." Bergman says that the stone used at present among the nomadic nations is the Bezoar. Marco Polo, also, speaking of a country not far from the confines of India, says:—"When the Carannas wish to overrun the country and rob it, they, by their enchantment and diabolical agency, cause the day to become dark, so that you can see to little or no distance." In the mountains between Kashmir and Tibet, there is a lake, into which, if animal flesh is thrown, we are informed by Abú-l Fazl, that a storm of snow or rain will arise. There is said to be a similar one at Dámaghán, in

¹ *Lettre de M. A. Humboldt sur l'invention de la Boussole.* Paris, 1836; and Mr. Davies, in the *British Annual* for 1837.

Tabaristán, and Zakariya Kazwini mentions one near Ghazni, which is, no doubt, the one alluded to in Subuktigin's battle with Jaipál. Altogether, we may consider Jaipál's army to have been surprised and paralyzed by a snow-storm, and that superstition ascribed the unusual visitation to the "Yedeh" stone.¹

Second Expedition.—Pesháwar—Waihind. A.H. 391-2.—Mahmúd left Ghazni in Shawwál, 391 H., and a severe action took place on the 8th of Muharram, 392, at Pesháwar, in which he was completely victorious, and Jaipál and fifteen of his principal chiefs and relations were taken prisoners, after the loss of 5000 men.

He is then represented by all the later authorities to have marched from Pesháwar to Batinda, and invested it. Elphinstone observes that Batinda is beyond the Sutlej, "and seems formerly to have been a place of more consequence than its situation in a sort of desert would promise. It is said by Colonel Tod to have been the residence of the Rájá of Láhore, alternately with the capital, from which he took this name. As the battle of Pesháwar was on the 27th of November, Mahmúd would reach Batinda towards the end of the cold season, when the rivers of the Panjáb, though not all fordable, would offer little obstruction to cavalry." Dr. Bird also speaks of Batinda as being in the most easterly and inaccessible part of the Panjáb kingdom, and following the *Tabakát-i Akbari* and Firishta, says that Jaipál used to reside there. The latter indeed says he resided there for the convenience of opposing the Muhammadans—which is an absurdity, if we are to understand the most eastern city of his dominions. Rampoldi, with his usual confusion of names and places, makes his residence Multán.

All these difficulties about Mahmúd's movements are at once obviated by correcting the reading, and rejecting Batinda altogether. The real name is Bihand or Waihind, as is plainly indicated in the *Yamini*.² It was a place of considerable importance, on the western

¹ Respecting this stone and these fountains, further information may be obtained by referring to Bergman, *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmuken*, Th. iii. p. 183. Miles, *Shajrat ul Atrak*, pp. 24, 26, 66. Gladwin's *Ayeen Akberce*, Vol. II. p. 154. Marco Polo, Murray's Ed., p. 221. *Modern Universal History*, Vol. IV. p. 417. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, Tom. II. p. 615. *Khulasatu-t Tawárikh*, Art. "Humáyún." *Mir-átu-l Istilák*, Art. "Yedek." *Asáru-l Bilád* and *Eshru-l Buidan*, Art. "Ghazni."

² [Ibn Asir gives the name of the place correctly as "Waihind."]

bank of the Indus, about fifteen miles above Attock, on the old high road from Láhore to Pesháwar, and only three marches from the latter. It was the capital of Eastern Kandahár, and is noticed by Bírúní, Baihaki, and Abú-l Fidá, from which latter author we learn that its foundation is attributed to Alexander the Great. The name is now Húnd, and while I was in the neighbourhood I could not find that even any first syllable was ever added to it, either by natives or strangers.

By the capture of Waihind, Mahmúd's progress becomes easy and natural, and instead of having to cross and recross several foaming streams and marching through a hostile and difficult country, he has not yet crossed even the Indus.

Third Expedition.—Ehera (Bhátia). A.H. 395 (1004-5 A.D.)—After a rest of three years, during which attention was occupied by affairs in the west, we find Mahmúd returning to India to take the city of Bhattea (Briggs), Battea (Dow), Bhatía (Elphinstone), Bhátnah (Bird), Bahadiyah (*Univ. Hist.*), Bhadiyah (Rampoldi), Bahatia (S. de Sacy), Hebath (D'Herbelot),¹ Bihatia (Hammer-Purgstall). Briggs says he has failed in fixing the position of this place. Elphinstone says, "a dependency of Láhore, at the southern side of Multán." Bird says it is now called Bhatnir, situated on the northern extremity of the Bikanir desert. Reinaud says it is to the south-east of Multán, and in the middle of an arid country, apparently on the testimony of 'Utbi, but he makes no such assertion. Hammer-Purgstall conceives it to be the present Baháwalpúr. But how could a dependency of Láhore be on the southern side of Multán, itself independent? How could Mahmúd advance over all the Panjáb rivers to attack a city in a desert? Or Baháwalpúr, leaving a country full of hostile and martial populations in his rear? How could Bijí Rái, deserting his fort, "take post in a wood on the Indus," as Firishta says, if Bhatía were on the other side of the Sutlej? or how could he "take post on the top of some hills," as 'Utbi says, when there are no hills within a hundred and twenty miles from either place?

Here again we must correct the reading, and all becomes explained. The real name of the place is Ehera. It lies on the

¹ D'Herbelot in one part of his article on Mahmúd speaks of his deriving the name of Bhatia from Baarea, the strongest fort in India.

left bank of the Jailam, under the Salt range. It bears evident marks of great antiquity, and has on the opposite side of the river the extensive ruins of Buraria, above Ahmadábád, which strike every beholder with astonishment. The only works which read Bhera are the *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh* and its followers the *Akhbár-i Muhabbat*, etc. That Dow's copy of Firishta must have been very near it, is evident, for, although Mahmúd advances against the city of "Battea," he is made by a strange inadvertence to take the city of "Tahera." 'Utbi [and Ibn Asír] certainly read Bhátía, and Al Bírúni mentions Bhátía and not Bhera, but his Bhátía scarcely seems the one we are dealing with.

Whether Bhátía is written by mistake, or whether Bhátía is an old name of Bhera, is difficult to say. The latter is very probable, for the Bhatí or Bhattí Rájputs still point to this tract as the place of their residence before their advance to the eastward, and their name is still preserved in the large town of Pindí Bhattián, on the Chináb. It is worthy of remark, as observed by Mr. E. Thomas,¹ that of the list of Hindú kings given by Al Bírúni, the four last beginning with Jaipál I. add the designation of Pál to that of Deva, borne by their Brahman predecessors. This would imply the succession of a new tribe, which he considers to be Bhattí Rájput. There is no improbability in this, for there is no authority except that of Firishta for declaring Jaipál to be a Brahman, and Bhátía therefore may have been the local title of the capital of the tribe. Firishta² makes the Rájá of Bhátía to be a different personage from the Rájá of Láhore; but he afterwards tells us that the Láhore dominions extended from Kashmir to Multán—which, as has been shown, includes Bhátía.

It is to be observed, moreover, that Mahmúd does not pass through Multán, or the province of Multán, to get there, but passes "by the borders of Multán," as Firishta says, or "crosses the Indus in the neighbourhood of Multán," as 'Utbi says. Now, as Multán has since been extended, as it always has, even down to the days of Mahmúd nearly up to the Salt range, it is probable that Mahmúd came from Ghazni by the valley of Banú, and following the course of

¹ *Jour. A. S.*, ix. 184.

² Briggs i. 9.

Khuram, crossed the Indus near Isákhel and the old town of Rorí, and so, passing the Sind-Ságar Doáb through Mitta Tiwána, reached Bhera by way of Khusháb and Sháh-púr.

A subsequent campaign also indicates the position of Bhera, as will be noticed more particularly hereafter. Meanwhile it is to be observed that Mahmúd annexed Bhera to his dominions, which, had it been any place trans-Sutlej, would have been out of the question.

Fourth Expedition.—Multán. A.H. 396.—[Ibn Asír and] the *Habibu-s-Siyar* place the expedition to Bhátia and Multán in the same year, but it is quite evident from the *Yamín* that special preparations were made for this new campaign. Dr. Bird considers that Firishta has misplaced this campaign, and that it should be deferred till after the defeat of Flak Khán. I see no reason whatever to doubt that it is correctly ascribed to the year 396 H., and that it has nothing whatever to do with the invasion which took place after Flak Khán's defeat.

We find the governor or ruler of Multán with a Muhammadan name, "Abí-l Futúh, or "Abú-l Fath," and he is not an infidel but a heretic, one "who introduced his neologies into religion." There can be little doubt, therefore, that he was a follower of the Karmatian heresy, which we know, from Al Birúní, to have prevailed extensively at Multán, and for a long period previous to this invasion. "He says: "When the Karmatians became masters of Multán, their chief broke the idol in pieces, and massacred its ministers; and the temple, which was built of brick, and situated on an elevated spot, became the grand mosque in place of the old one, which was closed on account of the hatred borne against the Unmayide Khalifas, under whose rule it was constructed. Sultán Mahmúd, after subduing the Karmatians, reopened the old mosque, that the old one was abandoned; and now it is as a plain, destined vulgar uses."

The authors which treat of this period do not,—except in a few instances, as the *Tibakát-i Akbari*, and the *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh*—essentially say that Multán was held by Karmatians, but by "Mulá—" a more generic term, which, though it might include Karina—was more generally, at a subsequent period, used to designate

the Isma'ilians.¹ For more on the subject of the occupation of Multán at this period, the passages mentioned in the note may be consulted.²

Abú-l Fath Dáúd was the grandson of Shaikh Hamíd Lodi, who is represented to have done homage to Subuktigin. The word "tribute," used by Briggs, is not authorized. Elphinstone says that Hamíd Khán had joined the enemies of his faith for a cession of the provinces of Multán and Laghmán, and submitted to Subuktigin after his victory over the Hindús. This statement is made on the authority of Firishta.³ Dáúd invited the co-operation of Anandpál, who, being defeated at Pesháwar, was pursued as far as Sodra,⁴ on the Chináb. From Sodra Mahmúd goes, by way of Batinda, to Multán, which is so circuitous a route as to be absurd. Here, again, Bhera should be read, which is in the direct line between Sodra and Multán.

Ibn Asir, Mírkhond, and Haidar Rázi make Dáúd flee away to Saraudíp, but 'Utbi says a fine was levied from the inhabitants of 20,000,000 dirhams. Firishta says an annual tribute was fixed on Dáúd of 20,000 golden dirhams, or dinárs, with promise of implicit obedience and abstinence from heresy for the future.

The *Biographie Universelle* contains a curious statement, respecting this expedition: "La révolte du gouverneur qu'il avait laissé à Moultan et le débordement des fleuves qui semblait la favoriser, obligèrent Mahmoud de demander passage à Andbal. Sur son refus, il le poursuivit à travers le Candahar et le Kaboulistan jusqu' à Kaschmyre."⁵ What Kandahár and Kábulistán have to do with the pursuit is not easy to say. Authors agree in saying Mahmúd wished to march through Anandpál's territory, but it is very difficult to discern the reason of the request, as he had already crossed the

¹ DeCrémery, *Histoire des Seljoukides*, pp. 69, 86, 136-9.

² Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 142. Ritter, *Erskunde von Asien* Vol. V. p. 6. Renaudot, *Anciennes Relations*, p. 172. Nuru-l Hakk, *Zubdatu Tawárikh*, fol. 366. Mir Ma'súm, *Tárikh-i Sínd*, Ch. 2 and 3. *Khulísat Tawárikh*, v. "Baber." *Mir-útu-l Ahrár*, v. "Baháu-d din Muhammad Zakariyá *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, Vol. III. v. "Multán." *Hadikatu-l Akálim*, v. "Dipápur."

³ Briggs I. 9.

⁴ Hammer-Purgstall identifies Sodra with Weirabad (Wazirábád), but they two different towns.

⁵ [This statement is generally supported by Ibn Asir. See *supra*, p. 24.]

Indus, beyond the borders of his territory, and by a route which would lead him more directly towards his object.

'Unsuri informs us that Mahmúd took two hundred forts on his way to Multán.

*Fifth Expedition.*¹—*Defeat of Nawása Sháh, A.H. 398.*—When Mahmúd was called away from Multán by Ilak Khán's invasion of his territory, he left his Indian possessions in charge of Sewakpál, or "Sukhpál, a son of one of the Rájás of India,"² and who, having been formerly made a prisoner in Pesháwar by Abú 'Alí Sanjari, had become a convert to Islám. Sukhpál was taken prisoner by Mahmúd's advance cavalry, and was compelled to pay the sum of 400,000 dirhams; and being made over, as Firishta informs us, to Tigín the Treasurer, was kept in confinement during the rest of his life.³

Dr. Bird says that there was no such expedition as this, and that Firishta has confounded it with the previous expedition to Multán; but as it is mentioned by 'Utbi, Mirkhond, and Khondamír, as well as by Firishta, there is no reason whatever to discredit it.

Dr. Bird adduces, as an additional proof of confusion, that the name Nawása, "a grandson," belonged to Abú-l Fath Dáúd, because he was a grandson of Sheikh Hamid Lodi; but there is no ground for saying that Dáúd was so called, as the name might have belonged just as well to the grandson of Jaipál, as of Sheikh Hamid. He apostatised to idolatry, after being converted, whereas Dáúd could only have apostatised to the Karmatian heresy, and not to idolatry and plural worship. The designation of Nawása is considered doubtful. His name was Sewakpál or Sukhpál; Ritter says Samukkel. Dow reads "Shoekpal, who, on conversion to Islám,

¹ [Under the year 397 μ . Ibn Asir gives the following brief account of this expedition:—"When Yamínu-d daula had finished (his differences) with the Turks he went on a campaign to India. The cause of this was that one of the sons of the sovereign of India named Nawása Sháh had become a Musulmán under the hands of Mahmúd, and had then been appointed ruler over part of Mahmúd's conquests in that country. After Mahmúd had retired he apostatized from Islám and assisted the infidels and rebels. When Mahmúd approached, the Hindu fled before him, so he again occupied the country, brought it once more under the rule of Islám, appointed one of his officers over it, and then returned to Ghazni."]

² [These are the words of Firishta according to the lithographed edition of the text.]

³ Haider RÁZI says that Mahmúd came to Naubár, in pursuit of the rebel, who fled to the remote parts of Hind, on learning his approach.

assumed the name Zab Sais." D'Herbelot has "Neveschá;" S. de Sacy, "Nawaschteh;" Wilken, "Nuvasch Shah." The *Tabakát-i Akbari* says, "Súkpál, the grandson of the Rájá of Hind." The readings in Firishta are by no means uniform. They are Ab sabará, Absár, Ab bashár and Záb sá. The *Tárikh-i Alfi*, and some other authorities, make it Záb Sais or Záb Sháh. Hammer-Purgstall says, "Ssabsa or Schiwekpal." All these are changes rung upon the word "nawása," or "grandson," especially "a daughter's child." Bird says, Price is mistaken in calling him Nawása Sháh; but 'Utbi gives this name, and there is no reason why we should reject it. It may have been bestowed upon him by Mahmúd as a mark of endearment, and Shah, "king," may have been added as a term of aggrandizement, or it might have been Sáh, a common title of respect. But what is more probable than all is that he was the grandchild (by a daughter) of Jaipál, because, in 'Utbi's account of the expedition to Kanauj, we find Bhím Pál, the great-grandson, complaining that his uncle had been forcibly converted to Islám. *Sukh Pál*, therefore, was the name, *Nawása* the relationship to Jaipál, and *Sáh* the honorific title. He was probably one of the relations of Jaipál, made over by him as hostage to Mahmúd; and that, perhaps, was the period of conversion.

The movement by which his seizure was effected was so rapid, and a new invasion of India was entered upon so soon after, that it is probable the scene of the transaction was the valley of Pesháwar.

*Sixth Expedition.—Wáhind, Nagarkot.*¹ A.H. 399 (1008-9 A.D.).—It will be observed that the account of the commencement of this expedition is described very differently in the *Yamini*, the *Habíbu-s-Siyar* and Firishta. I prefer, as on former occasions, the former, the river of Wáhind, or the Indus, being a more probable place of action than Pesháwar, which was then within the Muhammadan border. That the Gakklars may have performed the part assigned to them is probable enough, whether the action was fought at one place or the

¹ [Ibn Asir places this campaign in the year 368, and says that Mahmúd encountered Brahman-pál on "the banks of the river Wáhind (which is changed in some MSS. to Handmand). Many men were lost in the waters, and the Hindus were near gaining a victory, when God made the Musulmán to triumph. Mahmúd pursued the foe to Bhim-nughur (Bhim-nagar), which he took, and gained immense plunder."]

other; but that the Gakkhars are the ancestors of the modern Játa, as Dr. Bird asserts, is altogether a mistake, and likely to lead to serious errors.

About the proceedings at Nagarkot all accounts agree, and that Nagarkot is the same as Kot Kángrá can admit of no doubt, for the name of Nagarkot is still used. Its position is well described, and corresponds with present circumstances. The impassable waters which surround it are the Bán-ganga and the Biyáh. The town of Bhím, which is about a mile from the fort, is now on the spot called Bhawan, which means a temple raised to a Saktí, or female deity, and Bhím is probably a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhím. M. Reinaud considers that it was called Bhím-nagar from Sri Bhíma deva, of the Kábul dynasty. The different forms which the name assumes in different authors are shown at p. 34. Elphinstone is mistaken in saying that Nagarkot derived peculiar sanctity from a natural flame which issued from the ground within its precincts. This flame is at Jwálá-mukhí, fifteen miles distant, where carburetted hydrogen issues from the sandstone rocks, and fills the superstitious pilgrim with awe and veneration. These jets of gas are made to burn with increased vigour by the removal of plugs, whenever a distinguished visitor is likely to pay well for this recognition of his superior sanctity.

Dr. Bird, who has given a most critical examination of these invasions, says that the capture of Nagarkot and the previous action beyond the Indus occurred in two different years. He observes: "If we might trust Firishta, Mahmúd at this time (after the battle of Pesháwar) marching into the mountains captured the celebrated fortress of Nagarkot. It was not, however, till the following year, A. N. 400, according to the *Tabakát-i Akbari* and *Habibu-s Siyar*, that this expedition was undertaken; and as the hostile armies prior to the last battle had consumed three or four months in operations west of the Indus, it is not probable that Mahmúd could have marched into India at the commencement of the rainy season. The Hijra year 399 given for the march to Pesháwar, or the previous year A. D. commenced the 5th September, A. D., 1003; and as the spring season, when he left Ghazni, would not commence till A. D. 1009, he must have spent the summer in Kábul, and set out for Hindústán about October."

I cannot trace in the *Tabakát-i Akbari* and the *Habibu-s Siyar* the assertion attributed to them; but let us leave these inferior authorities and refer to the *Yamini*. There we find that it is in pursuit (of the flying enemy) that Mahmúd went as far as the fort called Bhímnagar." The campaign, therefore, must have been continuous, and there was no break between the action trans-Indus and the capture of Nagarkot. He has already traversed the same road as far as Sodra on the Chináb, and he would only have had ten or twelve marches over a new line of country.

In these enquiries we must be very cautious how we deal with the word "spring." Both Bird and Elphinstone speak of the conquerors setting out in the spring of a Christian year, but the spring of a Ghaznvide invader is the autumn of the Christian year. It is the period when the breaking up of the rains admits of warlike operations. It is the *Dasahra* of the Hindús, and the season of the commencement of their campaigns. So, in the first decisive action against Jaipál, we find Mahmúd leaving Ghazní in August, and fighting the action at Pesháwar in November. And so here we find him leaving Ghazni on the last day of Rabí'u-l ákhir, or the end of December, which, though unusually late in the season—so late, indeed, as to render marching in the uplands almost impossible—would still have enabled him to fight his action on the Indus at the beginning of February. He might then have completed his operations at Kángará before the end of March, and have left India again before the severe heat commenced. The only difficulty about the whole campaign is his leaving Ghazní in the heart of winter; but that the action on the Indus and the one at Nagarkot occurred in the fair weather of the same year, there is no sufficient reason to doubt.

The opening part of the expedition is mentioned in more detail by Firishta, than by 'Utbi and Khondamír. His account is as follows:—

"In the year 399 H., Mahmúd having collected his forces, determined again to invade Hindústán, and punish Anandpál, who had shewn much insolence during the late invasion of Multán. Anandpál hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindústán, who now considered the expulsion of the Muhammadans from India as a sacred duty.

Accordingly, the Rájás of Ujjain, Gwáliár, Kálinjar, Kanauj, Dehlí, and Ajmír entered into a confederacy, and, collecting their forces, advanced towards the Panjáb with a greater army than had ever taken the field against Amír Subuktigín. Anandpál himself took the command, and advanced to meet the invader. The Indians and Muhammadans arrived in sight of each other on the plain of Pesháwar, where they remained encamped forty days, neither side shewing any eagerness to come to action. The troops of the idolaters daily increased in number, and aid came to them from all sides. The infidel Gakkhars also joined them in great strength, and made extraordinary exertions to resist the Musulmán. The Hindú females, on this occasion, sold their jewels, and sent the proceeds from distant parts to their husbands, so that they, being supplied with all necessaries for the march, might be in earnest in the war. Those who were poor contributed from their earnings by spinning cotton, and other labour. The Sultán perceived that on this occasion the idolaters behaved most devotedly, and that it was necessary to be very circumspect in striking the first blow. He therefore entrenched his camp, that the infidels might not be able to penetrate therein.

Mahmúd, having thus secured himself, ordered six thousand archers to the front to attack, and endeavour to draw the enemy near to his entrenchments, where the Musulmán were prepared to receive them. In spite of the Sultán's precautions, during the heat of the battle, 30,000 infidel Gakkhars, with their heads and feet bare, and armed with spears and other weapons, penetrated on two sides into the Muhammadan lines, and forcing their way into the midst of the cavalry, they cut down men and horse with their swords, daggers, and spears, so that, in a few minutes, they slaughtered three or four thousand Muhammadans. They carried their success so far that the Sultán, observing the fury of these Gakkhar footmen, withdrew himself from the thick of the fight, that he might stop the battle for that day. But it so happened that the elephant upon which Anandpál rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphthalballs and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. The Hindús, deeming this to be the signal for flight on the part of their general, all gave way, and fled. 'Abdu-llah Tái, with five or six thousand Arab horse, and Arslán Jázib, with 10,000 Turks, Afgháns,

and Khiljís, pursued the enemy for two days and nights, so that 8,000 Hindús were killed in the retreat. Thirty elephants and enormous booty fell into the hands of the pursuers, with which they returned to the Sultán."¹

Seventh Expedition.—Náráin. A.H. 400.—The *Tabakát-i 'Akbari* and *Firishta* do not mention this expedition at all; but it is recorded in the *Yamini*, *Rausatu-s Safá* and the *Habibu-s Siyar*. The latter gives no name, but mentions an invasion of Hind in A.H. 400, between the transactions at Nagarkot and Ghor.

It is not easy to identify the place. 'Utbi speaks of it as in the middle of Hind, where chiefs were reduced who up to that time had obeyed no master. Mirkhond calls it "Nárín;" S. de Sacy has "Nardin," which he thinks there is reason to believe was situated in a part of India to the west of the Indus. This would be probable enough had it not been declared by 'Utbi to be in the heart of India, and a country of hill and valley. Hammer-Purgstall speaks of the "Máharájá of Nardin." Reinaud confounds the campaigns of Náráin and Nardin.

On his return to Ghazni, after this expedition, Mahmúd received an embassy from the ruler of Hind (Jaipál), offering an annual tribute of fifty elephants, laden with rarities, and an Indian force of two thousand men—a curious stipulation, proving how early Indians became mercenary soldiers, even under their most bitter persecutors. This shows that this particular expedition must have made a great impression on Jaipál, and induced him to sue for humiliating terms.

It is barely possible that the Nárín,² between Inderáb and Kúndúz, may be indicated. It is the same longitude as Kábul, which we know to have been then comprised in India; and, with reference to Balkh and Ghazni, it might have been considered so far to the eastward and so difficult of access, as to deserve being spoken of as in the heart of Hind. In Istakhri's map of Khurásán, the position is almost included within "Bilád Hind," and its neighbourhood to

¹ [This and the other passages from *Firishta*, are taken from Briggs' translation, but I have compared them with the text, and have made the translations more literal and exact.—ED.]

² This town is not mentioned by the Arab geographers, but it was passed by Lieut. Wood. See his *Journey to the Oxus*, p. 409.

Káfristán gives colour to the mention of the "chief of the infidels." What militates greatly against this supposition is, that elephants formed part of the booty; and there are many other considerations also which compel us to look out for Náráin elsewhere.

Under all the circumstances mentioned, I am disposed to look upon Náráin as meant for Anhalwára, the capital of Gujarát, which Abú Ríshán tells us was called Nárána or Náráin in his time. It is to be observed that Mahmúd merely proceeded *towards*, not *to*, Náráin, and the country in the direction of Ajmír and Rájpútána was open to his incursions by the previous conquests of Bhátia and Multán. This was, perhaps, merely a preparative to his expedition to Somnát, and the reports he received of its wealth may, on this occasion, have sharpened his appetite for plundering that temple. This expedition would have been sufficient to instil alarm into Jaipál. Náráin was "in the middle of Hind," and Mahmúd would have advanced towards it "over ground hard and soft," and there "the friends of God might have committed slaughter in every hill and valley." It is evident from the statements in the *Mir-át-i Mas'údi*, that the Muslims had some relations with Ajmír previous to 401 H.; and it was, probably, on this particular occasion that it was visited by Mahmúd. The visit which that work makes him pay at a later period, just previous to the conquest of Kanauj, seems highly improbable.¹

Eighth Expedition.—Multán. A.H. 401.—In the year 401, after the conquest of Ghor, Mahmúd marched to Multán, where he maimed and imprisoned the Karmatians and other heretics, and brought Dáúd prisoner to Ghazni, and confined him in the fort of Ghúrak for life. The *Tabakát-i Badáúni* says Ghori, and as Mahmúd had just conquered Ghor, it is not improbable that he may have confined his prisoner there.

The authorities for this expedition are the reverse of those for the last. It is mentioned in the *Tabakát-i Akbari* and *Firishhta*, and it is not mentioned in the *Yamini*, *Rauzat-u-Safá* and *Habibu-s-Siyar*. This would give reason to surmise that these two were in reality but one expedition, but the circumstances of the two are so different, not

¹ [I have allowed this notice of the Seventh Expedition to remain as it was written by Sir H. Elliot, but were he alive, he would probably change or greatly modify his opinions after a perusal of the note upon Nárána by Gen. Cunningham, printed at p. 303, vol. i. of this work.—Ed.]

admitting in any way of the same construction; and they are so consonant with the vow made by Mahmúd, that he would engage in a religious war every year, that there is no reason to reject either as improbable. The omission by 'Utbi is important, but others of a similar kind will have to be noticed; and while I am prepared to admit that we must not impugn what he actually states; yet he may, perhaps, have omitted, through ignorance or negligence, some transactions which actually took place. The *Mir-át-i Mus'úli* says that after this second capture and plunder of Multán, it was deserted, and that Anandpál, who is there called "the Zamíndár of Multán," had fled to Uch, where he resided.

Ninth Expedition.—*Ninduna* [or *Nárdín.*]¹ A.H. 404 (1013 A.D.)—Firishá inserts the expedition to Thánesar in A.H. 402, but I am disposed to follow the *Yamini*, and place that expedition subsequent. The long delay which occurred between this and the eighth expedition may have been owing to the league which was entered into between Anandpál and Mahmúd, and this invasion may have been occasioned by the death of Anandpál, which according to Firishá occurred at this time. A very full account of the preparations for this expedition will be found among the extracts from the *Yamini*, where it is stated that it was entered upon in the year 404—a year to which all the other authors ascribe it. Here we find the invader starting before the winter set in, and his progress arrested by a heavy fall of snow—so he could not have left the highlands till the commencement of spring; and as the year began on the 13th of July, 1013, he could scarcely have entered Hindústán before February, 1014, leaving himself but a short time for operations in that country,

Consequently, we find him proceeding no farther than the hill of Bálnát,² a conspicuous mountain overhanging the Jailam, and now generally called Tilla, which means a hill. It is still occasionally called Bálnát, and there is a famous Jogí establishment on its highest summit of great repute, and resorted to by members of that fraternity from the most distant parts of India.

¹ [The *Yamini* calls the place Nárdín (*supra*, p. 37), and so does Ibn Astr. The *Habib-u-Siyar* also has Nárdín. The two former place the conquest in 404 H., but the latter in 405 H. The expeditions to Nárdín and Nárín are confounded by some writers, both Oriental and European.]

² [In the text of Firishá the name is "Bálnát," not "Bulnát," as in the translation. Sanskrit, "Bála-náth."]]

The action which preceded the capture of Ninduna appears to have been fought at the Márgala pass, which answers well to the description given of it by 'Utbi. The subsequent operations are described more fully by Nizámu-d dín Ahmad:—

“In A.H. 404, the Sultán marched his army against the fort of Ninduna, situated on the mountain of Bálnáth. Púr¹ Jaipál left veteran troops for its protection, while he himself passed into one of the mountain valleys (*darra*) of Kashmír. The Sultán having reached Ninduna, invested it, and by mining and other modes of attack, put the garrison under the necessity of capitulating. Sultán Mahmúd with a few of his personal attendants entered it, and took all the property he found there. Having left Sárogh as governor of the fort,² he himself proceeded to the Kashmír valley, where Púr Jaipál had taken up his position. This chief, however, did not await his arrival, but fled, and when the Sultán reached the pass he obtained great spoil and a large number of slaves. He also converted many infidels to Muhammadanism, and having spread Islám in that country, returned to Ghaznín.”—*Tabakát-i Akbari*.

It will be observed that 'Utbi calls the chief “Nidar Bhím,” and Nizámu-d dín Ahmad calls him Purú Jaipál, but the difference is reconciled by considering Nidar Bhím as the governor, whom Jaipál left in the garrison; when he fled towards Kashmír; and as we know from the *Yamíni* that Purú Jaipál's son was called Bhím-pál, we may consider this governor to have been the identical Bhím-pál, with the epithet of Nidar, “the dauntless.”

The name of Ninduna cannot be restored. It is evidently the same place as is mentioned in Wassáf as being a noted town in the Júd hills, and by 'Abbas Shírwání in his *Shír-sháhi*. D'Herbelot calls it “Marvin,” in which he is followed by Rampoldi, who confounds it with the capture of Thánesar. Dow calls it Nindoona, S. de Sacy, “Nazin” and “Nazdin.” Briggs, “Nindoona.” Mírkhond speaks of the victory, but does not name the place. Ritter places it near Muzaffarábád, because one stage to the west of it lies a place called “Dunni.”

¹ [“Taru” in the MS. I have used.]

² At the beginning of Mas'úd's reign we still find this chief occupying the same post, according to Abú-l Fazl Baihaki.

The pass to which the Rájá fled was doubtless that of Bhímbar, or it might have been near where the Jailam debouches into the plains. Either way, Mahmúd would not have had far to go before his return to Ghazní. Briggs is wrong in representing him as plundering Kashmír. The original mentions nothing but a pass leading into Kashmír.

Tenth Expedition.—*Thánesar*. A.H. 405.—The *Habíbu-s Siyar* makes this expedition occur in the same year as the one to Bálnát. The *Rauzatu-s Sifá* ascribes it to the following year. The *Yamíní* makes it occur subsequent to the Bálnát campaign, but says nothing about Mahmúd's returning intermediately to Ghazní. We have seen, however, that the season was so late as not to admit of his proceeding to Thánesar direct from Bálnát, unless he passed the season of the rains in India, which is not probable. The *Tárikh-i Alfí* omits all notice of this expedition.

Supposing Thánesar to have been the place visited, it is difficult to reconcile 'Utbí's narrative with the geographical features of the country. If Mahmúd had reached Thánesar by crossing the upper part of the desert of Rájputána, he could have come to no stream with large stone or precipitous banks, or one flowing through a hill-pass. If, again, he had come to any stream with such characteristics he would nowhere have had anything like a desert to pass. Chandíol on the Chináb would alone answer the description, but that would be only halfway to Thánesar.

Firishta's account is as follows:—

“In the year 402 Mahmúd resolved on the conquest of Thánesar,¹ in the kingdom of Hindústán. It had reached the ears of the king that Thánesar was held in the same veneration by idolaters, as Mecca by the faithful; that there was an old temple there, in which they had set up a number of idols, the principal of which was called Jagsom, and was believed to have existed ever since the creation of the world. When Mahmúd reached the Panjáb, he was desirous that, in accordance with the subsisting treaty with Anandpál, no injury should be sustained by that prince's country, in consequence

¹ Briggs and Hammer-Purgstall represent this place as thirty miles west from Delhi, but it is one hundred and twenty miles north of it.

of the Muhammadan army passing through it. An embassy was accordingly sent to inform the Rájá of his design against Thánesar, and desiring him to depute his officers to remain with the army, in order that the villages and towns which belonged to him might be protected from the camp followers.

“Anandpál, agreeing to this proposal, prepared an entertainment for the reception of the king, at the same time issuing orders for all his subjects to supply the camp with every necessary of life.

“The Rájá's brother, with two thousand horse, was also sent to meet the army, and to deliver the following message:—‘My brother is the subject and tributary of the king, but he begs permission to acquaint his majesty that the temple of Thánesar is the principal place of worship of the inhabitants of the country; that, although the religion of the king makes it an important and meritorious duty to destroy idols, still the king has already acquitted himself of this duty, in the destruction of the idols in the fort of Nagarkot. If he should be pleased to alter his resolution regarding Thánesar, and to fix a tribute to be paid by the country, Anandpál promises that the amount of it shall be annually paid to Mahmúd; besides which, on his own part, he will present him with fifty elephants, and jewels to a considerable amount.’

“Mahmúd replied: The religion of the faithful inculcates the following tenet: ‘That in proportion as the tenets of the Prophet are diffused, and his followers exert themselves in the subversion of idolatry, so shall be their reward in heaven;’ that, therefore, it behoved him, with the assistance of God, to root out the worship of idols from the face of all India. How, then, should he spare Thánesar.

“This answer was communicated to the Rájá of Delhi, who, resolving to oppose the invaders, sent messengers throughout Hindústán to acquaint the other Rájás that Mahmúd, without provocation, was marching with a vast army to destroy Thánesar, now under his immediate protection. He observed that if a barrier was not expeditiously raised against this roaring torrent, the country of Hindústán would be soon overwhelmed, and every state, small and great,

¹ Hammer-Purgstall says that Anandpál, the Rájá of *Multán*, sent his brother *Mahammad* to deliver this message. The confusion of names is surprising in such an author.

would be entirely subverted. It, therefore, behoved them to unite their forces at Thánesar, to avert the impending calamity.

“Mahmúd having reached Thánesar before the Hindús had time to assemble for its defence, the city was plundered, the idols broken, and the idol Jagsom was sent to Ghaznín, to be trodden under foot in the street, and decapitated. Immense wealth was found in the temples. According to Hájí Muhammad Kandahárf, a ruby was found in one of them, weighing 450 miskáls, the equal of which no one had ever seen or heard of.

“Mahmúd, after the capture of Thánesar, was desirous of proceeding to reduce Dehlí; but his nobles told him that it would be impossible to keep possession of it, till he had rendered the Panjáb a province of his own government, and had secured himself from all apprehension of Anandpál (Rája of Láhore). The king resolved, therefore, for the present, to proceed no further, till he had accomplished these objects. Anandpál, however, conducted himself with so much policy and hospitality towards Mahmúd,¹ that the Sultán returned peaceably to Ghaznín. On this occasion, the Muhaumadan army brought to Ghaznín 200,000 captives, so that the capital appeared like an Indian city, for every soldier of the army had several slaves and slave girls.”—*Firishta*.

There is nothing in the *Yamini* to warrant this mention of Dehlí, the existence of which is nowhere alluded to by contemporary writers. The frequent mention therefore by *Firishta* of Dehlí and its Rája, in the transactions with the Ghaznivides, seems not to rest on any solid foundation.

Mirkhond makes no mention of Thánesar by name, but speaks of the “Moslem” elephants. ‘Utbf and Khondamír make mention of these elephants in connection with Thánesar. Though *Firishta* leaves no doubt that he considered the holy Thánesar to be meant, it is probable some other place may be alluded to; yet I know no place in India where he could, immediately after crossing a desert, have come upon a stream flowing through a hill-pass, except it be Kach Gandáva in Sindh, which is obviously out of the direction.

Dr. Bird considers Nárdín to have been in Káfiristán, and

¹ [This sentence is not in the printed text.]

Thánesar to be Panjshír, which is the name of a river joining that of Ghorband, and giving name to a pass which leads through Hindú Kush from Kábul to Turkistán, but here we should want both the desert and the elephants.

The term "Moslem" elephants is curious. The *Universal History* endeavours to explain the word thus:—

"Mahmúd Ibn Subuktigín now undertook another expedition into India, and reduced the kingdom of Marwin, which had a capital of the same name. Here he was informed that an Indian idolatrous prince occupied a province, which produced a race of elephants, called Moslem, or faithful elephants. This information excited him to attempt the conquest of that province; which having effected, he brought off with him a vast quantity of spoil, and a great number of those elephants. They were termed Moslem, or faithful elephants, because they sometimes performed a sort of genuflexion and prostration not unlike those of the Moslems or Muhammedans; which induced many of the latter to believe that they were religious animals."

Dr. Bird calls them "elephants of Sulaiman." S. de Sacy, "Saileman." Wilken, "Moslem." With regard to their being Moslems and their adoration and genuflexions, see D'Herbelot, Art. "Fil." The *Jám'u-t Tawárikh* and D'Herbelot designate them as Musulmán. The reading of the *Yamini* and of Ibn Asfr is "Sailamán,"¹ which no doubt is related to the word Sailán and like "Sailáni," signifies merely "Ceylonese elephants."

Eleventh Expedition.—*Lohkot.*² A.H. 406.—This was an attempt to penetrate into Kashmir, which was entirely unsuccessful, for Mahmúd advanced no further than Lohkot, and then returned. There is no allusion to it in the *Yamini*,³ the *Kausatu-s Safá*, or the *Habibu-s Siyar*,

¹ [The name is written with *sudá*, not with *sin*, which is fatal to the supposed connection with "Moslem."]

² [This place appears again in the "Fourteenth Expedition" of the year 413 H. (page 464 *infra*), where also the siege was unsuccessful. The circumstances of the two accounts are so similar as to make it probable that they relate to the same event. There is no record of the siege in the *Yamini*, the inference to be drawn from which fact is that it occurred after the close of that work in 413 H.]

³ There is an allusion to an attempt in Kashmir at the opening of the Kanauj Expedition, but this seems only to imply that he marched under the Lower Kashmir hills. Hammer-Purgstall actually represents Mahmúd as plundering the capital of Kashmir.

but it is mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, the *Tabakāt-i Akbari*, and *Firishta*.¹ The *Tabakāt-i Akbari* ascribes it to the year 407, and calls the place simply Kot. Reinaud² considers that this attack was made during the expedition to Kanauj, but this is highly improbable; for though the governor of the passes leading into Kashmir came to pay his respects on that occasion, Mahmūd did not penetrate even the lower hills.

The position of Lohkot is difficult to fix. It is perhaps the same strong place which Al Birūnī and Rashīdu-d dīn speak of as Lohūr or Lohāwar, in the hills of Kashmir³; and as they describe it as not far from Rājāwar, one of the boundaries of Hind, on the north, I think we may look for an identification in the present Kotta, where there is a lofty fort of evident antiquity. If so, he must have returned by the bed of the Panjāl river, and the waters from which he could not extricate his army must have been those of the Jailam, expanding over the plain so accurately described by Quintus Curtius, and so faithful to present appearances.

Firishta thus speaks of this campaign:—

“Mahmūd, in the year 406, again marched with the design of entering Kashmir, and besieged the fort of Loh-kot, which was remarkable on account of its height and strength. After a while, when the snow began to fall, and the season became intensely cold, and the enemy received reinforcements from Kashmir, the Sultān was obliged to abandon his design, and return to Ghaznīn. On his route, having lost his way, he came upon a place where the whole plain was covered with water—wherever they went they saw nothing but water. Many of his troops perished. This was the first disaster that the Sultān suffered in his campaigns against India. After some days he extricated himself with great difficulty from his peril, and reached Ghaznīn without having achieved any success.”

Twelfth Expedition.—Kanauj, Mathura. A.H. 409.—A full account has been given of this celebrated invasion by 'Utbi and Khondamīr. As the statement of Nizāmu-d dīn differs from Firishta in some

¹ [Ibn Asir makes a brief reference to it under the year 406, recording only Mahmūd's great losses from the waters. He does not name the place.]

² *Fragments, Arabes et Persans*, p. 118.

³ [Vol. i. pp. 62-65.]

respects, it is given below. It is to be observed that all the authors, except Mirkhond, concur in representing that 409 H. was the year of this invasion, and most of them mention that he set out in the spring. This gives occasion to Dr. Bird to observe:—"As the spring season is mentioned, and as Hijra 409 commenced on the 20th May, A.D. 1018, Mahmúd must have left Ghazni in the end of the preceding year, 408, which would correspond with the spring of A.D. 1018. Muhammadan historians, not attending to the fact of the seasons west of the Indus being the same as those in Europe, and forgetting the particular commencement of the Hijra years, are constantly committing such blunders." Consequently he makes six or seven months to elapse before Mahmúd reaches Kanauj.

Here, with all due deference be it said, Dr. Bird seems to have fallen into the very error which he condemns; for it is abundantly evident that here, as has already been observed respecting the sixth expedition,¹ that the Indian spring after the close of the rains is meant. That spring occurs in Afghánistán much about the same time as our own in Europe is admitted. Indeed, it is observed in Afghánistán with the same kind of joyous festivities as it was in Europe, before more utilitarian notions prevailed; but in this instance, where the months are mentioned, we can be left in no manner of doubt. Starting in the spring, we find from 'Utbi that Mahmúd crossed the Jumna on the 20th of Rajab, 409=December 1018, and reached Kanauj on the 8th of Sha'bán, 409=January, 1019, and as this is declared to be a three months' journey, he must have started in October, so that he might have the whole of the six months of the cold season before him. The spring therefore alluded to was evidently not in accordance with the European season.

Elphinstone has been led into the same error by following the guidance of Dr. Bird, and observes:—"The whole of this expedition is indistinctly related by Firishta. He copies the Persian writers, who, adverting to the season in their own country, make Mahmúd begin his march in spring. Had he done so he need not have gone so high in search of fords, but he would have reached Kanauj at the beginning of the periodical rains, and carried on all his subsequent movements in the midst of rivers during that season. It is probable

¹ *Supra*, p. 445.

he would go to Pesháwar before the snow set in above the passes, and would cross the Indus early in November."

In this last passage he acutely suggests as Mahmúd's probable movement, that which actually occurred, except that he must have crossed the Indus in October. There is, therefore, no correction necessary, and the native authorities have been wrongly censured.

He continues :—"His marches are still worse detailed. He goes first to Kanauj; then back to Mirat, and then back again to Mattra. There is no clue to his route, advancing or retiring. He probably came down by Mirat, but it is quite uncertain how he returned." Dr. Bird also remarks upon Firishta's ignorance of geography, upon the army moving about in all directions, without any obvious reason.

All this arises from following Firishta too implicitly, without referring to more original and authentic sources. The statement in the *Yamini* is clear enough, and it does not appear why Firishta should have departed from it.

The *Yamini* says that, after passing by the borders of Kashmír, that is, close under the sub-Himalayan range, and crossing the Jumna, Mahmúd takes Baran, which is the ancient name of the present Bulandshahr, for which more modern authors, not knowing what "Baran" was, substitute "Mirat"—then Kulchand's fort, which is the Mahában of the other—then crossing the Jumna he takes Mathura—and then recrossing the Jumna, he proceeds to Kanauj, and takes that and its seven detached forts, of which the ruins of some may still be traced. He then goes to Munj, "a city of Bráhmans," or, as Briggs says, "of Rájputs," for which there is no authority—his original being merely "fighting men." This place must be the same as the old town of Manjháwan, or Majháwan, the ruins of which are still visible on the Pandú river, ten miles south of Kánhpúr. It is in the heart of the country of the Kanauj Bráhmans. He then proceeds to Chandalbhor's fort of Asní, lower down on the banks of the Ganges, ten miles N.E. from Fathpúr, where at a later period we find Jaichand depositing his treasure. It is a very old town, founded, it is said, by Aswaní Kumára, the son of Súraj, who held a sacrifice there,

and founded a city called after his own name. On the 25th of Sha'bán, after capturing Sharwa or Sarúa,—which I conceive to be either Seunra on the Ken, between Kálinjar and Banda, or Sriswa-garh on the Pahonj, not far from Kúncb,—he reaches the retreat of Chand Rái in the hills. These hills must be those of Bundelkhand, for there are no others which he could have reached before the close of Sha'bán, seeing he only arrived at Kanauj on the 8th. There is to be sure no mention of his crossing or recrossing the Jumna, but this is no valid objection, for neither is there any mention of his crossing the Panjáb on his return to Ghazní. Of the two places mentioned above, in the plains of Bundelkhand, Sriswa-garh or Sriswa-garh, appears the most probable; for we know it to have been a place of considerable importance in the annals of the Bundelkhand Rájas; for about two centuries after this, the bard Chand informs us, that several chiefs were slain in defending it against Pirbí Rái of Delhi, who for the purpose of capturing it, had crossed the river Sind, which was the boundary between his dominions and those of Parmál Chandel, the Rája of Mahoba. It is to be observed that no other author except 'Utbi mentions the name of Sharwa—later authors not being able to identify it. Mahmúd's progress under the explanation now given appears to have been regular and consistent.

The *Rauzat-us Safá* observes the same order, with the omission of some of the names. First, the fort of a converted Hindú (Baran); then the fort of Kulchand (Mahában); then the holy city not mentioned by name (Mathura); then Kanauj; then Munj; then the fort of Chandpál; and lastly, the pursuit of Chand Rája. The *Habiba-s Siyar* follows this statement, omitting all occurrences after the capture of Kanauj. Nizámu-d din and Firishta have reversed this order, and make Mahmúd proceed direct to Kanauj, then back to Mírat or Baran, then to Mahában, then to Mathura, then to the seven forts on the banks of a river, which the *Tárikh-i Afi* adds were under the Delhi Rája; then to Munj, then to the fort of Chandpál, then in pursuit of Chandrái.

The following is extracted from Nizámu-d din Ahmad. The number of troops which accompanied the Sultán is not mentioned. 'Utbi says he had 20,000 volunteers from Transoxiana. Markhend

says these were in addition to his own troops. Firishta says he had 100,000 chosen horse and 20,000 northern foot.

"In A.H. 409, Sultán Mahmúd marched at the head of his army with the resolution of conquering the kingdom of Kanauj. When, having crossed seven dreadful rivers, he reached the confines of that kingdom, the governor of the place, whose name was Kora, submitted to him, sought his protection, and sent him presents.¹

"The Sultán then arrived at the fort of Barna. The governor, whose name was Hardat, left the fort under the care of his tribe and relations,² and sought to conceal himself elsewhere. The garrison, finding themselves unable to defend the fort, capitulated in a few days, agreeing to pay a thousand times a thousand (1,000,000) dirhams, which is equal to 2,50,000 rupees, and also to present him with thirty elephants.

"The Sultán marched thence to the fort of Maháwan, on the banks of the river Jumna. The chief of the place, whose name was Kulchandar, mounted his elephant with the intention of crossing over the stream and flying away, but the Sultán's army pursued, and when they approached him he killed himself with his dagger.

"To live in the power of an enemy
Is much worse than to die."

The fort was captured, and eighty-five elephants, besides much other booty, fell into the hands of the victors.

"Proceeding from this place, the king arrived at Mathura,³ which was a very large city full of magnificent temples. It is the birth-place of Krishn (or) Bāsdeo, whom the Hindús venerate as an incarnation of God. When the Sultán reached the city no one came out to oppose him.⁴ The Sultan's army plundered the whole city and set fire to the temples. They took immense booty, and by the Sultán's order they broke up a golden image which was ninety-eight

¹ In the *Tamini* this conversion is ascribed to the ruler of Baran, and in the *Habibu-s Siyar* also, which Firishta by some mistake has quoted as his own authority. Firishta makes Mahmúd stay three days in Kanauj.

² ["*Kaum e khweshán.*"] ³ [مشور]]

⁴ Firishta says it belonged to the Rája of Delhi, for which there is no authority. He also says the Sultán remained twenty days at Mathura.

thousand three hundred miskáls in weight; and there was also found a sapphire weighing four hundred and fifty miskáls.

It is said that Chandar Rái, who was one of the Rájás of Hindústán, possessed a very powerful and famous elephant. The Sultán desired to purchase it at a very large price, but could not get it.¹ When the Sultán was returning from Kanauj, this elephant one night broke away from the other elephants, and went without any driver to the Sultán's camp, who took it, and being much pleased, he called it Khudádád (the gift of God).

"When he returned to Ghaznín, he had the value of the spoil counted. It was found to consist of 20,000,000 dirhams, 53,000 captives, and 350 elephants."—*Tabakát-i Akbari*.

There are not fewer difficulties to contend with when we come to consider the names of the Hindú chiefs. 'Utbi calls the ruler of Kanauj Rái Jaipál and Purú Jaipál, meaning the same Jaipál who has already been spoken of as the Rájá of Lahore. Mirkhond and Khondamír also call him Jaipál. He is the same as the Nardajanpál of Al Bírúní, of which none of his commentators are able to restore the correct reading. Nizámu-d dín Ahmad and Firishta call him Kora, or, according to Briggs, Koowur-Ray. We are at a loss what grounds these later authors have for this statement. It may, perhaps, be equivalent to Purú, and be meant for Kunwar, "a rája's son," a term of common use in the present day. Bird says he was called Kora from the appellation of his tribe; but there is no such tribe, unless Gaur be meant, which would be spelt in nearly a similar form. However this may be, we must, improbable as it may seem, follow the statement of 'Utbi, and conceive that the Rájá of Lahore was at this time in possession of Kanauj. There are certain details given which favour this notion. The son of this Purú Jaipál is, according to the *Yamíní*, Bhím-pál, who writes to Chand Rái, respecting the Musulmánás, as if he had long been in communication with them. This Bhím-pál speaks of his uncle having been forcibly converted, which uncle, as we have already seen, seems evidently to be the same as Nawása Sháh. We also find Purú Jaipál holding

¹ Previous to this Firishta makes the Sultán attack Rája Chandpál, who evacuates his fort, and sends his treasure to the hills. He makes Chand Rái also fly to the hills.

dominions on the other side of the Ganges during the next campaign on the Ráhib. We may suppose, therefore, that, without being *de facto* ruler throughout these broad domains, he may have held a sort of suzerainty or paramount rule, and was then in the eastern portion of his dominions, engaged in settling the nuptials of his son, Bhím-pál, or had altogether transferred his residence to these parts, to avoid the frequent incursions of his Muhammadan persecutors, who, in their late expedition to Thánesar, had shown that it was impossible for him to maintain independence in Lahore. Like as the reigning family was driven from Kábul to Bhera, and from Bhera to Lahore, so it seems now to have been driven from Lahore to Kanauj.

The Chandálbhor Phúr, or Púr, in some copies of the *Yamini*, the ruler of Ásí, may, perhaps, indicate that the Rájá was a Chandel Rájput, for Ásí is close to the spot where we find that clan now established. The name Phúr may have some connection with the legendary Fúr, or Porus, who opposed Alexander; for, be it observed, his capital is represented by Indian geographers to have been in the neighbourhood of Allahabad; and the Rájás of Kumáún, who are themselves Chandels, represent themselves to be descended from this Fúr, the ruler of Kanauj and Prayág. So addicted are the Asiatics to ascribe this name to Indian potentates that some Arabic authors name even Rái Pithaurá as Puras. On this name and the analogies which it suggests, much might be added, but it would lead us beyond the immediate purport of this Note to discuss them.¹

Chand Rái, perhaps, also indicates the same lineage, for his dominions must have adjoined Bundelkhand, in which province are included Mahoba and Chanderi, the original seats from which the Chandels emigrated.

Thirteenth Expedition.—Battle of the Ráhib. A.H. 412.—'Utbi mentions no year for this expedition. Nizámu-d din Ahmad attributes it to 410; Firishta to 412. The latter is the most probable. Mírkhond and Khondamír make no mention of it. 'Utbi places the scene on the Ráhib, which we know from Al Birúní to be on the

¹ Compare Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. Part 1. p. 453. Elphinstone, *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 467. Lassen, *Pentopotamid Indica*, p. 16. Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, Vol. I. p. 91. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II. pp. 147, 195. *Hadikatu-l Akálim*, v. "Allahábád." *Yátgár-i Baháduri*, v. "Kanauj." Bird's *History of Gujarat*, p. 133. *Haiyátu-l Haiwan*, by Shaikh Abu-l Fath Damari.

other side of the Ganges, and is either the Rámangá, or the Sye—apparently the latter in the present instance.

The other authors place the scene on the Jumna, and we might consider their account to refer to some other expedition, were not Purú Jaipál mentioned in both, as well as the circumstance of the surprise by eight men swimming over the river. It is also worthy of remark that Al Bírúni gives the death of Púr Jaipál in 412 A.H., which makes it highly probable that he was slain in this very action, though that fact is not expressly mentioned in the *Tarikh Yamini*.

Dr. Bird doubts this expedition altogether, because another expedition occurs against Kálinjar, and the two appear to have been in reality one. But here not even Firishta represents that Mahmúd went to Kálinjar, though he was engaged with the Rája of that place. 'Utbi's statement must be received as conclusive respecting a movement as far as the Ráhib; though he mentions nothing about Kálinjar or Nandá Rája. Indeed, in that author we nowhere find mention of that submission to the Sultán, on account of which the Rái of Kanauj was sacrificed to the vengeance of the Hindú confederacy.

That Purú Jaipál should be found on the other side of the Ráhib, as 'Utbi says, or come to the aid of Nandá Rájá, according to Nizámu-d dín and Firishta, is confirmative of the probability previously noticed, that he had then established himself far to the eastward of Lahore.

The following is the statement of Nizámu-d dín:—

“It is said that when Sultán Mahmúd heard that a Rája named Nandá¹ had slain the Rái of Kanauj, for having recognized and submitted to the Sultán, he resolved to invade his territory. So, in A.H. 410, he marched again towards Hindústán. When he reached the banks of the Jumna, Púr Jaipál,² who had so often fled before his troops, and who had now come to assist Nandá, encamped in face of the Sultán; but there was a deep river between them, and no one passed over without the Sultán's permission. But it so happened

¹ Firishta says that many of the neighbouring princes had joined in league with Nandá, whom he calls the Rája of Kálinjar.

² Firishta calls him the Rái of the Panjáb, the grandson of Jaipál. [Sir H. Elliot's MS. gives the name of Púr Jaipál.]

that eight of the royal guards of Mahmúd's army having crossed the river together, they threw the whole army of Púr Jaipál into confusion, and defeated it. Púr Jaipál, with a few infidels, escaped. The eight men¹ not returning to the Sultán, advanced against the city of Bári,² which lay in the vicinity. Having found it defenceless, they plundered it, and pulled down the heathen temples.

The Sultán advanced from hence to the territory of Nandá, who, resolving on battle, collected a large army, which is said to have consisted of thirty-six thousand horse, one hundred and five thousand foot,³ and six hundred and forty elephants. When the Sultán approached his camp, he first sent an ambassador, calling upon him to acknowledge fealty, and embrace the Muhammadan faith. Nandá refused these conditions, and prepared to fight. Upon this, the Sultán reconnoitred Nandá's army from an eminence, and observing its vast numbers, he regretted his having come thither. Prostrating himself before God, he prayed for success and victory. When night came on, great fear and alarm entered the mind of Nandá, and he fled with some of his personal attendants, leaving all his baggage and equipments. The next day the Sultán, being apprized of this, rode out on horseback without any escort, and carefully examined the ground. When he was satisfied that there was no ambush or strategical device, he stretched out his hands for plunder and devastation. Immense booty fell into the hands of the Musulmán, and five hundred and eighty of Nandá's elephants, which were in the neighbouring woods, were taken. The Sultán, loaded with victory and success, returned to Ghaznín."⁴—*Tabakát-i Akbari*.

Fourteenth Expedition.—*Kirát, Núr, Lohkot, and Láhore.*⁵ A.H. 413. We now lose the guidance of 'Utbi, and are compelled to follow the more uncertain authority of later writers. It has been questioned

¹ Firishta says that these eight must, of course, have been officers, each followed by his own corps. He gives no name to the city which was plundered.

² Nizámu-d dín is the only author who states this. His account is fully confirmed by the statement of Abú Rihán, that Bári became the Hindú capital, after the loss of Kanauj.

³ Forty-five thousand, in Firishta.

⁴ Because, as Firishta adds, he was apprehensive about what would occur in the Panjab and other countries in his rear, and was satisfied with what had done that year.

⁵ [Compare with this General Cunningham's Note,

whether this expedition ever took place. Elphinstone and Reinaud take no notice of it, and Eird says that it is a mere repetition of the previous one to Bálnát; and "the narratives evidently refer to the same places and transactions." Even if they did refer to the same places, there is no reason why the transactions should not have been different. As Firishta asserts that Kuriat¹ and Nardein lie apparently between Turkistán and Hindústán, it is evident that he thought he was dealing with places which had not yet been mentioned. His authority for assigning this position to the tract is not the *Tabakát-i Akbari*, in which it is merely stated that the country has mountain passes, is very cold, abounds with fruit, and that its inhabitants worship lions. This latter, no doubt, alludes to the worship of Sákya Sinha (lion) the Buddha. But, though Firishta had little authority for his assertion, it is evident that he was correct in making it Kuriat. First, we must restore the true reading of Nardein. The latter, in the *Tabakát-i Akbari* and *Kanzul Mahpúr* is correctly given as "Núr;" and "Kuriat" in the same works, in the original of Firishta, is correctly given as "Kírát." Now, the position of Kírát and Núr is ascertained by referring to Al Bírúni's account of the Kábul river, which is thus described by him: "This body of water—the Kábul river—passes through the country of Lamghán, near the fort of Dirúna, and is then joined by the waters of Núr and Kírát." When it reaches opposite Pesháwar, it forms a considerable stream," etc. Here, then, we must look for the waters of Núr and Kírát, between the towns of Jalálábád and Pesháwar, and we shall find that the country alluded to is that drained by the Kuner and Landye rivers—that is, Swát, Bajaur, and part of Káfristán. This tract exactly corresponds with the description given in the *Tabakát-i Akbari*; and plenty of Buddhist remains survive to explain the allusion to the worship of lions.

¹ Dow reads "Kiberat;" Briggs, "Kucid" in the translation, but "Kairát" in the text; Wilken, "Ferath;" and "Kabrath." The real reading being Kírát, which name may be the same as that of the mountaineers of Sanskrit geography.

² [In page 47, Vol. i., my translation of the Persian version of this passage differs:—"uniting near the fort of Dirúna (the waters) fall into the Nurokírát;" and this is correct according to the Persian text, ". . . . nazdik-i kala'i Dirúna majmú' na shavad va dar áb-i Nurokírát má-úftad." Sir H. Elliot follows Reinaud's translation of the text of Bírúni, which certainly seems more accurate than the Persian version. See *Mém. sur l'Inde*, 276.—ED.]

On the supposition that Núr and Kírát were in the neighbourhood of Bajaur, there is no difficulty in tracing the progress of the conqueror during this invasion. On his way from Ghaznín, he makes an incursion across the Kábul river, and while his general is engaged in capturing Núr and building the fort, to overawe the wild inhabitants, he himself proceeds to the impregnable Lohkot, by the same road which he had previously travelled; and then returned to Ghaznín after visiting Lahore.

As the *Habíbu-s Siyar* gives no account of this expedition, the following narrative is taken from Nizámu-d dín Ahmad. Firishta adds to it that the king of Lahore fled to Ajmír, and that Mahmúd, before returning to Ghazní, nominated commanders to the conquered provinces of Hindustán, and left troops for their protection. This author is mistaken in speaking of the stone which was found at Nárdín, and was represented to be four thousand years old. He has in this respect, from similarity of name, confounded this expedition with that against Ninduna or Nárdín, in the Bálnát hills.

“About this time, the king learned that the inhabitants of the two mountainous tracts (*darra*) of Kírát and Núr, were all worshippers of idols, and possessed some very strong positions. The Sultán immediately gave orders that his forces should be collected; and having taken many blacksmiths, carpenters, and stone-cutters with him, he proceeded towards those places. When he approached the country, he first attacked Kírát. This place was very cold, and abounded with fruit; and its inhabitants were worshippers of lions. The chief of that forest, however, made submission, and accepted Islám. All the other people also followed his example. Sáhib 'Alí' ibn Ilár, a Muhammadan, was sent to reduce Núr, which he accomplished. He founded a fort at this place, and left 'Alí bin Kadr Júk² as governor of it. Islám spread in this part of the country by the consent of the people and by the influence of force.

“In A.H. 412,³ the king advanced toward Kashmír, and invested

¹ Firishta says son of Arslán Jázib.

² Firishta says Saljúki, and it is not improbable that some of that enterprising race were in Mahmúd's service.

³ Firishta gives no year, but it may be implied that he alludes to 413 A.H., as he has a separate expedition for both 412 and 414.

the stronghold of Lohkot.¹ He stayed before it one month, but finding the fort, on account of its strength and loftiness, altogether impregnable, he decamped and proceeded towards Lahore and Bággar. He directed his followers to plunder the hill country, and immense booty was collected. The Sultán returned in the commencement of spring to Ghaznín."—*Tabakát-i Akbari*.

Fifteenth Expedition.—Gwáliár and Kálinjár. A.H. 414.—This is another expedition resting only on the same authorities, and respecting which also doubts have been entertained, but there seems no reason to suppose that the restless bigotry of Mahmúd did not undertake this new expedition. It does not appear that he had yet visited Kálinjár, though he had been twice in the neighbourhood. The mention of Gwáliár in connection with it seems to separate this altogether from the other expeditions towards Bundelkhand and the Lower Doáb.

The following is from the *Tabakát-i-Akbari*:—

"In A.H. 413 (1021 A.D.) Mahmúd again undertook an expedition against the territory of Nandá. Having reached the fort of Gwáliár, he besieged it. Four days after, the chief of the place sent messengers promising thirty-five elephants, and solicited protection. The Sultán agreed to the terms, and from thence proceeded to Kálinjár. This is a fort unparalleled in the whole country of Hindústán for its strength. He invested this fort also, and, after a while, Nandá, its chief, presented three hundred elephants, and sued for peace. As these animals were sent out of the fort without riders,² the Sultán ordered the Turks to seize and mount them. The enemy perceiving this, was much surprised, and Nandá sent a copy of Hindí verses in praise of the Sultán, who gave it to the learned men of Hind and other poets who were at his court, who all bestowed their admiration upon them. He was much pleased with the compliment, and in return conferred on him the government of fifteen forts,³ besides some other presents. Nandá acknowledged

¹ [See note in p. 456 *supra*.]

² Firishta says that in order to put the bravery of the Sultán's troops to the test, the Rája had intoxicated these elephants with drugs, and that Mahmúd ordered a select body of horse to seize or kill them or drive them away from the camp.

³ Among which, adds Firishta, was Kálinjár itself.

this favour by sending immense riches and jewels to the Sultán, who then victoriously and triumphantly returned to Ghaznín.

"In A.H. 414, Mahmúd mustered all his forces, and found them, besides those which were employed on duty in the different parts of his kingdom, to consist of fifty-four thousand horse and one thousand three hundred elephants."—*Tabakát-i Akbari*.

Sixteenth Expedition.—Somnát. A.H. 416-7.—The accounts of this celebrated expedition are given in great detail by most authors. Those who follow [Ibn Asír and] Mirkhond make it commence with 416 H. Those who follow Firishta with 415 H. Dr. Bird has given good reason for preferring the former year, where he shows the necessity of paying attention to the Indian seasons in examining these expeditions. A few additional circumstances, not to be found in the *Habibu-s Siyar*, are mentioned by other authors, and are shown in the following extracts.

Though the position of Somnát is well-known in the district of the Guzerát peninsula, now called Bhábrewár, yet by some extraordinary mistake, in which he has been followed by Rampoldi, D'Herbelot considers it to be the same as Viziapur in the Dekhin.

[From the *Kámilu-t Tawdríkh* of Ibn Asír¹ :—

"In the year 414 H. Mahmúd captured several forts and cities in Hind, and he also took the idol called Somnát. This idol was the greatest of all the idols of Hind. Every night that there was an eclipse the Hindús went on pilgrimage to the temple, and there congregated to the number of a hundred thousand persons. They believed that the souls of men after separation from the body used to meet there, according to their doctrine of transmigration, and that the ebb and flow of the tide was the worship paid to the idol by the sea, to the best of its power. Everything of the most precious was brought there; its attendants received the most valuable presents, and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 vil-

¹ [The account given of this expedition by Ibn Asír is the oldest one extant, and has been largely drawn upon by later writers. Firishta must have used it, Kazwíní copied his account of the temple from it (see Vol. I. of this work, p. 97), and the extracts which follow this show how much other authors are indebted to it. The whole account is more specific in its details than those of its copyists. For these reasons the Editor has inserted it here in full.]

lages. In the temple were amassed jewels of the most exquisite quality and incalculable value. The people of India have a great river called Gang, to which they pay the highest honour, and into which they cast the bones of their great men, in the belief that the deceased will thus secure an entrance to heaven. Between this river and Somnát there is a distance of about 200 parasangs, but water was daily brought from it with which the idol was washed. One thousand Bráhmans attended every day to perform the worship of the idol, and to introduce the visitors. Three hundred persons were employed in shaving the heads and beards of the pilgrims. Three hundred and fifty persons sang and danced at the gate of the temple. Every one of these received a settled allowance daily. When Mahmúd was gaining victories and demolishing idols in India, the Hindús said that Somnát was displeased with these idols, and that if he had been satisfied with them no one could have destroyed or injured them. When Mahmúd heard this he resolved upon making a campaign to destroy this idol, believing that when the Hindús saw their prayers and imprecations to be false and futile, they would embrace the faith.

“So he prayed to the Almighty for aid, and left Ghazní on the 10th Sha'bán, 414 H., with 30,000 horse besides volunteers, and took the road to Multán, which place he reached in the middle of Ramazán. The road from thence to India was through a barren desert, where there were neither inhabitants nor food. So he collected provisions for the passage, and loading 30,000 camels with water and corn, he started for Anhalwára. After he had crossed the desert, he perceived on one side a fort full of people, in which place there were wells. People came down to conciliate him, but he invested the place, and God gave him victory over it, for the hearts of the inhabitants failed them through fear. So he brought the place under the sway of Islám, killed the inhabitants, and broke in pieces their images. His men carried water away with them from thence and marched for Anhalwára, where they arrived at the beginning of Zil Ka'da.

“The chief of Anhalwára, called Bhím, fled hastily, and abandoning his city, he went to a certain fort for safety and to prepare himself for war. Yamínu-d daula again started for Somnát, and on his

march he came to several forts in which were many images serving as chamberlains or heralds of Somnát, and accordingly he (Mahmúd) called them Shaitán. He killed the people who were in these places, destroyed the fortifications, broke in pieces the idols, and continued his march to Somnát through a desert where there was little water. There he met 20,000 fighting men, inhabitants of that country, whose chiefs would not submit. So he sent some forces against them, who defeated them, put them to flight, and plundered their possessions. From thence they marched to Dabalwárah, which is two days' journey from Somnát. The people of this place stayed resolutely in it, believing that Somnát would utter his prohibition and drive back the invaders; but Mahmúd took the place, slew the men, plundered their property, and marched on to Somnát.

“He reached Somnát on a Thursday in the middle of Zí-l Ka'da, and there he beheld a strong fortress built upon the sea shore, so that it was washed by the waves. The people of the fort were on the walls amusing themselves at the expense of the confident Musulmán, telling them that their deity would cut off the last man of them, and destroy them all. On the morrow, which was Friday, the assailants advanced to the assault, and when the Hindús beheld the Muhammadáns fighting, they abandoned their posts, and left the walls. The Musulmán planted their ladders against the walls and gained the summit: then they proclaimed their success with their religious war-cry, and exhibited the prowess of Islám. Then followed a fearful slaughter, and matters wore a serious aspect. A body of Hindús hurried to Somnát, cast themselves on the ground before him, and besought him to grant them victory. Night came on, and the fight was suspended.

“Next morning, early, the Muhammadans renewed the battle, and made greater havoc among the Hindús, till they drove them from the town to the house of their idol, Somnát. A dreadful slaughter followed at the gate of the temple. Band after band of the defenders entered the temple to Somnát, and with their hands clasped round their necks, wept and passionately entreated him. Then again they issued forth to fight until they were slain, and but few were left alive. These took to the sea in boats to make their escape,

but the Musulmán's overtook them, and some were killed and some were drowned.

"This temple of Somnát was built upon fifty-six pillars of teak wood covered with lead. The idol itself was in a chamber; its height was five cubits and its girth three cubits. This was what appeared to the eye, but two cubits were (hidden) in the basement. It had no appearance of having been sculptured. Yamínu-d daula seized it, part of it he burnt, and part of it he carried away with him to Ghazní, where he made it a step at the entrance of the Jámi'-masjid. The shrine of the idol was dark, but it was lighted by most exquisitely jewelled chandeliers. Near the idol was a chain of gold to which bells were attached. The weight of it was 200 mans. When a certain portion of the night had passed, this chain was shaken to ring the bells, and so rouse a fresh party of Bráhmans to carry on the worship. The treasury was near, and in it there were many idols of gold and silver. Over it there were veils hanging, set with jewels, every one of which was of immense value. The worth of what was found in the temple exceeded two millions of dinárs, all of which was taken. The number of the slain exceeded fifty thousand."¹—*Ibn Astr.*]

The following is from the *Tárikh-i Alfi*:—

"It is said that the temple of Somnát was built by one of the greatest Rájás of India. The idol was cut out of solid stone, about five yards in height, of which two were buried in the earth. Mahmúd, as soon as his eye fell on this idol, lifted up his battle-axe with much anger, and struck it with such force that the idol broke into pieces. The fragments of it were ordered to be taken to Ghaznín, and were cast "down at the threshold of the Jámi' Masjid,' where they are lying to this day. It is a well-authenticated fact that when Mahmúd was about to destroy the idol, a crowd of Bráhmans represented (to his nobles) that if he would desist from the mutilation they would pay several crores of gold coins into his treasury. This was agreed to by many of the nobles, who pointed out to the Sultán that he could not obtain so much treasure by

¹ [The continuation of this chapter, relating to Mahmúd's return, will be found, *supra* page 249.]

breaking the image, and that the proffered money would be very serviceable. Mahmúd replied, "I know this, but I desire that on the day of resurrection I should be summoned with the words, 'Where is that Mahmúd who broke the greatest of the heathen idols?' rather than by these: 'Where is that Mahmúd who sold the greatest of the idols to the infidels for gold?'" When Mahmúd demolished the image, he found in it so many superb jewels and rubies, that they amounted to, and even exceeded an hundred times the value of the ransom which had been offered to him by the Bráhmans.

"According to the belief of the Hindús, all the other idols in India held the position of attendants and deputies of Somnát. Every night this idol was washed with "fresh" water brought from the Ganges, although that river must be more than two hundred parasangs distant. This river flows through the eastern part of India, and is held very sacred by the Hindus. They throw the bones of their dead into it.

"It is related in many authentic historical works that the revenue of ten thousand populated villages was set apart as an endowment for the expenses of the temple of Somnát, and more than one thousand Bráhmans were always engaged in the worship of that idol. There hung in this temple a golden chain which weighed two hundred Indian *mans*. To this were attached numerous bells, and several persons were appointed whose duty it was to shake it at stated times during day and night, and summon the Bráhmans to worship. Amongst the other attendants of this temple there were three hundred barbers appointed to shave the heads of the pilgrims. There were also three hundred musicians and five hundred dancing-girls attached to it; and it was customary even for the kings and rájas of India to send their daughters for the service of the temple. A salary was fixed for every one of the attendants, and it was duly and punctually paid. On the occurrence of an eclipse multitudes of Hindús came to visit this temple from all parts of Hindústán. We are told by many historians that at every occurrence of this phenomenon there assembled more than two hundred thousand persons, bringing offerings. It is said in the history of Ibn Asír and in that of Háfiz Ábrú¹ that the room in which the idol of Somnát was

¹ In Firishta this is related on the authority of the *Zainu-l-Ma-úsir*.

placed was entirely dark, and that it was illumined by the refulgence of the jewels that adorned the candelabra. In the treasury of this temple there were also found numberless small idols of gold and silver. In short, besides what fell into the hands of his army from the plunder of the city, Mahmúd obtained so much wealth in gold, jewels, and other valuables from this temple, that no other king possessed anything equal to it.

“When Mahmúd had concluded his expedition against Somnát, it was reported to him that Rája Bhím, chief of Nahrwára, who at the time of the late invasion had fled away, had now taken refuge in the fort of Kandama,¹ which was by land forty parasangs distant from Somnát. Mahmúd immediately advanced towards that place,² and when his victorious flags drew near the fort, it was found to be surrounded by much water, and there appeared no way of approaching it. The Sultán ordered some divers to sound the depth of the water, and they pointed him out a place where it was fordable. But at the same time they said that if the water (the tide) should rise at the time of their passing it would drown them all. Mahmúd, having taken the advice of religious persons, and depending upon the protection of the Almighty God, proceeded with his army, and plunged with his horse into the water. He crossed over it in safety, and the chief of the fort having witnessed his intrepidity, fled away. His whole property, with numerous prisoners, fell into the hands of the army of Islám. All men who were found in the fort were put to the sword.³

“After this conquest, Mahmúd proceeded to invade the territory of the Bhátis, whose chief, being apprised of his intentions, proffered his obedience and submission.⁴ The king left him in possession of his dominions, and returned to his own capital of Ghaznín.”—*Tárikh-i-Alfi*.

From the *Talakát-i-Alharí*:—

“When Mahmúd resolved upon returning home from Somnát, he

¹ Firishá says Gandaba, which Briggs conceives to be Gandaví. Some copies read Khandába or Khandava. [Ibn Asir has Kandahat, *supra* p. 249. It is probably Khandadár in Káshmir. See Vol. I. p. 445.]

² [The MS. I have used breaks off abruptly here.—Ed.]

³ The statements in this paragraph are taken from the *Kausatu-s Safá*.

⁴ This is also mentioned in the *Kausatu-s Safá*, but is not noticed by Firishá.

learned that Parama Dev, one of the greatest Rájás of Hindústán, was preparing to intercept him. The Sultán, not deeming it advisable at the time to contend with this chief, went towards Multán, through Sind. In this journey his men suffered much in some places from scarcity of water, and in others from want of forage. After enduring great difficulties, he arrived at Ghaznín in A.H. 417.

“In this year, Al Kádír Bi-llah wrote a letter to him, accompanied with standards (signalising him as sovereign¹) of Khurásán, Hindústán, Nímroz, and Khwárizm, and granted titles to the Sultán, his sons and brothers. To the Sultán he gave the title of *Kahfu-d daulat wau-l Islám* (Guardian of the State and of the Faith); to Amír Mas’úd that of *Shahábu-d daulat* and *Jamálu-l Millat* (Lustre of the State and Ornament of the Faith); to Amír Muhammad of *Jalálu-d daulat* and *Jamálu-l Millat* (Glory of the State and Ornament of the Faith); and to Amír Yúsuf, of *Azdu-d daulat* and *Muwaiyidu-l Millat* (Support of the State and Maintainer of the Faith). He at the same time assured Mahmúd that he would recognise the person whom he should nominate as his successor. This letter reached the Sultán in Balkh.”²—*Tabakát-i Akbari*.

The difficulties experienced in the desert are thus related by Minháju-s Siráj Júzjání. From the mention of Sind and Mansúra, it is evident that Mahmúd returned by a much more westerly course than he pursued in coming; and if we compare this narrative with the one given in the *Jámi’u-l Hikáyát* (v. sup. p. 192), we shall be confirmed in this view, for the river there mentioned can be no other than the Sind or Panjnad.

From the *Tabakát-i Násiri*:—

“On his return from Somnát through the territory of Sind and Mansúria, he resolved to take his army by way of the desert. On his demand for guides, a Hindú came forward and promised to lead the way. When the army of Islám had for some time³ marched

¹ [These words are not in the text but seem to be implied.]

² This letter must have been written in reply to one addressed to him by Mahmúd after his capture of Somnát, from which there is an extract given in Yáfi’s history.

³ [The text says “*yakshabá*.” In the *Jámi’u-l Hikáyát* the period is said to have been three days.—*supra*, p. 192.]

behind him, and it became time to call a halt, people went in search of water, but it was nowhere found. The Sultán summoned the guide to his presence, and asked him where water was procurable. He replied, "I have devoted my life for the sake of my deity Somnát, and have brought thee and thy army into this desert, where no water is, in order that all may perish." The Sultán ordered the guide to be killed, and the army to encamp. He rested patiently until night came on, and then the Sultán went aside from the camp, and prostrating himself on the earth, entreated with the deepest supplication Almighty God for aid in this extremity. When about a quarter of the night had elapsed, a light shone to the north of the camp. The Sultán ordered his army to march in that direction, and when day broke the Omnipotent led them to a place where there was a supply of water. Thus did all the Musulmáns escape from this imminent danger."¹—*Tabakát-i Násiri*.

From the *Rauzat-u-s Safá*:—

"It is related that when Sultan Mahmúd had achieved the conquest of Somnát, he wished to fix his residence there for some years, because the country was very extensive, possessed many unusual advantages, as well as several mines which produced pure gold. Indian rubies were brought there from Sarandíp, one of the dependencies of the kingdom of Guzerát. His ministers represented to him that to forsake Khurásán, which had been taken from his enemies after so many battles, and to make Somnát the seat of government was very improper. In short, the King made up his mind to return, and ordered that some man should be appointed to hold and carry on the administration of the country. The ministers observed that it was impossible for a stranger to maintain possession, and therefore he should assign it to one of the native chiefs. The Sultán accordingly held a council to settle the nomination, in concurrence with such of the inhabitants as were well disposed towards him. Some of them represented to him that amongst the ancient royal families no house was so noble as that of the Dábshiliáns, of whom only one member survived, and he had

¹ Firih-ta adds that many of the troops died raging mad from the intolerable heat and thirst.

assumed the habit of a Brahman, and was devoted to philosophical pursuits and austerity.¹—*Rauzatu-s Safá.*²

With respect to the name of Somnát, Firishta observes “that Soma was the name of a prince, after whom the idol Nát was called—Nát signifying among the Hindús lord or chief—and is rendered applicable to idols. Thus we have Jagnát, the lord of the creation.” Bird, in one part of his work, says that it is derived from the Sanskrit *Swayambhú Náth*, “self-existing lord;” but in another part, more correctly, from Soma Náth, “the moon-lord,” or “regent of the moon,” which was one of the names under which Mahádeva was worshipped. It is evident from the statement of Al Birúní that Somnát was no idol, but the lingam or phallic emblem of that deity. The embellishments of the story have been commented on by Wilson. “The earlier Muhammadan writers say nothing of the mutilation of its features, for, in fact, it had none; nothing of the treasures it contained, which, as it was solid, could not have been within it. * * * Firishta invents the hidden treasure of rubies and pearls with quite as little warrant. Somnát was in fact a linga, a náth, or deity ascribed to Soma, the moon, as having been erected by him in honour of Siva. It was one of the twelve principal types of that deity, which were celebrated in India at the time of the first Muhammadan invasion.” That there were, however, precious stones upon this lingam we know from the account of Al Birúní, who tells us that the top was garnished with them and with gold. He also informs us that the name of “moon-lord” was derived from the fact of the stone being washed with more particular ceremony twice during the month, at the full and new moon.

The resemblance which the Muhammadan authors wish to establish between this lingam and the Arabian Lát seems to be a mere fancy; for though there was doubtless at one time considerable connection between these parts of India and Arabia, it does not appear to have been exemplified in this particular instance.

There is one other matter which seems to require a passing notice in this place, as of late years it has engaged some attention. I allude to the removal of the Somnát gates.

¹ See *infra*, extracts from *Mujma'-i Wasiqá.* ² [Lith. Ed., Vol. iv. p. 48.]

Seventeenth Expedition.—Játs of Júd. (A.H. 417.—This expedition is also recorded only by the later authorities, but the attack upon the Játs is not in itself improbable, though some of its attendant circumstances are. It is probable that, on the dissolution of the kingdom of Láhore, the Játs of the Júd hills acquired considerable power, and by predatory incursions were able to harry their neighbours. Their advance so far from their own country to attack the Muhammadan army, and the strength of the force with which they opposed it, show that they possessed no inconsiderable power. From a passage quoted by M. Reinaud from the *Kámilu-t Tawárikh*, (416 H.), it appears that they had invaded the principality of Mansúra and had forced the Musulmán Amír to abjure his religion.¹ It does not quite appear what particular portion of the hilly country is here meant, but most probably the Salt range, on the part nearest to Multán. The Játs have now moved further to the north and east, but some of their clans point to the Salt range as their original seats.

The chief improbability, and it is almost insurmountable, consists in Mahmúd's being able to organise a powerful fleet of fourteen hundred boats at Multán, and in being opposed by at least four thousand boats manned by mountaineers. Even in a time of the briskest trade, fourteen hundred boats could not be collected in all the rivers of the Panjáb. It is also remarkable that Mahmúd should choose to fight at all on the river, when his veteran troops would have been so much more effective on land than on water. If he could have equipped so large a fleet on a sudden emergency, it adds to the surprise which Elphinstone invites us to entertain, that Mahmúd, neither in going to or returning from Somnát availed himself of the Indus. On his return, however, he does seem to have come for some way on the banks of the Indus.

As the year 417 H. began on the 22nd Feb., 1026, there was ample time for Mahmúd to have returned to Ghazní in order to escape the heats and rains of Hindústán, and return again to Multán before the Ghazní winter, all within the same year.

The following account is taken from Nizámu-d dín Ahmad:—

“In the same year (417 H.), the Sultán, with a view to punish the Játs, who had molested his army on his return from Somnát, led a

¹ *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 272.

large force towards Multán, and when he arrived there he ordered fourteen hundred boats to be built, each of which was armed with three firm iron spikes, projecting one from the prow and two from the sides, so that anything which came in contact with them would infallibly be destroyed.¹ In each boat were twenty archers, with bows and arrows, grenades,² and naphtha; and in this way they proceeded to attack the Játs, who having intelligence of the armament, sent their families into the islands and prepared themselves for the conflict. They launched, according to some, four, and according to others, eight thousand boats, manned and armed, ready to engage the Muhammadans. Both fleets met, and a desperate conflict ensued. Every boat of the Játs that approached the Moslem fleet, when it received the shock of the projecting spikes, was broken and overturned. Thus most of the Játs were drowned, and those who were not so destroyed were put to the sword.³ The Sultán's army proceeded to the places where their families were concealed, and took them all prisoners. The Sultán then returned victorious to Ghaznín."—*Tabakát-i Akbari*.

NOTE E.

Coins of the Ghaznivides and Ghorians.

["The Coins of the Kings of Ghazni" form the subject of two valuable papers by Mr. Thomas in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,⁴ the last of which is followed by a supplement on the Coins of the Ghorí dynasty. The same writer has also published two papers on the Coins of the "Patan Sultáns of Hindústán," beginning with Muhammad Ghorí (1193 A.D.), and extending to Sikandar Sháh (1554 A.D.) These articles contain so much that is useful by way of correction and illustration, that a few extracts and a general summary of the results so far as they relate to the reigns noticed in the present volume are here given.

¹ For a similar mode of armament about the same period, see *Chronicles of the Crusades*, p. 199.

² [سجده] ق. Apparently some explosive or inflammable missile.]

³ Firishá adds that some of the Ját boats were set on fire.

⁴ [Vol. ix. p. 267, and Vol. xvii. p. 138.]

Among the coins noticed by Mr. Thomas is an important one described by M. Dorn in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint Petersbourg*, Tom. xii., 1855. This is a coin struck at Ghazni in 359 A.H., bearing the name of the Sámání suzerain Mansúr bin Núh and of Bilkátigín as ruler in Ghazni. The succession of Bilkátigín after the death of Alptigín has been passed unnoticed by almost all historians, but the *Jámí'u-l Hikáyát* has two stories (pp. 180-181 *supra*) in which he is spoken of as ruler, and the *Tabakát-i Násiri* (p. 267 *supra*), on the authority of Baihakí, states that Bilkátigín was raised to the throne on the death of Alptigín's son, Abú Is'hák (in 367 A.H.), and that he reigned two years.

Firishta's version is that Alptigín conquered Ghazni in 351, and died in 365, when he was succeeded by his son, Abú Is'hák, who dying two years afterwards, was followed by Subuktigín. This account is consistent in itself, but it is not reconcilable with the fact of Bilkátigín's coin bearing the date of 359. It can hardly be supposed that the name of Bilkátigín would be found upon a coin struck at Ghazni in the life time of Alptigín, although indeed there are coins extant bearing the same name Bilkátigín which were struck at Balkh twenty-five years earlier in A.H. 324.

The *Tabakát-i Násiri* (page 267 *supra*) states that Alptigín died eight years after the conquest of Ghazni, which is placed by Firishta in 351 (962 A.D.) This would make the year of his death to be 359 (969 A.D.), the date of Bilkátigín's coin. Mr. Thomas, therefore, places the death of Alptigín in 359, leaving the interval between that year and 366, the date of Subuktigín's accession, to be filled up by Abú Is'hák and Bilkátigín.

"The opinion advanced by many Muhammadan authors that Subuktigín should be looked upon as the first monarch of the Ghaznaví race, is not borne out by the record on his money: on the contrary, however powerful and virtually independent they may have been, Subuktigín, Ismá'il, and Mahmúd himself in the early days of his rise, all acknowledged the supremacy of the Sámání emperors, and duly inscribed on the currency struck by themselves as local governors, the name of the Lord Paramount, under whom they held dominion. It was not until the year 389 A.H. (999 A.D.)

that the house of Ghazni assumed independence as sovereign princes, which event is duly marked on Mahmúd's medals of the period, in the rejection of the name of the Suzerain Sámání, and the addition of the prefix Amír to his own titles.

"The numerous coins of Mahmúd, in their varied titular supercriptions, mark most distinctly the progressive epochs of his eventful career, commencing with the comparatively humble prænomen of Saifu-d daula, bestowed on him by Núh bin Mansúr in 384 A.H., proceeding onwards to the then usual Sámání titles of sovereignty, Al amír, As Saiyíd, conjoined with the epithets Yamínu-d daula and Amínu-l millat conferred on him by the Khalif Al Kádir-bi-llah, advancing next to the appellation Nizámu-d dín, and the occasional prefix of the pompous designations of Maliku-l Mamálik and Maliku-l mulúk, and finally ending in the disuse of all titular adjuncts, and the simple inscription of the now truly celebrated name he had received at his birth.

"The absence of any numismatic record of the title of Gházi, said to have been adopted by Mahmúd on his return from some of his early expeditions into India, leads to an inference, not altogether unsupported by other negative evidence, that the term in question was not introduced into current use, in the full sense of its more modern acceptance, till a somewhat later period.

* * * * *

"Mahmúd is related to have assumed the title of 'Sultán,' and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term.¹ A reference to the coins of this prince, however, leads to some doubt on the subject, and although their testimony in no wise militates against the generally received account of the origin of the designation, yet it inferentially controverts the assertion of its immediate adoption and use by Mahmúd himself. * * * * Had Mahmúd assumed this prænomen, or had he received it from any competent authority, he would most probably have inscribed the appellation on his coins, whereon it will be seen he at one time much rejoiced to record his greatness. Moreover, had this title been adopted and employed by Mahmúd in the sense in which it was subsequently used, it is but reasonable to infer that it would have been continued

¹ *Khulásatu-l Akhbar* (Price), ii. 282; *Elphinstone's India*, i. 538.

by his immediate successors, and, as such, would have appeared on their money; whereas, the first Ghaznavi sovereign who stamps his coinage with the term is Ibráhím, 451 A.H. During the interval, the designation had already been appropriated by another dynasty, the Saljúk Tughril Beg having entitled himself Sultán so early as 437 A.H., if not before that date.



“The coins of Mahmúd also afford evidence on the non-recognition of the Khalif Al Kádir-bi-llah in the province of Khurásán, until about eight years subsequent to his virtual accession. It is necessary to premise that in the year 381 A.H. the Khalif Al Taia’li-llah was de throne by the Buwaihide Baháu-d daula, the then Amíru-l umará of the Court of Baghdád, and his place supplied by Ahmad bin Is’hák, who was elevated to the Khiláfat under the denomination of Al Kádir-bi-llah. The author of the *Tárikh-i Guzida* relates that ‘the people of the province of Khurásán objecting to this supercession, which was justified by no offence on the part of the late pontiff, continued to recite the public prayers in his name; and it was not until Mahmúd of Ghazni, in disavowing his allegiance to the Sámánis, became supreme in that country, that any alteration in the practice was effected, when Mahmúd, between whom and the new Imám there existed a friendly understanding, directed the *Khutbah* to be read in the name of Al Kádir.’

“The accuracy of this relation is fully borne out by the archaeological evidence furnished by the collection under notice, Mahmúd’s coins invariably bearing the designation of the superseded Khalif Al Taia’ in conjunction with his own early title of Saifu-d daula, up to the year 387 H., while his money of a closely subsequent period is marked by the simultaneous appearance of the name of Al Kádir in association with his own newly-received titles of Yamínu-d daula and Aminu-l imillat.’ Another medal bears unusually explicit testimony to this self-imposed submission, in the addition made to Mahmúd’s detailed honorary denominations which are here seen to

¹ [These passages are very suggestive. The honours and high sounding titles conferred upon Mahmúd as a champion of the Faith had been well earned, but his merits might perhaps have passed unrewarded, but for the personal service rendered to the usurping Khalif.]

conclude with the novel designation of *Wali Amiru-l muminin*—Servant of the Commander of the Faithful.”

The coins of Alptigin bear the name of the Sámání sovereign 'Abdu-l malik, followed by “Alptigin.” That of Bilkátigin has the name of Mansúr bin Núh, and below it “Bilkátigin.” Those of Subuktigin are of similar character. They bear the names of Núh bin Mansúr and Subuktigin, as also that of the Khalif At Taia'-li-llah.

The various legends on the coins of Mahmúd have been already noticed.

MUHAMMAD.—The legend is, “*Jálahu-d daulat wa jamalu-l millat*, Muhammad bin Mahmúd;—the glory of the State and the beauty of the Faith, Muhammad son of Mahmúd.”

Another coin bears his father's titles, “*Yamínu-d daulat wa Aminu-l Millat, Nizámu-d dín Abú-l Kásim Muhammad bin Mahmúd.*”

The name of the Khalifa Al Kádir bi-llah also appears.

MAS'ÚD.—The coins of this sovereign differ considerably in their legends. Some have the simple legend “*Mas'úd*” or “*Mas'úd bin Mahmúd.*” Others have the titles “*Sultánu-l mu'azzam, Maliku-l 'álam*; the great Sultán, king of the world.” Another legend is equally high sounding, but of a religious character. “*Násir dínu 'llah Háfiz 'ibádu-llah, Zahir Khalifu-llah*; defender of the religion of God, protector of the servants of God, supporter of the Khalifa of God.” In others this is contracted into “*Násiru-d dínu-llah Abú Sa'id Mas'úd bin Mahmúd,*” and in others changed into “*Násiru-d dínu-llah Háfiz 'ibádu-llah*; defender of the religion of God, protector of the servants of God.” On the earlier coins the name of the Khalifa Al Kádir bi-llah appears, on later ones the name of Al Káim bi Amru-llah, his son and successor designat is added, and after the death of Al Kádir the name of Al Káim appears alone.

MAUDÚD.—“*Shahábu-d daulat wa Kutbu-l millat*; the meteor of the State and the pole-star of Religion.” In some coins “*Abú-l fath*; father of victory” is added; and in others it is substituted for *Kutbu-l Millat*. Another variety in the legend is “*Fakhru-l imlat*, the glory of the faith.”

The name of the Khalifa, Al Káim bi Amru-llah.

'ABDU-R RASHÍD.—"*'Izzu-d dawlat, Zainu-l millat, Sharafu-llah*; the glory of the State, the ornament of Religion, the honoured of God."

Khalifa's name, Al Káim bi Amru-llah.

FARRUKH-ZÁD.—On some coins the simple name "*Farrukh-zád*" or "*Farrukh-zád bin Ma'súd*." On others the titles "*Jamálu-d dawlat wa Kamálu-l millat*; the ornament of the State and the Perfection of Religion." He is also called in some "*Abú Shujá*, father of courage."

Name of the Khalifa, Al Káim bi Amru-llah.

IBRÁHÍM.—The legends of the coins issued in the long reign are very various. The simplest is "*Ibráhím bin Mas'úd*." Another is "*Abú Mazaffar Ibráhím*." Others are "*Sultánu-l 'azam*, the great Sultan;" "*Zahíru-d dawlat*, the protector of the State;" "*Nasíru-d dawlat, Zahíru-l millat*, defender of the State and protector of the Faith;" "*Káhiru-l mulúk, Saiyídu-s Salátín*, conqueror of kings and chief of monarchs."

The Khalifa's name Al Káim bi Amru-llah.

MAS'ÚD II.—"*Abú Sa'd*, the happy;" "*Sultánu-l 'azam*, the great king;" "*Sultánu-l 'ádíl*, the just king;" "*Alá'u-d dawlat wa Sandu-l millat*, supreme in the State, pre-eminent in Religion;" "*Zahíru-l ímán*, defender of the Faith;" "*Nizámu-d dín*, administrator of Religion;" "*Maulá-u-s Salátín*, king of kings." All these various titles were used, and sometimes two or more of them on one coin.

The Khalifa's name, Al Mustazhar bi-llah.

ARSLÁN.—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam, Sultánu-d dawlat, Malík Arslán bin Mas'úd*."

The Khalifa, Al Mustazhar bi-llah.

BAHRÁM.—"*Bahrám Shah, Sultánu-l 'azam, Yamínu-d dawlat*."

Khalifa, Al Mustarshad bi-llah.

KOUSRÉ SHÁH.—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam, Mu'izzu-d dawlat, The Great Sultan, Glory of the State*."

Khalifa, Al Muktafi l-Amru-llah.

KOUSRÉ MALÍK.—"*Sultánu-l 'azam; Téju-d dawlat, Crown of the State; Siráju-d dawlat, Lamp of the State*."

Khalifas, Muktafi and Mustanjid.

MUHAMMAD GHOKÍ.—This conqueror is called by many historians

Shahábu-d dín, a name which the *Rauzatu-s Safá* tells us was changed to Mu'izzu-d dín when his brother Ghiyásu-d dín became king. He is also commonly known as Muhammad Sám or Muhammad bin Sám, a name which the coins show him to have borne in common with his brother. The superscription on his coins is "*As Sultánu-l 'azam Mu'izzu-d dunyá wau-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sám.*" On some coins this is contracted into "*Sultánu-l 'azam Abú-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sám,*" and on others to "*Sultánu-l 'azam Muhammad bin Sám.*"

The most interesting coins, however, of this monarch are those described by Mr. Thomas (*J. R. A. S.*, xvii. p. 194) as struck in honor of his "Martyred Lord" by *Táju-d dín Yalduz*, at Ghazní, after the death of *Muhammad bin Sám*. Local coins are also extant of the closely succeeding kings: *Kubáchah* of Sind, *'Aláu-d dín Muhammad Khwárizmí*, *Jallálu-d dín Mankburín*; *Changiz Khán* and *Saifu-d dín al Husan Karlagh* of Ghazní and Multán.

KUTBU-D DÍN AIBAK.—Coins unknown.

ARÁM SHÁH.—"*Abú-l Muzaffar Aram Sháh Sultán.*"

ALTAMSH.—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam Shamsu-d dunyá wau-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar Altamsh as Sultán.*" Some of the copper coins have only the name "*Shams,*" and others "*Altamsh.*"

RUKNU-D DÍN.—"*As Sultánu-l mu'azzam Ruknu-d dín binu-s Sultán.*"

SULTÁN RAZIYA (QUEEN).—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam Jalálatu-d dunyá wau-d dín Malíkatu-l bint Altamshu-s Sultán Mihrat Amíru-l mumínín, the great Sultán, the glory of the world and the Faith, the Queen, the daughter of the Sultán Altamsh, the beloved of the Commander of the Faithful.*"

MU'IZZU-D DÍN BAHRÁM SHÁH.—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam 'Aláu dunyá wau-d dín.*"

'ALÁU-D DÍN.—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam 'Aláu-d dunyá wau-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar Mús'úd Sháh.*"

NÁSIRU-D DÍN.—"*As Sultánu-l 'azam Násiru-d dunyá wau-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar Máhmúd ibnu-s Sultán.*"

The last two superscriptions are shortened on the smaller coins by stopping at the word *dín*.

APPENDIX E.

The following extracts are taken from three works resembling the *Jāmi' u-l Hikāyat*. Like the *Jāmi'*, these works are of a general character, but the stories selected from them were intended by Sir H. Elliot to illustrate the reigns of the Ghaznivides, and the extracts relate almost exclusively to that dynasty. The Appendix to this volume therefore seems the most appropriate place for their appearance. If introduced in chronological sequence, two of the extracts would come in much later and be far removed from the other works on the Ghaznvide dynasty.

EXTRACTS FROM THE *Majma'-i Wasdyá*.

[The following stories are taken from a work which the Munshi who translated them calls *Majma'-i Nasdyah*. In the list of works prefixed to Sir H. Elliot's original volume it is entered "No. LXXIX. *Wassaya*, Nizámu-l Mulk." No copy of the work is to be found in Sir H. Elliot's library, nor have I been able to obtain access to one. There is no doubt, however, that the extracts are derived from the work of Nizámu-l Mulk Túsi, the celebrated wazír of Malik Sháh Saljúk. This work was largely used by Hammer in his *History of the Assassins*, and he refers to it as the "*Wassaya*, or Political Institutes of Nizámu-l Mulk." The title of the work then is *Majma'-i Wasdyá*; but it is possible that the copy used by the Munshi bore the title *Majma'i Nasdih*, which is almost identical in signification. The work consists of a series of counsels addressed to the author's own sons.

Malik Sháh Saljúk reigned from 1072 to 1092 A.D., and Nizámu-l Mulk fell by the dagger of an assassin one month before the death of his master. The work, then, was written in the decline of the Ghaznvide dynasty; and a few stories relating to them and to India have been selected. One passage concerning Nizámu-l Mulk himself, and Hasan Sabáh the founder of the sect of the Assassins, has no direct reference to India, but it is interesting, and it enables us to identify the work as being the same as that used by Hammer. (See *History of the Assassins*, Transl. p. 44.)

The wording of the Extracts has been revised in part by Sir H. Elliot and in part by some unknown hand, but the translation seems

not to have been tested; it must therefore rest upon the authority of the Munshí.¹]

Khwdja 'Alí Khesháwand.

In the beginning of Sultán Subuktigín's reign the office of Wazír was conferred on Khwája Abú-l 'Abbás Isfaráíní, but Amír 'Alí Khesháwand, who was the head of the Hájibs and one of the greatest and most trustworthy officers of the Sultán, entertained hostility against him. The Khwája had informed the King of this, and therefore his Majesty was never angry with him. Although complaints were brought against him from different parts of the country, and his every action was immediately reported, yet the King saw no occasion to call him to account. If any person represented to the King any irregularity or misconduct on the part of the Khwája, he considered the man had been instructed by 'Alí Khesháwand; who at last, seeing his endeavours useless, abandoned the pursuit, but only waited for a suitable opportunity. At last the star of the Khwája's fortune began to decline, and the country under his rule fell into disorder. He appointed unjust governors in the provinces, who exercised tyranny over the subjects, so that a large portion of the country became desolate. In Khurásán and the bordering countries, more especially, such a dreadful famine prevailed, that it is recorded in history, and an account of it is given in many historical works. In short, the government assessment upon the lands was not at all realised, and the majority of the people emigrated from the country. Khwája Abú-l 'Abbás' only resource on seeing these circumstances, was to throw himself upon the King's mercy, and solicit remission. Reports were sent to his Majesty from all quarters, and the Khwája being greatly troubled and alarmed, sent in his resignation of the office of Wazír. The Sultán said he should suffer no punishment or injury if he paid into the treasury all the money which he had realized from the country, and which had been entered in his own accounts. On doing this he should be acquitted. The office of Diwán was, however, conferred on Khwája Abú-l Hakk Muhammad, son of Husain of Balkh. In this matter Shamsu-l

¹ [See Hammer, *History of the Assassins*; D'Herbelot, *Malik-ahah*; Valler's *Gesh. der Soldschuken*, 102, 100; Defrenery, *Histoire des Seldjoukides*.]

Káh Khwája Ahmad Hasan was made mediator between the Sultán and Khwája Abú-l 'Abbás, and he took the messages from the one to the other. After much correspondence, it was settled that the Khwája should pay one hundred thousand dinárs into the royal treasury. The Khwája accordingly engaged to satisfy the demand, and he delivered all the property, movable and immovable, which he had amassed during his former employments of deputy of the *'amids*, superintendent of the post-office at Khurásán, and minister of the Sultán. After he had given over everything that he possessed, he represented his indigence and poverty to the King, who compassionated his case, and having called him to his presence, said, if you swear by my soul and head to your pauperism, nobody shall hurt you. He answered, I will not swear till I again enquire of my wives, children, and dependents, and if I find anything remaining with them, I will send it to the King, and then take the oath. Having said this, he returned, and on administering very binding oaths and using all kinds of threats, he found that some small things belonging to his son were in the possession of a merchant. He took them also, and sent them to the royal treasury, and after this he swore to his indigence by the King's soul and head. 'Alí Khesháwand, however, was still seeking cause to disgrace him and make him feel the result of his animosity, although at the same time he was aware of the oath that Khwája Abú-l 'Abbás had taken.

At this juncture the Sultán undertook an expedition to Hindústán, and one day 'Alí Khesháwand, having gone to him while he was sitting alone, told him how he had long since known the deceitful conduct of Abú-l 'Abbás, and that he had several times determined to bring it before his Majesty's notice, but he had hesitated lest the representation of it might be put down to some selfish motive. Your Majesty, said he, has discovered his other faults and embezzlements without my help, and now he has sworn to his indigence falsely, because he has still in his possession some rarities of such value that few kings can boast of in their stores. The Sultán was much surprised on hearing these words, and said, If it is true, Abú-l 'Abbás deserves great punishment. 'Alí Khesháwand observed, If the King order me, I can prove my assertion. The King remarked that in case he failed to prove it he should suffer death.

This was agreed to, and 'Alí Khesháwand departed from the King's presence.

At this time Khwája Abú-l 'Abbás was in confinement in one of the forts. 'Alí Khesháwand, among the plunder from one of the kings of Hindustán, had obtained a dagger from his treasury, the handle of which was adorned with a large ruby of Yemen, sixty miskáls in weight. He had also taken from the store of the Sámání kings a jar which contained a sír of syrup. He had concealed these from every person that the King might not know of them. He now took both these rarities to the fort, and placed Khwája Abú-l 'Abbás in charge of his own men. After a few days he returned to the court, and having brought the dagger and the jar with him, he reported to the King that after many difficulties, and menaces and threats, he had discovered them; that one of them had belonged to the sovereigns of India, and was sent as a present to the throne, but that the Khwája had concealed it; and that the other he had stolen at the time when the treasury of the Sámání kings was taken possession of. Now, said he to the Sultán, what are your orders? Shall we take strong measures against him to realize the arrears or not? The King, in great rage, replied, I give you both these things, and you may exact from him the remainder of the government demands by any means you like. After this the Sultán proceeded to India, and 'Alí Khesháwand delivered the poor minister to his enemies, by whose severities he met the mercy of God.

Troubles of a Minister.

The object of relating this story here is to show that to be at enmity with great and powerful men is very dangerous, and is sure to bring evil. May God protect and help us!

Certain classes of men are particularly deserving of patronage and encouragement, such as the literati, the judicial and revenue officers, secretaries, ambassadors, and envoys. In all political and revenue matters their advice should be taken, because by this much benefit is derived and great advantage obtained. The aid of these people is indispensably necessary. It is impossible to manage the affairs of a kingdom without their instrumentality, and a minister can do nothing without their assistance. The difficult point is, that

the minister's life, not to mention his property and wealth, is endangered. If a man, then, must choose the profession of a minister, he should obtain the help and co-operation of these men, and conciliate them by affability and kindness. He should raise them by his bounty and favour from indigence and poverty to opulence and abundance, from insignificance and meanness to dignity and importance, so that if any person should be envious of him, they may through gratitude give him assistance, and remain loyal and devoted to his cause, neither opposing nor revolting from him, but preventing others by their examples from quarrelling with him. For when one person shows a rebellious spirit, others join with him either secretly or openly, particularly those who may have suffered any hurt from the minister, or are jealous of his preferment. But perhaps you think, that if relations and confidants and trustworthy men be appointed to all offices, no mismanagement can take place or loss be sustained. You must know that this is a great mistake. Because, on the contrary, it is very dangerous for a minister to entrust his relations with the government duties. Don't you know that from the great confidence and implicit reliance which I place in your brothers, I have appointed them to conduct the affairs of the kingdom and have made them superintendents of all the officers of the different divisions of the country, and have entrusted one of them with the privilege of exercising a general control over all, and of reporting all matters, good or bad, to me. I am sure that they will strive to the utmost of their power to uphold their character and preserve my fame. Now-a-days, however, the chief lady is displeased with me because she wishes that the Sultán should appoint her son his heir-apparent; but her object is not realised, because he sees the marks of greater intelligence, wisdom, and prudence, as well as the symptoms of greatness and royalty in Barkiyáruk; while she considers him of no worth, and thinks that I have persuaded the King to entertain the opinion. At all events, she is disgusted with me, and seeks on all sides to find some one whom she may persuade to rise against me and make the Sultán angry with me. She is in search of my enemies and adversaries, but finds none, and therefore can only complain to the King that the Khwája has sent his people to different parts of the kingdom. This is known to nobody else but

himself, but it has made an impression upon the King's mind. Still, if God please, the end will be good and no evil will ensue. I mean to say that if we entrust our relations and kinsmen with offices it creates suspicions against us, and is considered incompatible with honesty and justice; but if we employ strangers, may God protect us from their rebellion and quarrels! You know well what injuries I have received, am receiving, and must receive, from these people. The origin of my quarrel with him (Hasan Sabáh) was through Imám Muwáfik Naishápúri (may the Almighty cause his soul to enjoy peace!) who was one of the most learned and holy men of Khurásán. His age had advanced beyond seventy-five, and he was known to be a very successful teacher. Every lad that read the Kurán and religious books with him obtained a great degree of proficiency in that branch of learning. For this reason my father sent me with the Saint 'Abdu-s Samad from Tús to Naishápúr, and I became his scholar. He showed me much kindness and favour, and I felt great love and affection towards him. I was his scholar for four years, and he taught me with great attention and care. I was associated with four other students who were of equal age with me, and possessed great quickness of perception and solidity of judgment. After leaving the Imám they always came to me, and we sat together and repeated our past lessons. Hakím 'Umar of Naishápúr did not change his ancestor's abode. He was born in Naishápúr and continued to reside in it. The father of Makhzúl Ibn Sabáh 'Alí Bin Muhammad Bin Ja'far was a very pious man, and bigoted in his religion. He generally resided in Re, and Abú Muslim Rázi, the ruler of the country, placed great confidence and faith in him, so that he referred to him all questions which arose regarding the Sunní persuasion, and also consulted with him in all matters of dispute. He always spoke oracular words; but to lower himself in the estimation of Abú Muslim he committed absurd and unlawful deeds.

As Imám Muwáfik Naishápúri was the head of the people who followed the doctrines of the Sunní religion, that artful man, to clear himself of the charge of being a Ráfizi, brought his son to Naishápúr and placed him under the care of the said Imám, and himself, like a saint, chose a solitary life. At times he ascribed his

descent to an infidel family of Gházat, and said that he was a descendant of Sabáh Khamrí, that his father came from Yemen to Kúfa, from that place to Kúm, and from thence to Re. But the citizens of Re, particularly the people of the country of Tús, denied the fact, and affirmed that his forefathers were natives of their country. In short, one day 'Umar Khayám (one of my schoolfellows) said to me, it is well-known that the pupils of Imám Muwáfik are sure to become men of fortune. There is no doubt of this, but let us make some agreement of union, to be fulfilled on one of the party becoming wealthy? I replied, you may propose any you like. He observed, I propose that if any one of us become rich, he shall divide his wealth equally with the other, and not consider it his own property. I agreed, and this was the promise made between us. It so happened that I went to Khurásán, Mawáru-n nahr, Ghaznín, and Kábul, as I have shortly related before. When I returned from these places I was entrusted with the office of minister; and in the reign of Alp Arslán, Hakím 'Umar Khayám came to me, and I entirely fulfilled my promise. First, I received him with great honour and respect, and gave him presents, and then I told him, you are a clever and qualified man, worthy of being the head of all the King's officers, and by virtue of being a scholar of Imám Muwáfik, you shall be blessed in this office. I will bring you to the notice of the Sultán, and speak to him of your intelligence and honesty, in such terms that he will place confidence in you in the same degree that he does in me. On this, Hakím 'Umar observed, "you are of noble birth, and possess a generous disposition and excellent morals, and these induce you to do me this favour. Otherwise how could such an insignificant man as I am expect this kindness and hospitality from the minister of a kingdom which extends from east to west. I value your favour the more because it is shown with sincerity, and not out of compliment. Such conduct will enable you to obtain much higher dignity and rank. The favour and kindness which you have shown to me is undeniable, and if I were to devote my whole life to you I should still be unable to express my thanks for this single act of kindness. My sole desire is that I may always remain with you. To aspire to the rank which you advise me to obtain is not becoming, as it would evidently be very ungrateful on my part. May

God keep me from doing such a thing! I therefore propose, through your assistance, to seek some retirement where I may apply myself to scientific studies, and pray for the increase of your life."—He persisted in this request; and when I saw that he had openly told me the secret of his heart, I wrote an order for an allowance of one thousand golden miskáls to be annually given to him out of the income of my estates at Naishápúr for his maintenance. After this he left me, and engaged in the study of sciences, particularly Astronomy, and made very great progress in it. In the reign of Malík Sháh he came to Merv and was greatly respected and rewarded there for his knowledge of Natural Philosophy. The King showed him much favour, and raised him to one of the highest ranks that were given to philosophers and learned men. But that irreligious man (Hasan Sabáh) was not so famous in the days of Alp Arslán as he was in Khurásán. He was born in the reign of Malík Sháh. In the year when the Sultán achieved the conquest over Kádir, and completely quelled the disturbances which he had raised, this man came to me in Naishápúr. As much regard and favour was shown to him in consideration of his old friendship, as any faithful and righteous person might show to the extent of his power. He was treated with fresh hospitality and kindness every day. One day he said to me, "Khwája, you are a lover of truth and possessed of excellent virtues. You know that this world is a worthless thing. Is it proper that for the wealth and pomp of this world you should break an agreement, and enrol yourself among those to whom the passage in the Kúran about the violators of promises refers." I observed, "May it never be!" He said, "Yes, you are exceedingly kind and affable, but you know yourself that this was not the agreement between us." I replied, "I acknowledge and admit that we have promised to be partners not only in our titles and ranks, but also in all the estates which we may acquire." After this (conversation took place between us), I took him to the King's court, and at a suitable opportunity I recommended him, and informed the King of the promise which we had made between ourselves. I praised him so much for the great wisdom and excellence of his disposition and character, that the King put confidence in him. As he was a very cunning and artful man, he put on the appearance of honesty, and gained

much influence over the King's mind. He obtained such a degree of confidence, that in all important affairs and great undertakings, in which integrity and faithfulness in the agents were needed, the King engaged his assistance and acted according to his advice. In short, I assisted him in obtaining this rank; but at last, by his bad behaviour, many difficulties arose, and I was about to lose all the credit which I had acquired in the course of so many years. In the end he fully shewed the wickedness of his disposition; and marks of bitter animosity and malevolence displayed themselves in his every word and action. If any slight mismanagement took place in the ministerial office, he multiplied and magnified it and reported it to the King, and if the King consulted him about it, he represented the evil of it with some apparently specious arguments.

In Halab (Aleppo) there is a kind of white stone of which pots of all sorts are made. On one occasion it passed the Sultán's tongue that he wished he had some of this kind of stone in Isfahán, and he spoke about it again. One of the camp followers, hearing of the King's wish, after his Majesty had returned (to the capital), said to two merchants of Arabia that if they sent five hundred mans of that stone he would pay them double hire. Accordingly they agreed to carry the 500 mans of stone with their other commodities, each man having 500 mans weight of goods of his own. One of them had six camels and the other four. They divided the stones between them so that they had equal loads upon all their camels. When they reached Isfahán the camp follower came to me, and I took the stone to the King, who was much pleased, and ordered him to be invested with rich apparel, and gave a reward of one thousand dirhams to the merchants, which was to be divided among them by me. I gave six hundred dinárs to him who had six camels, and four hundred to the other. That ungrateful person (Hasan Sabáh) having heard of this, said that I had made a mistake in the division, and had apportioned the money unjustly; that the due of one was still left for the King to pay, and that I should have given eight hundred dinárs to the master of six camels, and two hundred to the other. These words were told the same day to the King, who called me; and when I went to him, that wretch was also standing there. The Sultán looked at me and smiled, and asked me what was the

matter. He, then, throwing aside all disguise, said, "The King's money has been divided unjustly, and the due of one has not been given to him." I and the courtiers asked him how? He observed, "The whole load of ten camels consists of three divisions each of five hundred mans, and ten multiplied by three makes thirty. Again, four, the number of one person's camels, into three, makes twelve; and six, the number of the other person's camels, into three, makes eighteen. Now if ten be subtracted from each product, eight, the remainder of the latter product, was due to him who had six camels; and two, the remainder of the other product, to him who had four: and therefore eight hundred dínars should have been given to the former and two hundred to the latter." In short, when, in spite of me and to puzzle the others, he had given this solution of the question, the King asked him if he could give a plainer statement so that he might understand. He said: "There were ten camels, and the whole load was 1500 mans; therefore each camel had a weight of 150 mans; hence, four camels of one person carried 600 mans; (i.e.,) five hundred mans of his own commodities and one hundred mans of the stone for the King. In the same manner, the six camels of the other person carried nine hundred mans, of which five hundred mans were of his own goods and four hundred mans of the Sultan's stone. Thus out of 1000 dínars for five hundred mans weight of stone two hundred are due upon every hundred mans weight, and consequently eight hundred should be given to the one and two hundred to the other. This was the proper division according to a just calculation; but if it was only a reward without any regard being paid to the weight, then it was all right." When that ungrateful person had spoken all this, the Sultan sided with me, and passed the matter by as a jest. But I saw that it had a great effect upon the king's mind. He (Hasan Sabáh) had several times made these kind of complaints. His grand object was to examine and rectify the accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the revenue of the country. Indeed he got through a great amount of work in the short space of time I was on leave. He

¹ Stories of arithmetical ingenuity are very common in the East. A decision on a similar knotty question is attributed to 'Ali. See Richardson's *Dissertation, Pref. to Persian Dict.*, p. lxxiii.

completed this great task in a very short time. But as all the nobles and government officers were aware of his excessive malevolence and jealousy, as well as of his acting contrary to the promises which we had made between us, he obtained praise from no one; and when he submitted the accounts, he suffered such disgrace that he had no courage left to stop at the court.¹ Had not this ungrateful person (whom may God protect!) been so disgraced, there was no remedy for me but that which he at last took.

My object in relating this is to show that one day's trouble of examining the records and accounts and reporting them is not considered equivalent to thirty years' official service, and hence you may judge of other concerns and troubles. May God guide and help! I have said all this to make you desist from seeking the office of wazír; and if it has made no effect upon you, it is necessary that I should mention in detail the rules and precepts which you must observe, and which will be of great advantage and use to you, if God pleases.

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The Value of Petticoat Influence.

When the kingdom of Khwárizm fell into the possession of Sultán Mahmúd, he ordered the ministers of his court to appoint some qualified person to the management of it. They were for some days consulting with each other. The greatest noble of the court, Altúntásh, contrived to have the appointment conferred upon himself; but when the offer was made to him, he outwardly showed great reluctance in accepting it. Khwája Ahmad Hasan, who was not well disposed towards him, and was anxious to get him out of the way, used his best exertions to get the patent of the appointment drawn up and signed. But as Altúntásh was the greatest pillar of the state, every one thought that the King would not like to send him away from the court. However, as Khwárizm was a very great kingdom, the Sultán agreed to the appointment, and ordered him to proceed to his new government.

¹ [The accounts which he rendered had been mutilated or falsified. See Hammer, *Assassins*, p. 45.]

Altúntásh was a great friend of Imám Násiru-d-dín Girámí, who was one of the chiefs of Ghaznín. As he had no time to pay him a farewell visit, he despatched a man with a letter, in which, after expressing his anxiety to see him, he stated that he would not return again to Ghaznín, and expressed his hopes that the Imám, observing the obligations of friendship, would come over to Khwárizm. The Imám, who was desirous of seeing that country as well as Altúntásh, of whom he was an old and intimate friend, went to Khwárizm, where, on his arrival, Altúntásh showed him a thousand kinds of hospitality and favour.

My object in relating this story is to say, that one day the Imám observed that while Altúntásh was at court all the world came to his threshold to pay their respects; such a position in consideration of fame and honour, as well as pecuniary advantage, was an hundred times better than the governorship of Khwárizm. What made him prefer it to a rank in which he exercised influence over the whole kingdom? Altúntásh replied, "O Imám! I have not told this secret even to my dearest relations or sons, but I will not conceal the truth from you. I have resigned that power on account of Jamíla Kandahárí. For years I had the management of all the government affairs in my hands, and during that time she thwarted me in every thing. For this reason there was darkness before my eyes, and I could use no remedy against the evil. Now I have sought retirement, and have procured release from all such troubles. If God please, I shall escape her machinations in this distant province."

Now from what I have said, the disadvantages of the ladies of the royal household being against us may be learnt, but the advantages of their being in our favour are equally numerous, and no one's patronage is more efficacious than theirs, for by no one is so much influence and power exercised over the royal mind as by them, as the following story of Khwája Ahmad Hasan illustrates.

The Power of Female Intrigue.

Sultan Mahmúd towards the latter part of his reign was frequently dissatisfied with Khwája Ahmad, and during this time his enemies were assailing him with their calumnies and opposition. Khwája

Hasnak Mishkátí¹ had been many years watching to find a suitable opportunity of injuring him, and every day it was rumoured that Khwája Ahmad Hasan's place was to be bestowed on him, but as the King's new bride, the daughter of the Khán of Turkistán,² was in Ahmad's favour, nothing could be done against him. This lady was called in Ghaznín Mahd-i Chigil, and Jamila Kandahári was one of her favourite attendants. Under the protection of this lady the Khwája was safe from all dangers. Even such a person as Altántásh, who was viewed as vicegerent of Subuktigin, could never succeed in any hostile design against him.

On one occasion, when the tents of the Sultán were pitched in the vicinity of Kábul, Khwája Ahmad came on some government business to Ghaznín, and it was reported to him that some merchants were going to Turkistán, who were to return to Ghaznín in the beginning of winter. The Khwája remembered that he required a certain number of *postins* (great coats) every year for himself and sons, and thought it advisable that some agent should go with the merchants to effect the purchase. To this man's care he committed many valuable and rare commodities of Ghaznín to sell. The same day this news was conveyed to Khwája Hasnak by his spies, and he informed Altántásh of it. This noble was much rejoiced on receiving the intelligence, and he told Khwája Hasnak that they "could not have found a better opportunity for disgracing him, since he always boasted that he never looked to his own advantage, but to that of the Sultán alone; whereas he is now sending merchants to trade in foreign countries. But we must ascertain this with certainty first, lest the disgrace recoil upon us." Khwája Hasnak said, "the report is perfectly true, and there is no doubt about its correctness; and verily if this fact were disclosed, the Khwája must suffer irremediable ruin."

The Khwája being apprised of their intentions, informed Jamila Kandahári of the matter. There was such friendly communication between the Khwája and Jamila, that although it often happened that during a whole year they never had an opportunity of seeing each other, yet one could send messages to the other ten times a day,

¹ [He is called Hasnak Mikál in the *Dasturu-l-suzurd*, and Mankál in the *Zinat-u-majalis*.]

² [Nak Khán.]

and in such a manner that, excepting the person employed on their mission, nobody knew anything of the matter. In short, Jamila sent to tell him not to be afraid, because the remedy was very simple. At the same time she repaired to Mahd-i Chigil, and represented the matter to her, suggesting that the Queen should write letters to her mother and brothers, with a detail of the articles which the Khwája had given to the merchant, and add others that were suitable as presents to her royal relatives, mentioning that they were sent as presents on her part, and requesting that they also would send in return some articles of such kinds as were adapted to a female toilette. Jamila recommended that these letters should be taken to the merchant as soon as possible by some unfrequented road, so that they might be given to him that very night, with the injunction that if the servants of Altúntásh should seize and carry him back, he should say nothing to them, but when conducted to the royal court, he should then declare that he was sent by Mahd-i Chigil, and show the letters and presents which he was commissioned to deliver.

In short, at the instigation of Khwája Hasnak, Altúntásh represented the case to the Sultán, who asked him whether it was a true report. Altúntásh replied that he had ascertained it for certain, and that it was all correct. The King then asked him how he knew that it was true? Altúntásh replied, "If you order me, I can bring the merchant with all the articles which are consigned to him." The King consented. On this Altúntásh immediately despatched his people after the caravan, and they brought the merchant back. According to the instructions, the merchant said nothing to his detainers on the way, but when he entered the court he cried out, that he was sent by Mahd-i Chigil, and then showed the letters under her seal, with the presents which had been despatched, such as scarfs, necklaces, etc. The informers were much chagrined and ashamed, and could advance no excuse for what they had done. On the other hand, Mahd-i Chigil complained to the King that, when after so long a period she had sent from the court of such a great king some trifling presents to her relations, her messenger had been intercepted, and the scarfs and necklaces exposed in open court. By such words she produced great effect upon the King's mind, and

with much indignation he ordered the accusers to be put to death ; but as Mahd-i Chigil knew that they were innocent, she was unwilling that the blood of so many persons should be shed through her false representations, and begged that their lives might be spared. In short, Altántásh and Hasnak received a complete defeat, and were covered with ignominy and shame ; while the merchant, after being much honoured, was again despatched to Turkistán.



Sultán Mas'úd and Khwája Hasnak.

Sultán Mahmúd was always on bad terms with his eldest son Mas'úd ; and Khwája Ahmad, although he was unable completely to reconcile them, yet on all occasions he greatly appeased the King's anger. Though he never met the prince except about once a year in the King's presence, he nevertheless did not cease to exert his friendly offices.

When Khwája Ahmad was dismissed, Khwája Hasnak Mishkúfí was appointed in his place. This person was a youth of no experience, and but little acquainted with the vicissitudes of the world. His chief attractions were the sincerity of his heart, the affability of his manner, and the readiness with which he served a friend or chastised an enemy. Though the Sultán was in reality disgusted with Mas'úd, yet this secret sentiment remained concealed till the time that he declared his son Muhammad his heir. Hasnak was not in favour with Mas'úd, since, in accordance with the custom of Diwáns, he interfered greatly with the rights and privileges of his princely appanage. Mas'úd was so angry with him in consequence, that when one of the rulers of India sent a sword as a present to him, the person who brought it, expatiating on its value, observed that it was so sharp and well-tempered, that even iron could not resist it. When the assembly was broken up, the prince asked his intimate companions what particular use it was adapted for ? Some said it was to cut off infidels' heads, and others observed that it was to destroy his Majesty's enemies. In this manner every one expressed his own opinion ; but Mas'úd observed, that he would like to fasten it to his side, and when, on the morrow, Hasnak came to pay his

respects to him, to cleave his head with it down to his breast. If I were to do this, the King would never demand my blood in retaliation for his murder. He said this in a determined tone, but those who were present dissuaded him, and remarked that a great disturbance would ensue, and the Sultán would be very angry. When the Khwája was informed of what the prince had resolved, he thanked God for his narrow escape.

A short time after this, Sultán Mahmúd expired, and Sultán Muhammad occupied the throne of sovereignty in Ghaznín. Sultán Mas'úd at this time was in Isfahán, whence he returned with all speed. Sultán Muhammad advanced to oppose him, but the ministers of Mahmúd's court, considering that Mas'úd was much better adapted to wield the sceptre of the kingdom, seized Sultán Muhammad, and kept him prisoner in a fort. They then proceeded as far as Hirát to welcome Mas'úd. At the meeting, when Hasnak dismounted from his horse; the attendants of the prince seized him, and suspended him from a gibbet. They then summoned Khwája Ahmad Hasan, and having entrusted him with the office of wazír, bestowed all kinds of honour on him. Although his ministry was not of long duration, yet it was very successful in its results. He was often heard to say, "Thank God, affairs have reached this conclusion; my friends are exalted, and my enemies crushed."¹



The Story of Dábshilim.²

When Sultán Mahmúd had achieved the conquest of Somnát, he wished to stay there for a year because the country was very extensive and abounded with curiosities. There were numerous mines which also produced gold; and the rubies of Sarandíp (which was one of its dependencies) were carried to all countries. But his ministers persuaded him that it was highly impolitic to leave

¹ [This story is given in the *Zinatu-l Majlís*, but Abú-l 'Abbás is the minister it is told of, not Khwája Ahmad.]

² [This story is given by Firishta (l. p. 75); it is also repeated in the *Nigáristán*. Dábshilim is the name of the King of Hind to whom the brahman Bidpái (Pílpay) related his fables,—*Anwár-i Suháihí*. See also *Useful Tables* in Thomas' *Prinsep*, No. xxvii.]

Khurásán, which had been conquered, after battling with so many powerful enemies, and to make Somnát the seat of government. In short, the King determined to return; and he ordered that some person should be appointed to govern and retain possession of the country. They represented that no more power or glory could be gained in that country, and therefore they proposed to him to entrust some native with the office. The Sultán consulted in the matter with such people of the country as were of a friendly disposition to him. Some of them told him that no chiefs of the country were equal to the family of Dábshilím, and that at that time only one person of that house was surviving, and he was engaged in worshipping God in the habit of a saint. He ought to have the governorship of the country. Others, however, objected to this, alleging that he was a man of a bad disposition, and had fallen under the wrath of God. He had not willingly taken retirement and devoted himself to worship, but he had been several times seized by his brothers, and in order to save his life he had taken refuge in a place of sanctity; but there was another Dábshilím, who was one of his relations, and who was a very wise, learned, and intelligent man, whom all respected for his philosophical acquirements. He was also at this time the chief of the principality. If the Sultán would appoint him governor and send a *farnán* to him, he might come and take upon him the management of the country. That he was also very honest and faithful in observing his promises; so that, notwithstanding the great distance which intervened, if he agreed to pay tribute, he would send it every year to Ghaznín. The King said if he presented himself before him the proposal might be accepted, but why should he give such a large kingdom to a person who had already borne the title of king in India, and had not yet come to meet him nor had proffered submission. In short, the devoted Dábshilím was called, and placed in charge of the kingdom. He agreed to pay a tribute, and promised never to act contrary to the King's orders as long as he lived, and also to forward all the gold and rubies which might be extracted from the mines to Ghaznín. But he said there was another Dábshilím among his relations, who was his bitter enemy, and on one occasion some bloodshed had even taken place between them. That he had no

doubt this Dábshilím would come against him after hearing of the King's departure; and as he was not possessed of sufficient power, he must of course be overcome and lose the dominions. But if the King would now march against this enemy and remove the ground of fear, he would send annually a tribute to the treasury of Ghaznín equal to all the revenues of Khurásán, Zábulistán, and Kábulistán. The Sultán observed that he had come with the intention of making conquests, and since he had not returned to Ghaznín, he might as well therefore remain six months more. With this resolution he marched towards that Dábshilím's dominions. The people of the country, however, remarked to the pious Dábshilím that it was not proper for him to excite the King to invade his territory, because the person whom the Almighty had made great and powerful could not be subdued by his endeavours. This was also told to the King, who first hesitated, but as he had already marched his troops, he did not like to abandon his resolution. So he proceeded towards the enemy, and having conquered his country, took him prisoner, and gave him over to the pious Dábshilím, who represented that in his country it was considered a very great sin to kill a ruler, and if any king did commit the crime, all his army revolted against him. It was a custom among the kings of the country that when any of them prevailed over another and captured him, a dark room was made under the victor's throne, in which the captive ruler was placed on a cushion, and the doors of the room were shut. But a hole was made in one of them, and through it a dish of food was given to him, and then that also was shut. As long as the victorious king occupied the throne, it was his duty to send a dish of food every day to the subterranean abode, even if the captive died after only a few days' confinement. It happened that the prisoner lived many days. The pious Dábshilím said that as he could not keep him prisoner in this manner, he wished the Sultán would take the prisoner to Ghaznín, and that after he (the new ruler) had established his authority in the country, the captive might be sent back to be confined in the usual way. The King agreed to this, and returned. The pious Dábshilím mounted the throne of Somnát, and began to send successively to the Sultán the presents and rarities of the country; and he also ingratiated himself with all the ministers

of his court by sending them presents. When he had confirmed himself in the governorship, he sent tribute, with some jewels, to the King, and asked him to send back his enemy to him. The Sultan at first hesitated in complying with his request, and was unwilling to render him up into the hands of his enemy; but as the devout Dábshilím had gained the favour of the ministers of the throne by his munificence, they all taxed the King with showing mercy to an infidel, and said that it was very improper for a king to act contrary to his promise. It was also to be apprehended that the pious Dábshilím might rebel, and the country be lost. At last the young prince was made over to the people of the pious Dábshilím, and farnáns were sent to the authorities in India to conduct him to the confines of Somnát. When he was taken to that country the pious Dábshilím ordered a dwelling to be made under the throne on which he used to sit. It was the custom among these people that when their enemy was brought near the metropolis of the kingdom, the ruler was to advance one march to receive him. He was also to put a dish and a vessel of water over his head, and make him go on foot before his horse till he arrived at court.¹ After this the King sat on the throne, and his enemy was taken to the subterraneous house, and there seated on a cushion. According to this custom Dábshilím went out; but it happened that the captive had not yet arrived. Dábshilím went out hunting, and exerted himself greatly in the field. When the hot wind began to blow, the soldiers and all the people sought shelter where they might rest, and Dábshilím also alighted and went to sleep under the shade of a tree, covering his face with a red handkerchief. In India there are plenty of birds of prey with hard claws and sharp bills. One of these birds came flying towards him, and when it saw the red handkerchief, it mistook it for a piece of flesh, and pouncing down on Dábshilím's face, it tore out his eyes with his beak. This created great confusion among his people, and in the meantime the young captive was brought in. The pious Dábshilím was now blind and useless, and, since no other person beside this young man had a right to the

¹ This mode of receiving the banished monarch on his return seems to resemble the present practice of Hindu women forming a procession to meet a stranger with brass pots up on their heads in token of welcome.

governorship, all the people saluted him as their king, and the few persons who held aloof were seized. In short the same dish and vessel of water which were brought for this young chief were placed on the head of the pious Dábshilím, and he was forced to run to the court, where he was placed in the prison he had prepared.

The moral of this story is, the person who really deserves honour and respect cannot be disgraced by the endeavours of his enemy. If for a season he be degraded, he soon recovers his rank. But the envious person brings on himself ignominy and shame.

2.—*Nigáristán.*

[This "Picture-gallery" is a collection of anecdotes and stories relating to various dynasties. It was compiled by Ahmad bin Muhammad bin 'Abdu-l Ghafúr al Ghaffári al Kazwíní, commonly known as Kází Ahmad al Ghaffári. *Nigáristán*, the name of the work, expresses by the *abjad* the date of its compilation, A.H. 959 (A.D. 1552). Twenty-eight standard works are mentioned in the Preface of the work as the sources from which the stories have been extracted.¹ There is a copy of the work in Sir H. Elliot's library, and also some miscellaneous extracts from other copies. There are other works which bear the same name.]

Mahmúd and Ahmad Hasan Maimandí.

It is related of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní that one day in his youth he went to take a walk in the gardens, and was accompanied by Ahmad Hasan Maimandí, who was one of his most favoured servants. As he passed by a rivulet, his eye fell upon a person who was loitering there, and he asked his companion who the man was? "A carpenter," he replied. The Sultán again asked him what his name was, and he replied, "Ahmad." "You seem to be acquainted with the man," says the Sultán. "No," answered he, "I never saw him before." "Then, how is it," observed the Sultán, "that you came to know his profession and name?" "I knew his name," he replied, "by his readiness to answer your Majesty when your

¹ [See Morley's *Catalogue*, p. 50; Hammer-Purgstall *Redekünste Persiens*, pp. 307-9; Kraft's *Catalogue der Handschriften der K.K. Orientalischer Akademie zu Wien*.]

Majesty called me by my name; and as to his profession, I saw him walk round that dry old tree, and look carefully at it." The Sultán, on hearing these words, said, "You would indeed be a most sagacious fellow if you could tell me what that man has eaten to-day." "Honey, or the juice of some fruit," said Ahmad. The Sultán then called the man and asked him, first, "Do you know this boy (Ahmad Hasan)?" The reply was that he had never seen him before. Mahmúd then enquired of the man who he was, what was his name, and what he had eaten that day? The answer was exactly what Ahmad had already given. Greatly wondering, the Sultán turned towards Ahmad and asked him how he knew that the man had eaten honey? to which he thus replied: "I knew it because he kept wiping his mouth, and the bees were swarming around him."

*Treasures of Bhím-nagar.*³

It is recorded in many authentic histories that when the Sultán succeeded in capturing the fort of Bhím-nagar, on the confines of India, which was believed to be of incomparable strength, and commonly reported to contain immense wealth, he obtained as booty no less than seventy thousand millions of dirhams, seven hundred thousand and four hundred mans of gold and silver vessels, rare vestments of different kinds, the exact value of which appraisers found it impossible to calculate; and vast quantities of precious stones and pearls, beyond all computation. An edifice (*khána*) fell into the Sultán's hands, which measured 30 cubits by 15, the sides and covering of which were entirely made of pure silver.

A Splendid Comet.

In 330 A.H. (941-2 A.D.), a comet made its appearance, the tail of which reached from the eastern to the western horizon. It remained in the heavens eighteen days, and its blighting influence caused so severe a famine, that wheat, the produce of one jarib of land, was sold for three hundred and twenty miskáls of gold. "When the value of a spike of corn was esteemed as high as the Pleiades, conceive what must have been the value of wheat."

The famine in the land was so sore that man was driven to feed

³ [Nagarkot or Kangra. See *supra*, p. 35, and Briggs' *Firishá*, i. p. 48.]

on his own species, and a pestilence prevailed with such virulence that it was impossible to bury the dead who fell victims to it.¹

3.—*Zinatu-l Majális.*

[This is another collection of anecdotes and stories, which have been drawn, as the writer tells us in his Preface, from a great variety of histories and other works, from the *Jámi'ul Hikáyat* down to the *Nigáristán*. The work was compiled in 1004 Hijra (1595 A.D.), by Májidu-d din Muhammadu-l Husna, commonly known as Májdi. There is a new and well-written copy of part of the work in Sir H. Elliot's collection, besides some extracts from a copy belonging to R. H. Cust, Esq.]

EXTRACTS.

Destruction of Robbers by Poison.

It is related that in the reign of Sultan Mahmúd of Ghazni a number of Kúch and Bulúch robbers having taken possession of a strong place on the road to Hurmuz, plundered all the caravans that passed that way. On one occasion they robbed a body of merchants and killed a young man of Khurásán, who was of their number. His old mother preferred her complaint to Mahmúd, who observed that such accidents occurred in that part of the country because it was too far from his capital. The old woman replied, "Keep no

¹ The magnificent comet here noticed was splendid enough, even allowing for Oriental exaggeration, to have attracted attention in Europe; and it may, therefore, probably be noticed in the collection of Lubienietzki. It would be one of particular interest if we could establish it as an early visit of Halley's comet; but astronomers date its probable appearance as occurring in A.D. 930. It is to be remembered, however, that the known and recorded intervals of that comet are August 1531, October 1607, September 1682, March 1759, and November 1835; and that between the perihelion passages of the first and second, and of the second and third, of those recorded appearances, there is no less a difference than fifteen months; and again a difference of eighteen months in the perihelion passage of the third and fourth re-appearance, arising from the disturbing action of the planets; so that if we allow during the several centuries which have intervened, a period of eleven years for the perturbations arising from that source, we may perhaps be permitted to recognise an old visitor in the comet of A.H. 330. It must be confessed, however, that the probabilities in favour of this surmise would have been greater had the recurring intervals been prolonged, instead of being abbreviated; but it is difficult for the mind to forego a hypothesis when once assumed, however weakly it may be supported by probable antecedents.

more territory than you can manage." The Sultán was impressed by the truth of these words, and ordered proclamation to be issued that whoever wanted to go to Hormuz should get ready, and the Sultán would furnish a guard.

When the travellers were ready, the King ordered three hundred of his guards (*ghulam*) to accompany them. But the merchants said that if there were a thousand horsemen they would be too few. The Sultán replied, that whatever property of theirs should be lost he would make good from his treasury. He then called an old man from amongst the guards, and gave him some instructions, which will be shortly mentioned. When the caravans reached Isfahán, the leader ordered some panniers of apples and other choice fruits to be loaded on camels, and these fruits were charged with poison. At every stage the fruit was taken out and examined, and if any was found rotten it was thrown away. In this manner, when they arrived at the abode of the thieves, they brought out the fruits and spread them on the ground as if to air them. The robbers fell on them, and the guards mounted their horses and took to flight. The merchants were in utter despair respecting the safety of their property and lives. The robbers fell upon the caravan, and bound the merchants, and then they began to eat the fruits which were spread out, and such as no individual had ever seen before in that country. After a short time the poison took effect upon them, insomuch that their hands and feet were quite paralysed. The guards then turned their horses' heads, set upon the half-dead robbers, and finished them with their sharp swords. In this manner the roads were made clear, and security established for travellers.¹

Mahmúd's Distrust of his Uncle 'Abdu-r rahmán.

It is related in the *Tárikh-i Násiri* that when Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín came to Hirát, 'Abdu-r rahmán Khán, who was one of the ministers of state, lodged in a very comfortable dwelling belonging to a learned man of great renown. One day, 'Abdu-r rahmán represented to the King that the house in which he had put up

¹ [This is the same story as the one taken from the *Jámi'u-l Hikáyat* (*supra* p. 194), but it is very differently told. It is also given in the *Tárikh-i Guzida*. See Reinaud, *Mém. sur l' Inde*, p. 171.]

belonged to an old man, who was considered by the people to be very wise and learned. He had a private room, in which he always used to sit, and not come out again for a long time. I asked the people what he did there? They answered that he used to perform worship and say his prayers. "One night," said 'Abdu-r rahmán, "I suddenly went into the room, and saw a large vessel full of wine, and a brazen idol placed before him. After drinking, he prostrated himself before the image. I have brought the idol and the vessel here, in order that your Majesty may give any order you like about that deceitful old man." The Sultán, after a moment's consideration, ordered the man to be brought into his presence, that full enquiry might be made into his case. He then told 'Abdu-r rahmán to place his hands over the Sultán's head and swear that what he had said was true. 'Abdu-r rahmán exclaimed, "Upon your soul and head, all that I have said is a lie." "O coward!" said the King, "what caused you to bring such a charge against that old Fakír?" He replied, "the man had an excellent house, and I thought that your Majesty would punish him and give the house to me." The Sultán thanked Almighty God for having guarded him against an improper act which he might have committed in haste. As it was his habit to think and ponder on every subject, he discovered the truth in this matter, and he never trusted 'Abdu-r rahmán again. Be it not concealed from wise men that the advantages of deliberation are numerous, but that haste and inconsiderateness in affairs of state produce shame without end.

Mas'úd Repents of his Avarice.

It is related in the *Tárikh-i Násirí* that, after the death of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín, his heir, Sultán Mubammad ascended the throne. Enmity then arose between him and his brother, Sultán Mas'úd, governor of 'Irák, who resided at Hamadán. Mas'úd led his army against his brother, who on receiving the intelligence came out to oppose him at the head of the armies of Khurásán and Ghaznín. One day, without any apparent cause, the cap of the King fell from his head, and this was regarded as a bad omen. The same day, at evening, 'Ali Khesháwand and a body of the King's own slaves, espousing the cause of Sultán Mas'úd, surrounded and seized Mu-

hammad and deprived him of sight. Mas'úd then proceeded to Ghaznín and sat upon the throne.

At the same time, Abú Suhál Zaurakí,¹ the 'Ariz, represented that Sultán Muhammad had distributed from the public treasury a large sum among his nobles, army, attendants, and courtiers, but as he was not the real sovereign, the King ought to order these people to refund the money; then, if he liked, he might after a few days give the large fees himself, in order that to him only their obligations might be due.

Sultán Mas'úd having liberated Hasan Maimandí, his father's minister, who had been imprisoned in the fort, raised him to the post of wazír, and consulted him upon these suggestions. The Khwája said, the King might do what he liked, but he should consider this matter well, and see the good and evil of it before adopting any resolution. Sultán Mas'úd, however, would not listen to his advice, and maintained his own determination. The Khwája then summoned Abú Nasr Miskání,² and said: "These cowardly people have been making such and such representations to the King. I wish you to go to him and tell him on my part that such an act was never done by any of the former kings, and it will make people disgusted with him." Abú Nasr said, "Here is what Sultán Muhammad gave me," and he refunded it to the royal treasury. Abú Suhál observed to the King that if all persons would follow the example of Abú Nasr, the money would be soon realised. The Sultán went out hunting, and ordered Abú Suhál to collect it. Abú Suhál appointed officers for that purpose, and inflicted torture and punishment on those who had spent what they had received. People were greatly disgusted with the government, and much confusion ensued in the affairs of the kingdom. Sultán Mas'úd became ashamed of what he had done, and was so much displeased with Abú Suhál, that he removed him from the office he held. He was often heard to say, "May such base servants never find their way into the court of a king."³

¹ [The Bú Suhál Zauzání of Baihaki, *supra* p. 83.] Zanzan is the name of a town and district between Naishapur and Hirát.

² [The "*Mishkon*" of Baihaki, and the *Jámí'u-l Hikáyát*. See *supra* p. 106, 190.]

³ [This story explains Baháiki's unintelligible allusion about Abú Suhál, *supra* page 88.]

Ibráhim's Lack of Qualified Officials.

It is narrated that one day Sultán Ibráhim¹ of Ghaznín held a public court, and all his nobles and officers were present; but he sat very pensive and spoke not to any one, till the time of mid-day prayers. His ministers were afraid, and had no courage to ask him the cause of his anxiety, till at last one of his courtiers who was most familiar with the King, advanced to the throne and begged to know the reason of his Majesty's being so thoughtful. The King told him that his chief chamberlain had become old, and the boat of his life had reached the brink of death. "To-day," said he, "having looked at all my courtiers, I do not find any one worthy to succeed him. I was therefore thinking that if he should die, his work will still have to be done, and I must of necessity appoint some unqualified person to fill his place." The courtier observed, in reply, "My lord, your eye is as bright as the sun, and has a powerful effect. It turns stones to rubies, and dust to gold. If you instruct some one, he will then be able to do everything." The Sultán said, "It is true; but still the sun, though he be the great luminary, cannot at once make a ruby out of a stone; and although an alchemist may be acquainted with the art of making gold, yet he cannot effect his purpose without obtaining all the requisite ingredients."

Ibráhim maintains a body of Trained Officials.

Sultán Ibráhim² of Ghaznín having mounted the throne, determined to establish his government on a strong and secure foundation. Through the invasions of the Saljúks and the weakness of his predecessors, 'Abdu-r-Rashid and Farrukh-zád, the affairs of the kingdom were in a state of embarrassment, and the management of the country had been left to worthless characters. With this view, he called Khwája Abú-l Kásim Hasíri, who was an old man, and had been one of the confidential officers of Yamínu-d-daula Mahmúd, and who excelled all his contemporaries in wisdom and in the purity of his mind. He consulted with him, and Abú-l Kásim observed that, one day when he was deputed by the King's grandfather,

¹ [Apparently Ibráhim II.]

² [Ibráhim II.]

Sultán Mahmúd, on a mission to Flak Khán, the ruler of Máwaráu-n nahr and Turkistán, he heard from the Khán, who was the wisest man of the time, that a kingdom might be compared to a garden, and the king to a gardener, who, if he wishes to make a good garden, must have three kinds of trees in it—firstly, fruit-bearing trees from which fruit may be gathered at once; secondly, trees from which fruit may soon be expected, which, though they do not yield fruit, yet by their blossoms and verdure, add beauty to the garden; and thirdly, young trees which some time afterwards will produce fruit. When the trees are old and withered, the gardener uses them for fuel; and young trees being planted in succession, they in their turn bear flowers and fruit, so that the garden is never without fruit, or wanting in flowery beauty.

Sultán Ibráhím, on hearing these words, determined on observing them in his government. He always trained up a body of men qualified to conduct the important duties of the government; and in doing this, he took especial care that his officers should not think that the King could not do without them, and that there were no people able to fill their offices. He also wished them to feel that there were other persons equal to them, and qualified to perform their duties; and that as it was by his favour only that they had held office, they ought always to endeavour to please him.

The Punishment of Támán.¹

It is related in the *Tárikh-i Násiri*, that when 'Abdu-r Rashíd succeeded to the throne of Ghazni, he showed great favour to one of his slaves named Támán, and so advanced him from day to day, that at last the direction of all affairs came under his control. This Támán was a low-minded, ill-bred tyrannical fellow, who did his best to bring down the great and noble, and to get low and bad men appointed to their places. Among these he patronised and sup-

¹ [This is the same story as that given in page 106 from the *Jámí'u-l Hikáydí*, and which I could not find in the MSS. of that work. Search was also made for the story in Sir H. Elliot's imperfect copy of the *Zinatu-l Majlis*, but without success. The text has since been discovered among some miscellaneous extracts from this work, and as it shows that there are several differences in the story or errors in the translation, I have here introduced a new version after the text of the *Zinat*.—ED.]

ported Abú Suhál Rázikí,¹ whom he pitted against the good Khwája 'Abdu-r Razzák, son of Hasan Maimandí. Abú Suhál employed all kinds of deceit and calumny against the Khwája: Túmán also added his slander. 'Abdu-r Rashíd was young, simple, and inexperienced. He dismissed his minister 'Abdu-r Razzák, and ordered him to be fined.

Túmán had favoured with his notice a fellow named Khatib Lút, a base and harsh man; and he now advanced him to the dignity of Diván of the State (Chancellor of the Exchequer). Khwája Abú Táhír Hasan, who was one of the old officials of the state of Ghazní, under the orders of 'Abdu-r Rashíd, proceeded at this time to Hindustán, in order to bring the revenues of that country to the capital. When he arrived in Hindustán he found agents of Túmán in every city and town, who by their oppressive conduct were irritating the people. The Khwája made a report of the facts, which he addressed to Abú-l Fazl, the financial minister (*sáhib-i diván-i rasálat*). Abú-l Fazl communicated the account to 'Abdu-r Rashíd, who called for Túmán and reproached him. This caused Túmán to conceive a hatred against Abú-l Fazl, and to calumniate him. 'Abdu-r Rashíd, in his simplicity, ordered Abú-l Fazl to be fined and imprisoned. After this dismissal Túmán exercised unlimited power, and he appointed Khatib Lút to the management of the country of Parsháwar. This man there raised the standard of oppression, and reduced the people to great distress.

When Khwája Abú Táhír reached that country (on his return from Hindustán) the people complained of Khatib Lút, so the Khwája called for him and admonished him. Khatib gave insolent replies and was abusive, so the Khwája, to maintain his own dignity, directed him to be turned out of court, and afterwards he ordered him into confinement. Khatib's people communicated the circumstances to Túmán, who showed the letters to the King, and said that Khatib knew what sums of money had been exacted improperly from the people, and the Khwája had therefore confined him. 'Abdu-r Rashíd, without any investigation, and merely upon these absurd statements of Túmán, directed him to seize the Khwája and bring him a prisoner to court along with Khatib.

¹ [Zawani, see pp. 88 and 509.]

Túmán proceeded to Parsháwar with three hundred horse, and having captured Abú Táhir, put him in chains. He then released Khatib Lút from confinement, and returned. When they were one day's journey from Ghazní, they received the unexpected intelligence that the infidel Tughril had slain 'Abdu-r Rashíd and usurped his place. The horsemen who had come with Túmán then went to Khwája Abú Hasan (Táhir), and with many apologies, said, "The power is now in your hands; whatever you order we will execute." The Khwája directed them to remove the fetters from his feet and place them on Túmán. The soldiers then pulled him roughly from his horse and placed the chains on his feet. Khatib Lút and his dependents were also seized, placed upon camels, and carried to Ghaznín. All this calamity fell upon 'Abdu-r Rashid because he was a simpleton,¹ and listened to the reports of sycophants.

NOTE G.

Mir-át-i Mas'údi.

[This is professedly a life of Mas'úd the Ghaznvide, and finds an appropriate place here after the story books. The author of this extraordinary work was by name 'Abdu-r Rahmán Chishtí. He explains the motives which impelled him to its composition, and the sources of his information after the following manner: "The history of the King of Martyrs, Sálár Mas'úd, the facts of his birth, of his coming to Hindustan, and of his martyrdom, are told by different men in various ways, which have not found a place in any historical work of repute. The writer had long endeavoured to ascertain the real facts; and, after much research, he obtained possession of an old book written by Mulla Muhammad Ghaznawí. This man was servant of Sultán Mahmúd Subuktigín. He was also in the service of Sálár Sáhú, and of the Prince of Martyrs, whom he survived. The writer perused this old book from beginning to end with the greatest pleasure, and the doubts which he had entertained were dispelled. The book was very long, it entered into details about the wars of Sultán Mahmúd, and Sálár Sáhú, mentioning incidentally here and there the King of Martyrs, and closing with an account of his

¹ [*Lauh-i soda*; lit., *tabula rasa*.]

martyrdom. Several of the beloved friends and attendants of the Martyr Sultán, in the abodes of the blessed, have urged the writer to the task which he has undertaken; but no one has made the same demand on behalf of Sultán Mahmúd. It therefore seemed expedient to him that he should select and commit to writing all that related to the Martyr King. He would not, however, have been able to succeed, even in this, without the directions he graciously received from the spirit of the departed. When he had set about his selection, and had engaged earnestly in the work, one night the spirit of the deceased martyr appeared to the writer in a vision, and most condescendingly expressed, with his blessed tongue, his approval of the work. Being thus graciously honoured, the author humbly replied that he had begun the work, and begged for assistance wherever his narration might be too high, or too low, too short, or too long. The spirit, with great affability, directed the author to write, and that he would attend to him and assist him. The present work is the result, to which the author has given the name *Mir-át-i Mas'údi*. May the reader of it also be (*mas'úd*) blessed. This is the author's prayer. The biography of the King of Martyrs having been derived from the aforesaid history, is here related in five chapters (*dástáns*). Sundry incidents, and miraculous statements, which have been found in trustworthy books, have been selected, and, after being verified by oral communications with the author's spiritual visitors, have been inserted in the present work."

The book may then be called a historical romance. In it fact and fiction are freely mingled, and the great actions and exploits of other men are appropriated, without scruple, to the hero of the tale. The author quotes the *Rauzat-u-s Safá*, the *Tárikh-i Fíroz Sháhí*, of Shams-i Siráj, and the *Muntakhab-u-t Tawárikh*; but he professes, as we have seen, to base his work mainly on the lost *Tawárikh-i Mahmúdi* of Mulla Muhammad Ghaznawí. It is much to be regretted that he has quoted so little of that work; for his quotations from the *Rauzat-u-s Safá* are fair, though somewhat abridged, and stripped of redundant ornament. Putting his hero Mas'úd aside, the accounts which he gives of the Musulmán conflicts with the Hindus agree in many respects with what we gather from other

sources; his incidents seem to be borrowed rather than invented, and, as he used a contemporary work which is not known to us, it may be that some of his novel statements may be true, or may serve to explain, or elucidate other writers, though no reliance can be placed on them when unsupported.

The work bears no date; but the author tells us that he wrote in the time of Jahángír, a time far too distant for him to have had any personal knowledge of the scenes he depicts. Sir H. Elliot accredits him with another work, the *Mir-át-i Asrár*. The MS. is a duodecimo of 214 pages, 165 of which were translated by Mr. R. B. Chapman, B.C.S., by request of Sir H. Elliot. The editor regrets that the nature of the book has compelled him to reject a full half of the translation. It may be that even now too much has been printed; but the book is unknown to the European reader, and the extracts given will probably satisfy, rather than excite further curiosity.]

CHAPTER I.

Of the expedition of Súlár Sáhú, general (pahlawán) of the army, into Hindustán, by order of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní, to the assistance of Muzaffar Khán; and of the birth of Mas'úd at Ajmir.

Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní (God make the light of his tomb to shine!) having subdued the kingdom of Rúm and the whole of the countries of Túrán and Irán, spreading everywhere the religion of Muhammad, was seated on his throne awaiting an occasion of further executing the purposes of Allah, when suddenly one day, four men mounted on camels, appeared from the direction of Hindustán, making loud lamentations. The officers of state and the attendants brought word immediately to the Sultán, and they were summoned to the presence.

Bowing to the ground, they spake as follows:—"Sultán Abú-I Hasan attacked us with his army, and slew Hurmuz, the servant of Muzaffar Khán; he also very nearly succeeded in putting to death Muzaffar Khán himself, his wife and children, and all those about him, so that he was obliged to evacuate the place with all his dependants, and escape towards the desert. He has now been living for some years in Ajmir. At the present time Rái Bhirún and Rái Sam-giriya, with four and forty other Hindu princes, have assembled

from all sides to attack Muzaffar Khn and destroy the Musulmáns. The infidels surround us on all sides, and we have no hope but in thee, Oh Asylum of the World! For God's sake, give a thought to these poor followers of Islám." "Be of good courage," said the Sultán, "I will protect the Musulmáns." Khwája Hasan Maimandí, the wazír of the Sultán, asked them in whose name they worded their *khutba*. "Hitherto," they answered, "in addition to the one sole God Almighty and the glorious Asylum of Prophecy (Muhammad), we have repeated in our *khutba* the names of the Faithful Khalífas. Now that the Sultán has promised us his assistance, we shall word our *khutba* in the name of the Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní." The Sultán was delighted with this reply, and ordered Khwája Hasan Maimandí to select one of the generals and bring him quickly, that he might be sent with an army.

After a long consultation the command was given to Sálár Sáhú, general of the army, and several officers of importance, and 700,000 (*hafí lak*) veteran cavalry were appointed to the duty, and started off. The Sultán bestowed his own scimitar, girdle, and dagger, together with an Arab charger, upon the general, and the other officers were all honoured with dresses and horses, and were addressed by their lord as follows:—"If you wish to please me, please my brother, Sálár Sáhú; serve him with all your power and do his pleasure. My brother Sálár Sáhú is a careful, just, discriminating man; he will do nothing that is not loyal, considerate, and right."

It was on the fifth of the month of Zihijja, in the year 401 (1011 A.D.) that Sálár Sáhú left Kandahár for Ajmír with his army (the Sultán having at that time quitted Ghazní, and taken up his residence at Kandahár).

Making the four camel-riders who had been sent as messengers by Muzaffar Khán their guides, they took the way to Ajmír by way of Thatta. Having traversed the intervening desert, they arrived within three days' march of Ajmír. The General then sent forward the camel-riders to give notice to Muzaffar Khán, while he remained himself encamped by the side of the road. On that night spirits addressed him in mysterious voices, and revealed to him that two pieces of good fortune would befall him during the expedition: in the first place he should be victorious over the unbelievers; and

secondly, a male child should be born to him. At this time many spirits appeared to Sálár Sáhú, pouring such like glad tidings into his ears, as is fully related in the *Tarárikh-i Mahmúdi*. From that time he perceived a supernatural influence at work within him. • •

When the news of the arrival of the General reached Muzaffar Khán he was overjoyed, and caused music to be played. The unbelievers who had assembled to besiege Ajmír were struck with a panic, and agreed together that since Mahmúd's army had come up on one side, and Muzaffar Khán, taking courage, was preparing to sally out on the other, it would be imprudent to attempt an engagement with two separate armies. Therefore they had better retreat for the present, and determine on some approved plan of fighting after the two forces had coalesced. So they raised the siege of Ajmír, and retiring to a distance of seven kos, encamped near the Koh-pukhar.

Muzaffar Khán then went to meet the General, and, conducting him into Ajmír, besought him that he would permit him to remove his people from the fort and lodge the General there. But Sálár Sáhú would not consent, saying, he had come to his assistance, and it would be very unseemly to turn him and his children out of his fort, and to take up his quarters there himself. So he pitched his tents on the banks of the tank Pukhar,¹ sacred among the unbelievers; and, having taken a few days rest, again put himself in motion by Muzaffar Khán's advice. The enemy also drew up their forces in line, and the flower of both armies joined in battle. The field raged with the conflict for three days; but on the third the breeze of victory began to blow on the side of the General, and the unbelievers yielded and fled. The Faithful pursued them to a distance of several parasangs, slew a great number of their officers, took a few prisoners, and then returned. The General took possession of the enemy's camp that day, and, having interred such of the Faithful as had been blessed with the honour of martyrdom, and distributed the whole spoil of the unbelievers among the soldiers of his army, he returned the next day towards Ajmír.

He then built a mosque at the gate of the fort of Ajmír, and

¹ [Hind., *pukhar*; Sans., *puskara*, a lake.]

having performed a religious service in honour of Mahmúd of Ghazní, he sent an account of all that had happened, together with congratulations on the victory, to the Sultán.

After this he appointed officers to many places in the neighbourhood of Ajmír, which had never been under the sway of Muzaffar Khán, and brought them so under control that the collectors settled down, and revenue began to flow in on all sides.

The rebels, who fled, took refuge with Rái Ajípál¹ at Kanauj. When the letter of Sálár Sáhú reached the Sultán, he was overjoyed at the good tidings, and bestowed a special dress of honour, with several Arab horses upon him, and was graciously pleased to order the government of the country to be given to his faithful brother, Sálár Sáhú. He also wrote as follows: "If the Rái Ajípál (Jaipál), Prince of Kanauj will adopt the Musulmán faith, well; but if not, we ourselves will proceed towards that country with our all-conquering army." The Sitr-Mu'alla' (dignified veiled one) also was ordered to join her husband (Sálár Sáhú).

When Sitr Mu'alla' reached Ajmír with the dress of honour and the farmán, Sálár Sáhú gave himself up entirely to pleasure and rejoicing; and, through the power of Almighty God, on that very night—i.e., on the ninth of the month Shawwál, in the year 404—Sálár Mas'úd left the loins of his father and entered the womb of his mother. Nine months passed in ease and pleasure; and in the tenth month, on the twenty-first of the month of Sha'bán, in the year 405, on Sunday, at the pure time of dawn in the first hour, the world-enlightening son was born. The beauty of Yúsuf, the grace of Abraham, and the light of Muhammad shone upon his brow.

The Sultán was also extremely delighted at the birth of his sister's son, and had rich dresses of honour prepared for the father, mother, and the infant Mas'úd. He also, in the most gracious manner, issued a mandate under his own hand to this effect: "Let the Government of the Kingdom of Hindustán be bestowed upon our brother and his son; and if the Rái Ajípál give in his submission, well and good; if not, let him know that we ourselves will

¹ [The Jaipál of other writers.]

make an expedition into Hindustán, and on the same occasion will see our nephew Sálár Mas'úd."

Khwája Hasan Maimandí, who had an hereditary feud with the General of the army, was jealous of the honours and favours bestowed on him by the Sultán; but to what purpose?

Meanwhile, although Sálár Sáhú sought to lead Ráf Ajípál in the right way, he would not cast his lot into the scale of truth; and from excess of worldly-mindedness he did not even desire peace. On the contrary, he encouraged the rebels of the surrounding country, who had taken refuge with him after their flight from Ajmír, to attack the dominions of the Sultán. The General, troubled by anxiety arising from his infatuation, communicated the state of affairs to the Sultán, and, after a few days, Mahmúd took the road to Hindustán with his army. The General Sálár Sáhú, and Muzaffar Khán, went to meet the Sultán with their armies, and conducting him first to Ajmír, displayed Sálár Mas'úd to the fortunate gaze of their royal master, and then presented offerings of money and all kinds of property.

The Sultán bestowed the whole on Sálár Mas'úd, and, during the several days that he remained at Ajmír, he would not let him (Mas'úd) go out of his sight. He then turned towards Kanauj with his army, in rage and indignation, appointing Sálár Sáhú and Muzaffar Khán to the van of the army.

He first came to Mathura, and plundered that nest of idolatry which was a very holy spot among the people of India. After subduing and plundering all the chiefs of the neighbourhood who were reported to be rebellious and factious, he next proceeded against Ráf Ajípál, the King of Kanauj, who did not venture to resist him, but fled, as is detailed in the history called the *Bauzatu-s Safá*, as follows:—

• • • •

The author of the *Tawárikh-i Mahmúdí* relates that when the Sultán returned to Ghazni after the Indian expedition, Sálár Sáhú, the general, petitioned to be allowed to attend him, but the Sultán said, "The subjugation of this country of Kanauj is your work, my brother, and I have therefore appointed you its governor." When they had reached the neighbourhood of Lahore he presented the General with a dress of honour and sixteen Arab horses, and dis-

missed him; nor did he neglect Sálár Mas'úd, but bestowed upon him costly gifts. He also honoured Muzaffar Khán with presents of dresses and chargers, and sent him away with the General, ordering him to serve him in every way in his power.

So the General returned to Ajmír, and immediately appointed officers throughout the districts of his province, whether new or old, for the protection of the people and the redress of the oppressed. He then fixed an annual tribute to be paid by the Ráj Ajpál, and left him at Kanauj on condition of service, whilst he himself remained at Ajmír, enjoying all happiness and peace, governing India as deputy of the Sultán.

He was exceedingly fond of his son, and when Mas'úd was four years four months and four days old, he sent him to a tutor, Mir Saiyid Ibráhm, to be instructed in the creed of Islám. * * * *
The Almighty had endued him with a great aptitude for learning, so that by the time he was nine years old he had acquired most sciences, practical and abstract, and at ten years of age he was so given up to devotion that he passed the whole night in deep study, and never left his chamber before a watch of the day had passed.
* * * In short, he excelled in everything, small and great, and was skilled in whatever came before him. * * *

The Prince of Martyrs was most spotless in body and mind. His pure soul was occupied always in meditating on God, and he was free from sin, external and internal. * * *

CHAPTER 2.

Of the return of Sálár Sáhú and the Prince of Martyrs to Ghazni, and of the feud of Hasan Maimandí, the wazir of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazni, with Sálár Mas'úd, on account of the destruction of the image of Sonnat.

In the course of the next ten years the General subdued many of the countries of India, and lost all fear of the efforts of the unbelievers. The revenue, too, began to flow in regularly and without trouble.

The Sultán Mahmúd was in Khurásán, when some rebels, inhabiting the skirts of the mountain, banded together for the purpose of attacking Kábuliz, and Malik Chhachú, Governor of

Kábulíz, reported the matter to the Sultán. As soon as the intelligence reached him, a farmán was issued in the name of the General, ordering him to leave half his forces for the protection of the country of Ajmír, and to proceed himself with the other half to Kábulíz, and so to punish the unbelievers, as to make them careful not to rebel again, adding, that he (the Sultán) would go himself, but that he was occupied with important matters.

Kábulíz is situated in the vicinity of Kashmír. It was an important place, and had a very lofty fort. The town was originally in the hands of Rái Kalíchand Fir'aúní.¹ He had grown presumptuous on account of the abundance of his wealth and forces, and the extent of his kingdom; therefore, when Sultán Mahmúd went on the Kanauj expedition in the year 407, upon his arrival in Kashmír, he took the fort of Rái Kalíchand with the greatest difficulty, and appointed civil officers of his own. The particulars of the siege of the fort, and of the death of Rái Kalíchand with 50,000 of his companions, are related in the *Bauzatu-s Safá*, but cannot be told in a brief work like the present.

The General of the army having left Mír Saiyid Ibráhím, Muzaffar Khán, and other confidential nobles of his province, to attend upon Sálár Mas'úd, proceeded with his train by successive marches to Kábulíz.

The unbelievers assembled in such numbers that the very ground round Kábulíz was black with them. Malik Chhachú, not being strong enough for an open fight, had shut himself up in the fort of Kábulíz, and the unbelievers, having ravaged the province, were on their way home when the General met them, and, offering them battle, fought for three hours. The army of the Faithful was victorious. Innumerable unbelievers were slain, and their army put to flight. Forty officers were taken prisoners, and several thousand men bit the dust. It was a great victory. Sálár Sábú wrote his dispatch of victory to the Sultán as soon as he had entered Kábulíz. The Sultán was greatly pleased, and that instant issued a farmán under his own hand to this effect, "We bestow the province of Kábulíz, as an iná'm upon our victorious brother, in addition to his jágir; let him make the land his own."

¹ ["Kulchand."—The addition of "Fir'aúní" is a blunder. See *supra*, p. 43, and 458.]

As soon as it was determined that the General should live at Kábuliz, he sent messengers to Ajmír to fetch Sálár Mas'úd, and to tell that light of his eyes to come quickly to him, along with his mother, leaving the officers whom he had appointed at Ajmír each at his post. When the messengers reached Ajmír, Sálár Mas'úd was delighted, and the next day started off for Kábuliz with his mother, accompanied by several thousand horsemen, who were like stars shining round that peerless moon. Engaging in the chase as he went, stage by stage, he reached the town of Rawál. The zamíndár of that place, Satúgan, was father-in-law of Khwája Hasan Maimandí's son. He came out to meet Sálár Mas'úd, and insisted that he should do him the favour of staying that day at his house, that so he might get honour, as he said, among the other zamíndárs. But as the star of Hasan Maimandí's bad faith shone in the forehead of Satúgan, Sálár Mas'úd would by no means consent to alight at the abode of such a treacherous unbeliever. According to his usual habit he had the tents pitched outside the town.

Again Satúgan besought him to eat the food that he had prepared for his party, but the Prince of Martyrs answered him, "The Prophets" (the delight of Allah be upon them and on us all!) "never eat food prepared in the house of a Hindu, nor will I." Satúgan then entreated him to take sugar, rice, and all things necessary, and have his food prepared by his own cooks. But as evil was in the heart of Satúgan, neither was this agreed to. In the morning, as they were starting, Satúgan brought 200 mans of sweetmeats, prepared in various ways, some of the choicest kind for Sálár Mas'úd; but he had caused the whole to be poisoned. Sálár Mas'úd, with divine perception, suspecting the truth, put it all with the baggage, and gave special orders that none should touch it. He then gave Satúgan a dress of honour, and dismissed him.

When he had marched one stage, he ordered Malik Nekkakht to bring the sweetmeats presented by Satúgan. As soon as he had given of the choicest kind to some dogs, they all fell down dead from the poison the moment they tasted it. The Prince of Martyrs, turning towards those present, said with his pure tongue, "The wretched infidel thought me, too, one of the undiscerning." His attendants were astonished at this proof of his ability, and bowing

to the ground, began to extol him. When they told his mother what had taken place, she wept bitterly to think what a terrible misfortune might have happened, and declared that the unbelievers had attempted to commit this treachery at the instigation of the deceitful Hasan Maimandí. Then calling Sálár Mas'úd into her presence, she clasped him to her bosom, and gave large alms to the poor and wretched as a thank-offering.

The night was passed at that place. In the morning, when it was marching time, Mas'úd besought his mother to stay there that day, as it was a good hunting-ground, and he wanted to enjoy some sport. So they did so.

Sálár Mas'úd, taking with him some thousands of the flower of his young men—angels in form, and reckless in courage—took the road to the town of Rawál,¹ hunting as he went, and sent forward spies to learn what Satúgan was doing. When he had nearly reached the town, the spies brought him word that Satúgan had just completed his ablutions, and was worshipping his idols. Upon hearing which they turned their horses straight towards the town. At the same time, the unbelievers got warning, and turned out to oppose them. But the brave youths, flourishing their swords, hovered on all sides, like moths round a flame; and the unbelievers, unable to withstand them, were routed, and the Faithful scattered their heads in every street.

Having put a great many of them to the sword, they took the reprobate Satúgan alive, and brought him before the prince, who addressed him thus: "Oh, Satúgan, did you not know us, that, in the blackness of your heart, you should try such a vile plot on us." He then ordered that he, with his wife and children, should be bound and carried to the army. He then gave the whole place over to plunder. So they brought Satúgan, with his wife and children, to the camp.

This was the first exploit, and maiden victory, of Sálár Mas'úd. His mother caused psalms of joy to be sung, distributed bountiful alms, and gave horses, dresses of honour, and money to all the soldiers of the prince. At that time Mas'úd was twelve years old.

¹ [Here written "Zawál."]

The next day he wrote an account of the affair to the Sultán Mahmúd, and, starting off the couriers, proceeded himself, march by march, with great splendour to Kábuliz. Before the messengers of the Prince of Martyrs reached the Sultán, Náráyan, brother of Satúgan, had brought a complaint through Hasan Maimandí that Sálár Mas'úd had carried off his brother, with his wife and little ones as prisoners, and had plundered the town of Rawál. The Sultán was in perplexity at this intelligence, when Mas'úd's account of the perfidy of Satúgan reached him. The Sultán then issued a farmán, signed with his own hand, to Sálár Mas'úd, informing him that Náráyan had brought an accusation before the arrival of his account, and ordering him to keep the guilty man with good care, as he would himself make inquiries and punish him. The Prince of Martyrs was filled with joy on the receipt of this farmán; but mourning fell on the house of Hasan Maimandí, and his hidden treachery was made manifest.

When they had arrived within one kos of Kábuliz, the General received intelligence of their approach, and, smitten with a longing desire to behold his son, who was like a second Joseph, he started off himself, like Jacob, regardless of ceremony, to meet him.

It happened that Mahmúd had long been planning an expedition into Bhardána, and Gujerat, to destroy the idol temple of Somnát, a place of great sanctity to all Hindus. So as soon as he had returned to Ghazní from his Khurásán business, he issued a farmán to the General of the army, ordering him to leave a confidential officer in charge of the fort of Kábuliz, and himself to join the court with his son Sálár Mas'úd. Accordingly, they presented themselves before the Sultán, who received them with special marks of favour, and showed such great kindness to Mas'úd that his wazír became jealous.

Afterwards he invited Sálár Sábú to a private audience, and asked his advice about leading an army against Somnát. "Through the favour of Allah," said that officer, "the power and grandeur of your Majesty have struck such terror into the hearts of the unbelievers, that not one of them has the daring to oppose you. The best plan is at once to commence the enterprise." This advice

was most pleasing to the Sultán, though Khwája Hasan Maimandí dissented from it. After some conversation, it was settled that the General of the army should return to Kábuliz, and guard that province against the rebellious unbelievers, leaving Sálár Mas'úd, with his victorious army, in attendance upon the Sultán. As soon as he had dismissed Sálár Sáhú, the Sultán set out for Somnát with his victorious host, Mas'úd serving under him in the enterprize with several thousand youths in the flower of their age. They performed many illustrious deeds, and the Sultán showed them increasing favour and kindness.

They first reached Multán, and, when everything was fully prepared, took the road for Somnát. The details of the expedition are thus given in the history called the *Rauzatu-s Sájá*. * * * * *

God bestowed great grace on this king, and his perfections may be understood from the following relation of the author of the *Nafahát*.

When the Sultán Mahmúd Subuktigín had gone on the expedition to Somnát, they suggested to Khwája Abú Muhammad of Chisht, that he ought to go and help him. The Khwája, though he was seventy years old, set out with some darweshes, and when he arrived made war upon the pagans and idolaters with all his sacred soul. One day the idolaters made a successful assault, and the army of the Faithful, nearly overwhelmed, fled to the Shaikh for protection. Khwája Abú Muhammad had a disciple in the town of Chisht, Muhammad Kálú by name. He called out "Look, Kálú!" At that moment Kálú was seen fighting with such fury, that the army of the Faithful proved victorious. The unbelievers were routed. At that very time Muhammad Kálú was seen in Chisht, striking upon the wall with a pestle, and when he was asked the reason, he said, "When the Almighty commanded a man of Abú Muhammad of Chisht's exalted piety to go to the assistance of the Sultán, who could stand before him?"

It is related in the *Tárikh-i Mahmádí* that the Sultán shortly after reached Ghazní, and laid down the image of Somnát at the threshold of the Mosque of Ghazní, so that the Musulmán's might tread upon the breast of the idol on their way to and from their devotions. As soon as the unbelievers heard of this, they sent an embassy to

Khwája Hasan Maimandí, stating that the idol was of stone and useless to the Musulmáns, and offered to give twice its weight in gold as a ransom, if it might be returned to them. Khwája Hasan Maimandí represented to the Sultán that the unbelievers had offered twice the weight of the idol in gold, and had agreed to be subject to him. He added, that the best policy would be to take the gold and restore the image, thereby attaching the people to his Government. The Sultán yielded to the advice of the Khwája, and the unbelievers paid the gold into the treasury.

One day, when the Sultán was seated on his throne, the ambassadors of the unbelievers came, and humbly petitioned thus: "Oh, Lord of the world! we have paid the gold to your Government in ransom, but have not yet received our purchase, the idol Somnát." The Sultán was wroth at their words, and, falling into reflection, broke up the assembly and retired, with his dear Sálár Mas'úd, into his private apartments. He then asked his opinion as to whether the image ought to be restored, or not? Sálár Mas'úd, who was perfect in goodness, said quickly, "In the day of the resurrection, when the Almighty shall call for Azar, the idol-destroyer, and Mahmúd, the idol-seller, Sire! what will you say?" This speech deeply affected the Sultán, he was full of grief, and answered, "I have given my word; it will be a breach of promise." Sálár Mas'úd begged him to make over the idol to him, and tell the unbelievers to get it from him. The Sultán agreed; and Sálár Mas'úd took it to his house, and, breaking off its nose and ears, ground them to powder.

When Khwája Hasan introduced the unbelievers, and asked the Sultán to give orders to restore the image to them, his majesty replied that Sálár Mas'úd had carried it off to his house, and that he might send them to get it from him. Khwája Hasan, bowing his head, repeated these words in Arabic, "No easy matter is it to recover anything which has fallen into the hands of a lion." He then told the unbelievers that the idol was with Sálár Mas'úd, and that they were at liberty to go and fetch it. So they went to Mas'úd's door and demanded their god.

That prince commanded Malik Nckbakht to treat them courteously, and make them be seated; then to mix the dust of the

nose and ears of the idols with sandal and the lime eaten with betel nut, and present it to them. The unbelievers were delighted, and smeared themselves with sandal, and eat the betel leaf. After a while they asked for the idol, when Sálár Mas'úd said he had given it to them. They inquired, with astonishment, what he meant by saying that they had received the idol? And Malik Nekkakht explained that it was mixed with the sandal and betel-lime. Some began to vomit, while others went weeping and lamenting to Khwája Hasan Maimandí and told him what had occurred.

The Khwája writhed like a snake, and said, "Verily, the king is demented, since he follows the counsel of a boy of yesterday! I will leave the service of the Sultán for your sakes, and do you also go and attack his country. We will open his Majesty's eyes." Accordingly the unbelievers returned with the news to the Hindu princes. And Khwája Hasan, from that day, resigned the office of Wazír, became disaffected, and left off attending to the duties of his office.

Afterwards the image of Somnát was divided into four parts, as is described in the *Tawárikh-i Mahmúdi*. Mahmúd's first exploit is said to have been conquering the Hindu rebels, destroying the forts and the idol temples of the Rái Ajipál (Jaipál), and subduing the country of India. His second, the expedition into Harradawá¹ and Guzerát, the carrying off the idol of Somnát, and dividing it into four pieces, one of which he is reported to have placed on the threshold of the Imperial Palace, while he sent two others to Mecca and Medina respectively. Both these exploits were performed at the suggestion, and by the advice, of the General and Sálár Mas'úd; but India was conquered by the efforts of Sálár Mas'úd alone, and the idol of Somnát was broken in pieces by his sole advice, as has been related. Sálár Sáhú was Sultán of the army and General of the forces in Irán. Many of the most illustrious nobles and bravest Turks were of his kindred; and wherever the Sultán led his army and conquered kingdoms, the victory was owing to the exertions and courage of him and his relatives.

The author of the *Tawárikh-i Mahmúdi* has narrated at length the quarrel between Sálár Mas'úd and Hasan Maimandí, and the valour,

¹ ["Ebardana," *supra*, page 524.]

success, and good conduct of the Commander-in-chief and Sálár Mas'úd. To relate it all here would make this work too long; therefore I have only briefly mentioned them. Also, these exploits of Sultán Mahmúd, and Sálár Mas'úd, I have related only so far as they concern that Prince of Martyrs, and insomuch as he was personally mixed up with them, otherwise I had not indulged in such prolixity. "God knows the truth."

CHAPTER 3.

Departure of the Prince of Martyrs from the court of Sultán Mahmúd. — His expedition into Hindustán. — He reaches Multán; occupies Dehli, and, passing the Ganges, takes up his residence in Satrahk, from whence he sends out armies on all sides.

Khwája Hasan Maimandí had been long versed in all the affairs of the administration, so that a great many of the factions, from different parts of the empire, were ready to obey his word. Thus, owing to his disaffection, there was ground for the apprehension of disturbances on all sides. The Sultán, being informed of this, took every means in his power to conciliate Khwája Hasan Maimandí, but without success. For whenever that individual saw Sálár Mas'úd at court, and beheld the favours the Sultán bestowed upon him, he writhed within himself like a snake, and fell into grief and rage, declaring that he could not endure to set eyes upon Mas'úd.

The Sultán, perplexed at this state of things; one day called Sálár Mas'úd apart, and, addressing him kindly, said that Hasan Maimandí was a man of evil disposition, and that, through excessive insolence, he had taken a violent antipathy to him (Mas'úd), which so engrossed him that he had left off attending to business. "I am determined," continued the Sultán, "by degrees to deprive him of the wazírship, and to promote Amír Jang Mikáíl to the post. But till this is accomplished, do you go to Kábuliz and employ yourself in the chase, and in attendance upon your parents. In a short time I will dismiss him and recal you; rest assured, meanwhile, that my affection for you is greater than you can imagine."

Sálár Mas'úd, perceiving the drift of the Sultán's discourse, replied, "Oh, sire! what have I to do at my parents' house? With your permission, I will make an expedition into Hindustán, and, wresting

the kingdoms, now in the hands of pagans, out of their hands, will spread the true faith, and cause the *khutba* to be read in your majesty's name." The Sultán replied, "It is no pleasure to me to deprive myself of you, my child, that I should thus separate myself from you—no; go for a short time to your father, I will send for you ere long." [*Mas'úd departs with his followers.*]

The author of the *Tawárikh-i Mahmúdí* relates that there were, with his own followers and those who joined him, 1,100,000 (*yazdah lak*) men in Mas'úd's army, the home and family of each of whom was at Ghazní.

As soon as the General of the army heard of all that had happened, he went with Sitr Mu'alla' in terrible distress from Kábulíz to the camp of Sálár Mas'úd, and, after embracing him, entreated him with tears to remain with them; but he would by no means consent. Seeing that their child was not to be prevailed upon, they became desirous to go with him. But Mas'úd said, that if they came with him, Hasan Maimandí would certainly persuade the Sultán that they had rebelled, and therefore they had better remain behind. "I have already," said he, "petitioned the Sultán, and now I beseech it of you, to be allowed to travel for one year, after which I will return." At length his parents were obliged to submit. They however sent, with Sálár Mas'úd, a fine army and counsellors, many of whom were of his own age, and had been his companions, and they selected the bravest of their kindred among the Tatars of Sálár Sáhú to accompany him. They also bestowed upon him treasure, horses, and gifts of all kinds. So the General of the army returned towards Kábulíz with his consort, weeping and lamenting.

To resume our history. The Prince of Martyrs, adorned with all dignity of body and mind, reached the banks of the river Indus, and immediately ordered boats to be collected. These were brought, after some search, and he commanded Mír Husain 'Arab, and Amír Bázid Ja'far to cross over the river with 50,000 horse, and attack Sahúr.¹ They did so; and Rái Arjun, the zamíndár of that place,

¹ Shore?

having already taken refuge in the hills, they demolished his house, where they found 500,000 gold pieces. Taking these, and a good deal of other plunder, the two Amírs rejoined Mas'úd. Having thus effected his first conquest in India, Mas'úd crossed the river himself with his army, and encamped on the opposite bank, and, as it was a good sporting country, he enjoyed the pleasures of the chase.

After a short time, Mas'úd marched onward and arrived at Multán. That city was deserted; for, since Sultán Mahmúd, the faithful, had plundered it for the second time, it had never been restored, and the Ráis Arjun and Anangpál, lords of the place, had gone to reside in the province of Uch. From thence they sent ambassadors to Mas'úd to inquire if he thought it right thus to overrun a foreign country, adding, "Perhaps you will have cause to repent it." Mas'úd replied, "The country is God's; his slave has no kingdom; but he to whom God gives it will be the possessor. This has been the principle of my ancestors from the time of Asadu-lla Ghálib until now; to convert unbelievers to the one God and the Musulmán faith. If they adopt our creed, well and good. If not, we put them to the sword." He then bestowed honorary dresses upon the ambassadors, and dismissed them with a caution to prepare for war, as he would shortly follow.

As soon as the ambassadors had departed, he sent six Amírs, viz., Mir Husain 'Arab, Amír Bázid Ja'far, Amír Tarkán, Amír Nakí, Amír Fíroz, and 'Umr Mulk Ahmad, with several hundred thousand horse to attack the Rái Anang, íl. That prince came out of his stronghold to meet them with his forces drawn out in battle array. The combat raged for three hours; many noble Turks were made martyrs, while countless unbelievers were slain, and the Rái Anangpál was at length obliged to yield. The army of Islám entered the city and plundered it, carrying off an immense amount of property. They then rejoined Mas'úd, who bestowed honorary dresses and horses on each of the six Amírs.

The rainy season had now set in, so they remained at Multán the next four months. After the rains, Mas'úd led his army against Ajúdhán.¹ Although, in those days, that place and its vicinity was

¹ [Ajúdhá or Ayodyha is the old form of the name Oudh. The scene of Mas'úd's later exploits is laid in the neighbourhood of Oudh.]

thickly peopled, it was subdued without a struggle. Mas'úd was delighted with the climate of Ajúdhan, and as, moreover, it was a good sporting country, he remained there till the end of the following rains, when he set off for Dehli. Rái Mahípál was then king of the city. He had an immense army, and many war elephants, and was, in consequence, overflowing with pride. Sultán Mahmúd and Sálár Sáhú, when they came into Hindustán, conquered Lahore, and made it a city of Islám; but they were unable to attack Dehli, and retired without even attempting it. But now Sálár Mas'úd, lion-like, marched on by successive stages till he reached that city.

The Rái Mahípál led out his army to oppose him. The two forces lay several miles apart; but the young warriors, on either side, used to meet daily and skirmish from morning till night. Thus a month and some days passed away, till Mas'úd, becoming apprehensive of the result, sought help from God. As soon as he had done so, he received the unexpected intelligence that Sálár Saifu-d dín, the Sultánu-s Salátin, Mir Bakhtiyár, Mir Saiyid 'Azizu-d dín, and Malik Wahíu-d dín, five Amirs, were coming from Ghazní to join him with a numerous force. On their arrival joy and delight filled Mas'úd's army. These men, likewise, had left Ghazní on account of the evil conduct of Hasan Maimandí. Saifu-d dín was a younger brother of Mas'úd's father, Mir Bakhtiyár and 'Azízu-d dín were also related to him. Malik Daulat was a servant of Sultán Mahmúd, and Miyán Rajab had been a confidential slave of Sálár Sáhú, who reposed such confidence in him, that he gave him to Mas'úd; and he, as a mark of his favour, had bestowed a jágír upon him. But no sooner had Sálár Mas'úd started on his expedition, than Hasan Maimandí deprived him of it, without informing the Sultán. Miyán Rajab, therefore, followed Mas'úd, who considered him so trustworthy as to appoint him adjutant (Kotwál) of the army.

Khwája Hasan, from his enmity against Mas'úd, had quarrelled with all connected with him, and forced them to leave the country. The fact was, Sultán Mahmúd had become old, and spent his whole time in the society of Malik Ayáz, neglecting the business of the state. So Hasan tyrannized on all sides. However, it is related in the history called *Tauzatu-s Sajá*, that Mahmúd became at length

dissatisfied with his conduct, and, removing him from the office of wazir, imprisoned him in one of the forts of Hindustán, where he was put to death, and that Mír Jang. Mikáíl was appointed in his place. Certain it is, that he was doomed to destruction, who unjustly persecuted one favoured of 'Alí, and blessed with divine grace.

To resume: Raf Mahípál was alarmed at this accession to the forces of his enemy. Four days after the two armies joined in battle. Mas'úd was engaged in conversation with Sharfu-l Mulk, when Gopál, son of Mahípál, charged him, and, aiming with his mace at his head, wounded him on the nose, and struck out two of his teeth. Sharfu-l Mulk drew his sword, and with one blow sent Gopál to hell. Mas'úd bound up his wounded nose with a handkerchief, and continued on the field of battle. All praise to the courage and valour of Mas'úd, who took no notice of his wound, but continued fighting until evening prayers, and even at night remained on the field. Many brave Turks were martyred, and countless unbelievers slain.

In the morning they again beat the drums of war, and the young men of courage came forth to battle. Mír Saiyid 'Azízu-d dín was fighting in the foremost rank, where he was suddenly struck with a spear on the head, and became a martyr. Unable to contain himself, on hearing of the Mír's death, Mas'úd himself charged the enemy, followed by the Turkish Amírs, careless of their lives as moths round a flame. The unbelievers were unable to withstand the shock, and fled. The Ráis Mahípál and Sirípál alone, with a few others, remained upon the field. Although all their friends entreated them to fly and try the fortune of war another time, they constantly refused, asking where they could go if they left the field. At last they were both slain; a great victory was won, and the throne of Dehli fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Mas'úd, however, did not ascend the throne, still affirming that he was only fighting for the glory of God. He buried 'Azízu-d dín at Dehli, and, erecting a lofty tomb over his grave, appointed men to keep and provide lamps nightly for it. Amír Bázyd Ja'far was placed in command of the garrison of Dehli, consisting of 3,000 picked horse. He was besides ordered to raise 5,000 or 6,000 fresh

troops from among the people of the country ; Mas'úd at the same time telling him, in the most gracious manner, that he was responsible for the happiness of the inhabitants, and must take every precaution to preserve them from oppression.

He left Delhi on the 16th of the month *Ázar*, having remained there six months, and led his army against *Mírat*. The Princes of *Mírat* had already heard that no one could hope to stand before Mas'úd ; that in whatsoever direction he or his troops turned, they gained the victory. So they were afraid, and sent ambassadors with valuable presents to Mas'úd, acknowledging his supremacy, and offering to be the servants of his slaves ; in fact, submitting entirely to him. Mas'úd was much pleased, and bestowing the kingdom of *Mírat* upon them, proceeded with all his train towards *Kanauj*.

When Sultán *Mahmúd* had ejected *Ráf Ajípal* from *Kanauj*, Mas'úd had procured his pardon and re-establishment ; remembering this service, he had already sent an embassy to Mas'úd with most valuable presents. And when the latter had reached *Kanauj*, and pitched his tents upon the banks of the *Ganges*, he sent his eldest son to welcome him with the usual gifts. Mas'úd received the son of *Ajípal* with great respect, and in order to allay all apprehension on the part of his host, determined to accept the gifts. He then presented the prince with a charger and a dress of honour, dismissed him, and ordered his servants to get all things ready as quickly as possible, as he intended to cross the river and enjoy some sport. When they had prepared the boats they came and informed him, and he immediately commanded the army to pass over and encamp on the opposite bank, which they did, Mas'úd accompanying them. Presently came *Ráf Ajípal* with ten horses to pay his respects. Mas'úd received him with marks of great affection, and, seating him near himself, reassured him in every way. He then presented him with a special dress of honour and those ten horses, and allowed him to depart, requesting him to send supplies for his army, and advising him to take every care of his country, so as to improve his subjects daily.

After that, he marched on in the direction of *Satrakh* ; and, on the tenth day, reached that city. At that time *Satrakh* was the

most flourishing of all the towns and cities of India; it lies in the centre of that country, and abounds in good hunting ground. Moreover, it was a sacred shrine of the Hindus; so Mas'úd fixed his head quarters there, and sent out armies on every side to conquer the surrounding country. Sálár Saifu-d dín and Miyán Rajab he despatched against Bahráich, appointing the son of Miyán Rajab kotwal of the army in his father's stead; for, although but young, he was possessed of great ability and courage.

As soon as Saifu-d dín and Miyán Rajab reached Bahráich, they sent back word that there were no supplies to be obtained there, and that their army stood in danger of perishing, unless help was afforded them. Mas'úd ordered the chaudharis and mukaddims of the pargannahs to be brought before him, and those of seven or eight of the pargannahs were brought. He then called to his presence Bipás, Chaudhari of Saddahur, and Narhari, Chaudhari of Amithí, and encouraged them in every way, exhorting them to encourage the cultivation of the lands, which would be advantageous both to them and to their ryots. He also proposed to them to take money in advance, and bring him in supplies. They petitioned to be allowed to deliver the supplies before they received the money; but he insisted on paying in advance. So depositing ready money with the chaudharis and mukaddims, he presented each one of them with a dress and betel-nut, and sent men with them to bring in the supplies as quickly as possible, while Malik Fíroz 'Umar was appointed to have the necessary quantities conveyed to Saifu-d dín at Bahráich, as soon as they arrived.

Mas'úd next commanded Sultánu-s Salátín and Mír Bakhtiyár to proceed against the Lower Country (*mulk-i furo-dast*), saying, "We commit you to the care of God. Wherever you go, first try gentle measures. If the unbelievers accept the Muhammadan faith, show them kindness; if not, put them to the sword." He then embraced Mír Bakhtiyár, saying, "We part to-day; whether we shall ever meet again is uncertain." Both the brothers wept at this sorrowful thought, and remained long clasped in each others' arms. Then Mír Bakhtiyár departed. Wonderful time! Wonderful friendship! and wonderful firmness of faith, to cast themselves thus into the sea of unbelievers, purely for the sake of witnessing to the

truth of the one God. It is said that Mír Bakhtiyár subdued the Lower country, and advanced as far as Kánúr, where he drank the wine of martyrdom. His holy sepulchre is well known in that place.

Mas'úd then dispatched Amír Hasan 'Arab against Mahúna; Mír Saiyid 'Azizu-d dín, celebrated now as the Lál Pír, against Gopamú and its vicinity; and Malik Fazl against Benares and its neighbourhood. Each of these went away in the direction of their several commands, while Mas'úd himself continued to reside with great magnificence at Satrakh, enjoying the pleasures of the chase.

One day ambassadors arrived from the Princes of Karra and Mánikpúr, bringing two saddles, bridles, and other rare presents, with this message, "This kingdom has belonged to us and our fathers from time immemorial. No Musulmán has ever dwelt here. Our annals relate that the Emperor Alexander, Zú-l karnain, made an expedition against this country, and reached Kanauj; but there he made peace with Rái Kaid, and returned without having crossed the Ganges. Sultán Mahmúd, also, with your father, came as far as Ajmír, Guzerát, and Kanauj, but spared our country. But you, without any respect for the rights of property, establish yourself in a country that does not belong to you. The action is unworthy of a great mind like yours. It is an infinite sorrow to us that you should be the only child in the house of your father, and that he should have no other descendants. Consider, we pray you, the right. Satrakh is a pleasant place; but it is not fitting that you should remain there. We have 90,000 picked soldiers; the princes of the country of Bahráich and other places will come to our help on every side, and you will find yourself in great difficulties. You had better take the prudent course of retiring of your own free will."

Mas'úd raged at this like a fierce lion, and, compressing his lips, addressed the ambassador thus, "Well is it for thee that thou comest as an ambassador; had any one else addressed such an insolent speech to us, we would have had him torn in pieces. Go, tell thy princes their country belongs to the all-powerful God, who gives it to whom he wills. Think not that we are come only to take a journey. We intend to make our abode here, and, by the

command of God, will uproot unbelief and unbelievers from the land." * * *

So saying, he dismissed the ambassador, who went and told his master all that had passed, adding "This cub, in truth, fears no one. Do you use your best endeavours, for he cares nought for your 90,000 picked men." The unbelievers were greatly alarmed. At length a barber, who was present, said, he would settle the business if authorized to do so. The Rái ordered him to make the attempt [*to poison Mas'úd, in which he succeeded, but the intended victim recovered.*]

At that time Mas'úd was eighteen years of age. God had lavished upon him * * * every excellence of body and mind. * * * This slave once, in the beginning of life, looked upon the Sultán in a vision. From that hour his heart grew cold to the business of the world, and for three or four years he lost all thoughts of self in the pain of separation from him.

To continue our history. Mas'úd immediately ordered those about him to write letters to the governors of the provinces under his sway, informing them of the attempt of the unbelievers, and how God had turned it to good; for he feared lest short-sighted, ill-disposed persons should adopt a wrong idea; and thus, by their distortion of facts, evil might arise. He also sent a letter to his honoured father at Kábulíz. They soon wrote out all the dispatches and brought them to him, and he signed them himself, and started them off by the hands of special messengers.

[*Mas'úd's mother dies from grief, and Sálár Sáhú then proceeds to join his son.*]

CHAPTER 4.

Sálár Sáhú arrives at Satrakh.—Mas'úd marches against Bahráich.

—*Death of Sálár Sáhú at Satrakh.—Mas'úd wages war with the unbelievers, and tastes the wine of martyrdom at Bahráich.*

When Sálár Sáhú reached the neighbourhood of Satrakh, Mas'úd went out to meet him, and, conducting him home, held great rejoicings for three days and nights with social feasts. All men took fresh courage upon the arrival of the General of the army, while the unbelievers on every side were struck with dismay and apprehension.

A few days after, Malik Fíroz took three spies of the unbelievers at the passage of the river Saru (Sarjú), and sent them to Satrakh. The servants of Mas'úd recognized two of them as the Brahmans who had brought the saddle filled with sorceries and enchantments, as a present from the Ráis of Karra and Mánikpur to Mas'úd; and the third as the barber, who had presented the poisoned nail-cutter. Sálár Sáhú ordered them all to be put to death. But Mas'úd wished them to be released, saying, there was nothing to be gained by killing them. Sáhú consented, for his son's sake, to release the two Brahmans, but declared he would never let the barber go. So they immediately put him to death. They then found upon the Brahmans letters from the Ráis of Karra and Mánikpur to the Ráis of the neighbourhood of Bahráich, and read them. The contents were as follows:—"A foreign army is encamped between you and us. Do you draw out your army on your side, while we attack them on ours, and thus we shall destroy the Musulmáns."

Sálár Sáhú was enraged, and instantly sent off two spies to gather intelligence of the Ráis of Karra and Mánikpur. They brought word that the unbelievers were amusing themselves with their sons and daughters in fancied security. The General immediately beat to arms, and started off, leaving Mas'úd in Satrakh. He proceeded that night to the head-quarters of the ill-fated unbelievers, and, dividing his army into two bodies, sent one division against Karra, and the other against Mánikpur. The brave Musulmáns quickly surrounded each place, and the heathen came out to battle; but the forces of Islám prevailed, and, putting thousands of unbelievers to the sword, they took the two Ráis alive, and brought them before Sálár Sáhú, who put chains about their necks, and dispatched them to Satrakh, writing to Mas'úd that he had sent him some eaters of forbidden food, whom he was to keep with all care. Mas'úd sent them on to Sálár Saifu-d dín at Bahráich. Meanwhile, Sálár Sáhú reduced Karra and Mánikpur, and plunder and slaves to a great amount fell into the hands of the army. He then returned in triumph to Satrakh, leaving Malik 'Abdu-llah in the neighbourhood of Karra, and Mír Kutb Haidar at Mánikpur.

All the princes of Hindustan were alarmed at these doings; deeming it impossible to cope with the army of Islám, they began

to retreat. Ere long, however, all united together, and prepared for war. Sálár Sáhú and Mas'úd one day went out hunting. [*And Mas'úd despatched a tiger with his sword.*]

A despatch reached Sálár Sáhú from Sálár Saifu-d dín, at Bahráich, praying for immediate assistance, as the unbelievers were assembling on all sides. Mas'úd begged to be allowed to go to Bahráich, and chastise their insolence; but Sáhú would not consent, saying, he could not bear to be separated from him, and entreating him not to leave him alone in his old age. Mas'úd then asked permission to proceed to Bahráich for a few days to enjoy the hunting, for which he said that place was famous. Sálár Sabú was obliged to yield; but he wept bitterly at the thought. Mas'úd, when he came to take leave, was himself melted into tears. He left in great sorrow, and turned his face towards Bahráich.

His mere coming was sufficient to quiet the unbelievers, whose dimness of perception alone had caused the rising. Mas'úd hunted through the country around Bahráich, and whenever he passed by the idol temple of Súraj-kund, he was wont to say that he wanted that piece of ground for a dwelling-place. This Súraj-kund was a sacred shrine of all the unbelievers of India. They had carved an image of the sun in stone on the banks of the tank there. This image they called Báláruk, and through its fame Bahráich had attained its flourishing condition. When there was an eclipse of the sun, the unbelievers would come from east and west to worship it, and every Sunday the heathen of Bahráich and its environs, male and female, used to assemble in thousands to rub their heads under that stone, and do it reverence as an object of peculiar sanctity. Mas'úd was distressed at this idolatry, and often said that, with God's will and assistance, he would destroy that mine of unbelief, and set up a chamber for the worship of the Nourisher of the Universe in its place, rooting out unbelief from those parts. The Almighty was pleased to prosper the undertaking, and the light of the true faith there is now brighter than the sun, and clearer than the moon.

Mas'úd came to Bahráich from Satrakh on the 17th of the month of Sha'bán, in the year 423. In the second month a letter came from 'Abdu-l Malik Fíroz from Satrakh. * * * * *

The contents were as follows: "On the 15th of the month of Shawwál, of the year 423, Sálár Sábú was taken with a pain in the head. He said, 'My time is come at last;' and ordered us to bury him in Satrakh. And on the 25th of the same month he went his last journey, obeying the will of the Almighty." Mas'úd wept bitterly at this heartrending intelligence. He was quite beside himself, and, uttering loud lamentations, covered his garments with earth. After a time, recovering some degree of composure, he called to mind Hasan Maimandí, accusing him as the cause of all his misfortunes. "My honoured mother," said he, "died at Kábulúz; and my honoured father has met his death at Satrakh. Now I know what it is to be an orphan." * * *

An ambassador arrived at the court of Mas'úd from the Ráis of the country round Bahráich, Malik Haidar introduced him to the presence, and he presented the despatch that he had brought. The unbelievers, in their pride, had written as follows: "You come from the Upper Country (*mulk-i bálá dust*), and know nothing of these parts. This is the land of nobles; never shall inhabitants of the Upper Country remain here. Think more wisely on this matter." Mas'úd demanded of the ambassador how many Ráis were banded together, and what were their names? He detailed the names of each one as follows: "Rái Ráib, Rái Sáib, Rái Arjun, Rái Bhikan, Rái Kanak, Rái Kalyán, Rái Makrú, Rai Sakrú, Rái Karan, Rái Birbal, Rái Jai-pál, Rái Sripál, Rái Harpál, Rái Harkú, Rái Prabhú, Deb Náryan, and Narsing, are there with 2,000,000 cavalry, and 3,000,000 infantry."¹ Mas'úd would not send a written answer; but dismissing the messenger, dispatched with him Malik Nekdil, with seven attendants, to answer the Ráis in person, his real object being to discover the actual amount of their force.

When Malik Nekdil arrived, one went in and told the chiefs, who assembled together, and, calling Malik before them, inquired what message he had brought from Sálár Mas'úd. Malik Nekdil replied, "My master bids me say, hearing of the nature of this country, I came to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. It is a waste, a barren wilderness. Do you agree upon conditions with me? Let us settle the matter like brothers, and I will settle the country."

¹ [Sic.]

The unbelievers answered, "Until we have fought with you once, it does not befit us to talk of peace. You have come here violently, and we have left you alone; but now, till one party or the other be subdued, what peace can be looked for, or what concord be expected?" Ráí Karan said, "You do not yet know the nature of the climate of these parts. The water will settle our business for us. You had better leave this river Saru and go northwards again, otherwise we must fight." Ráí Kalyán, one of the most able of these chiefs, said, "Oh, princes, you are unwise to think that Sálár Mas'úd has proposed peace through fear. He intends to strike an unexpected blow. Only consider that the Sálár is a man of such honour that he used to stand in the presence of Sultán Mahmúd, and had a feud with the wazír of the Sultán. Leaving his father and mother, he conquered the whole country of India, and his father died in Satrakh. He has not yet visited his tomb. He has only acted thus to deceive us, and means to say, Let him who feels inclined drive me out, and I will fight him. But you do not understand. What objection is there to peace, if he will indeed agree to it?" The unbelievers all began to talk like fools; so Malik Nekdil, seeing that the assembly had no leader, rose up, and, departing, returned to the prince, and told him all that had happened. The unbelievers on their side advanced and encamped in the jungle on the banks of the river Kasahla.

As soon as Mas'úd heard of this, he called a council of the great nobles and asked their advice as to whether he should await their attack, or himself take the initiative. All the most experienced chiefs counselled him to attack them, and this agreeing with his own opinion, he set out after evening prayers, and, marching all night, reached the camp of the unbelievers by dawn. Drawing out his army, Mas'úd confided the van to Sálár Saifu-d dín, and, distributing the other chiefs in the two wings, the rear, and the van; he himself took the command of the centre, and in this order advanced to the charge. The enemy were prepared and gave them battle. Till midday Sálár Saifu-d din had to endure the brunt of the conflict. At last Miyán Rajab and Amir Nasru-lla attacked his opponents with a body of cavalry from the right wing, whilst Amír Tarkán and Amír Bázid did the same from the left; and the prince

himself charged from the centre. Several thousand unbelievers were killed, and the soldiers of Islám, too, tasted the wine of martyrdom. But at length the unbelievers were driven to the last extremity and fled. Two chiefs were taken prisoners, and the victory was complete. The Musulmáns pursued their foes for several kos, and took much plunder in horses and baggage.

Mas'úd remained encamped on the spot for a week, burying the soldiers who had attained martyrdom, and reading the *fátíha* for their pure souls. On the eighth day he returned towards Bahráich. As the weather was warm, and he had come a long journey, he rested for some time under a mahúá tree on the bank of Súraj-kund, at which time he said, "The shade of this tree is very refreshing; and this spot is pleasing to me. It would be well to plant a garden here like those found in our own country. Here will I often come, till the crowds of unbelievers, and the darkness of unbelief, be removed from hence. Until this place be cleansed from idolatry, it is impossible for the faith of Islám to spread in the land of India. If it please God, I will, through the power of the spiritual Sun, destroy the worship of the material." He passed orders then and there that the ground should be levelled, and all the old trees cut down and removed quickly, with the exception of the mahúá tree under which he was standing. He left Miyán Rajab Kotwal to perform this service, and departed with his train for Bahráich by regular stages. From that time he was frequent in religious duties; occasionally, only to satisfy his chiefs and ministers, he would go into the council-chamber, and sometimes into his ladies' apartments.

In three or four days Miyán Rajab rooted up all the old trees, and cleared about an hundred bigahs or more of ground around Súraj-kund. He then reported his proceedings to Sálár Mas'úd, and besought further orders. The Prince made an excursion that way, and, summoning the pioneers who had accompanied his troops from his own country, ordered them to lay out the grounds in parterres and walks after the manner of their native land. He also commanded Miyán Rajab to send people in all directions to collect all manner of trees, one of each kind, for the garden. Such diligence was used, that in a very short time it was completed. He

then ordered them to build a platform of masonry under the shade of the mahúá tree, to serve him for a seat, as he said he had taken a great fancy to that place. After that, he himself arranged the plan upon which he wished the garden to be made, and, leaving Miyán Rajab there, returned with his train to Bahráich. Miyán Rajab knew the disposition of his lord, and employed himself day and night upon that work.

The next day an ambassador arrived, with many costly presents from Rái Jogi Dás from the Hindu Koh. Malik Haidar introduced him to the presence. The ambassador made many protestations of friendship on the part of the Rái his master. After a short time, the ambassador, Govind Dás, presented his gifts, and expressed the desire his sovereign felt to kiss the feet of the prince. Sálár Mas'úd received them with great courtesy, and bestowing gold embroidered dresses of honour on both ambassadors, replied, that if they would adopt the faith of Islám, they might enjoy their own country without fear.

Several other chiefs also came to visit him, though they did not relinquish their opposition. After their defeat they wrote to all the Ráis round, saying, "This is the land of our fathers and ancestors, which this boy wants to take from us by force. You had better come speedily to our assistance, or we shall lose our country." The Ráis answered that they would come immediately, and told them to prepare the munitions of war. Sahar Dev from Shabbún, and Har Dev from Balúna, joined the army of the unbelievers with large forces, and addressed them as follows, "You do not know the tactics of war. Order the blacksmiths to prepare 5,000 balls each, with five poisoned prongs. Before the battle we will fix them firmly in the ground. When the Musulmáns charge with their cavalry, the prongs will enter into the horses' feet; they will fall, and we will finish their business. Prepare besides plenty of fire-works." They did so. In two months all the Ráis of the Hindu Koh and the countries round assembled with innumerable forces, and, encamping on the bank of the river Kahsala, sent one to tell Mas'úd, "that if he wished to save his life, he had better leave that country and go elsewhere, as the land belonged to their fathers and ancestors, and they were determined to drive him from it." The

Prince boldly replied, "Through the grace of God, my steps have not yet turned back, and by His assistance, they shall not do so now. The country is God's, and the property of him on whom He bestows it. Who gave it to your fathers and ancestors?" The messengers, returning, informed the Ráis of all that had passed, which caused them to exclaim, "Truly this boy answers boldly; he knows not fear."

The Prince of Martyrs told Malik Haidar to summon Sálár Saifu-d dín, Amír Nasru-lla, Amír Khizr, Amír Saiyid Ibráhím, Najmu-l mulk, Zahíru-l mulk, 'Umdatul mulk, and Miyán Rajab. He did so; and after Mas'úd had consulted with them it was agreed that, rather than allow the unbelievers to attack them, they had better take the offensive, and thus, with God's help, they might hope to conquer.

The next day they were preparing, when news arrived that the enemy were driving off the cattle. The Prince sprang up like an angry lion, and beat to arms; buckling on his armour and mounting his horse, he himself put his troops into battle array, and advanced to the attack. The enemy also made ready, and, fixing the prongs in the earth, stood with their fireworks ready for use. The noble Turks rode fearlessly to the attack, and numbers of them were put to death by means of the prongs and fireworks. Still the fight waxed hotter, and many of the unbelievers were put to the sword. When Mas'úd heard what had happened, he left the vanguard to attack the enemy on another side, while he himself took them in flank. They fought courageously, and great numbers were killed on both sides. At length the unbelievers were forced to fly. Mas'úd remained on the field of battle, while some of the nobles led the pursuit, and, after plundering the army of the unbelievers, returned to the presence. The Prince then left the field, and, encamping on the banks of the Kalsala, ordered them to number the army, and report to him how many were missing. They found that but two-thirds remained, one-third having tasted the wine of martyrdom. • •

When he went to visit his garden, he would sit under the mahúá tree where they had built a fine large platform. The tree was close to the Súrj-kund, with the idol Eúlárukh on its banks,

and in its waters the unbelievers were wont to bathe before offering it their worship. Mas'úd grew angry whenever his eyes fell upon that tank and idol. Miyán Rajab, who knew well his lord's thoughts, one day presented the following petition: "My lord, now that your lordship has completed this garden, and made it your constant place of worship and resort, the spot has become sacred to the faith of Islám. If you give the command, I will remove this idol and its temple." The Prince replied, "You do not consider that God is without equal, as shall appear. In a short time the angels shall, by order of the Preserver of the Universe, remove the darkness of the unbelievers, and sprinkle upon them the true light of Islám, which is like the waters of life." * * *

After the death of Miyán Rajab, many erroneous reports were circulated concerning him. Some ignorant persons say, that he was sister's son to Mas'úd. This is quite a mistake. What connection has a slave with his lord? Others, again, have changed his name, saying, that Rajab was the name of the father of Sultán Firoz.¹ This is also false. He was one of Mas'úd's oldest servants. It is also reported that he was of a cruel and hard disposition; but those who search the truth will find nothing of the kind on record.

To resume the history. After some days, Mas'úd's sorrow abated, and he departed by regular stages. * * * That loved one of the Lord of the Universe was then nineteen years of age. * * *

Meanwhile, the Hindu unbelievers assembled from all quarters with one accord, and gathered together an army in numbers like a swarm of ants or locusts, to attack Bahrúch. Mas'úd, hearing of their proceedings, came into the council chamber and commanded his ministers to have his whole army, small and great, collected before him. They did so. And when all his followers were drawn out in line, Mas'úd advanced and addressed them as follows:— * *

* * * The Prince continued, "Oh friends, hitherto, when we have fought the unbelievers, the Almighty has granted us victory; now all the armies of India are assembled. It is the custom of my ancestors never to leave fighting, I must follow their example, and, for the love of the truth, yield up my life, which is but the covering

¹ [The father of Sultán Firoz was called Sipáh-sálar Rajab, according to Shams-i Siráj. His tomb stands in Bahrúch.]

APPENDIX.

of that which is hidden. You I commit to God. Do you take the road to the Upper Country and depart. If any one desires martyrdom, purely for the love of the Almighty, let him remain with me; but, God knows that, with perfect free will, I give you leave to depart." Having spoken thus, he wept. Who could be so stony-hearted and ill-starred, as to leave him at such a time? The people wept with one voice, and began to say, "If we had a thousand lives we would spend them for thee. What is one life worth, that for its sake we should deprive ourselves of thy presence?" Praise be to God! It was like the day of judgment, or even more solemn.

• • • •

It was on the 18th day of the month Rajabu-l murajjab, in the year 424, at early dawn, that the army of the unbelievers approached the advanced guard. • • • Mas'úd marched towards the army of the unbelievers; as soon as he reached the outskirts of the city, he drew up his forces in order of battle, and disposing them on the two wings and before and behind him, he continued his march. • • • The Prince of Martyrs, according to his usual custom, went and stood under his favourite tree, while his forces prepared for the fight, which raged furiously from morning till the time of evening prayer. Thousands upon thousands fell on both sides, but victory declared for neither.

All night the two armies remained on the field; and at dawn of day the drums again beat to arms. The Musulmán youth advanced fearlessly to the charge, desiring nothing so much as martyrdom; such was their longing for union with God. Perfect is the love of the moth; it cares for nothing but to burn.

The army of the enemy was innumerable, like mountains on every side; so that although numerous forces fought in the army of Islám, they were mown down like so much grass. Many of the greatest nobles met their deaths. In the course of that day, from morning till evening prayer, two-thirds of the army were slain, leaving but one-third to mourn their loss. Still, through the power of the love of God, none thought of flight. When the Prince heard that Sílár Saifu-d din had sealed his faith with his blood, and that such a noble or general had been slain, he rejoiced and praised God that they had attained their chief desire, declaring that he would not

desert them, but would speedily follow. He then gave orders for burying Sálár Saifu-d dín, which they by some means or other contrived to do; and they reported that the unbelievers had been victorious, and that the whole army of Islám was slain, requesting to know whether they were to continue the fight, or to occupy themselves with burying those that had suffered martyrdom.

Mas'úd ordered them to bring the bodies of the Faithful slain and cast them into the Súrj-kund, in the hope that through the odour of their martyrdom the darkness of unbelief might be dispelled from that spot. They did so, and as soon as the tank was filled, he made them throw the rest into holes and pits. The Prince then dismounted, and performing fresh ablutions, paid his evening devotions with all attention, and went through the burial prayers over the innumerable corpses of the Faithful, with which the tank, the pits and holes were filled, reading the *fátíha* for their pure souls. He then remounted his mare of sacred blood, and, collecting the remnant of his forces, rushed upon the enemy. Although their army appeared like a mountain, yet it was entirely destroyed, as masses of ice are melted by the heat of the sun. Sálár Saifu-d dín had put many of the chief princes to the sword; the remainder the Prince of Martyrs destroyed. The unbelievers who, in the pride of victory, had advanced, fled back. The Prince remained standing on his side of the field; whichever way he looked, nothing met his eye but the bodies of the slain—some wounded, some in the agonies of death, others already defunct, while the survivors were occupied with the dying and the dead. He beheld this heart-rending spectacle without emotion; indeed so strong within him was the desire for martyrdom, that he actually rejoiced. • • •

Meanwhile, the Rái Sabar Deo and Har Deo, with several other chiefs, who had kept their troops in reserve, seeing that the army of Islám was reduced to nothing, unitedly attacked the body-guard of the Prince. The few forces that remained to that loved one of the Lord of the Universe were ranged round him in the garden. The unbelievers, surrounding them in dense numbers, showered arrows upon them. It was then, on Sunday, the 14th of the month Rajab, in the aforesaid year 424 (14th June, 1033), as the time of evening prayer came on, that a chance arrow pierced the main artery in the

arm of the Prince of the Faithful. His sun-like countenance became pale as the new moon. Repeating the text in praise of martyrdom, he dismounted. Sikandar Díwání, and the other servants of that loved-one of God, carried him to the shade of the mahúá tree, and laid him down upon a couch. Sikandar Díwání, taking his honoured head upon his lap, sat looking towards Mecca, weeping bitterly. The Prince of Martyrs opened his eyes but once, then drew a sigh, and committed his soul to God. • • • •

A sound of woe and lamentation broke from the people; they wept aloud, and, brandishing their swords, rushed upon the army of the unbelievers, and gave up their lives, while the enemy kept their ranks and showered their arrows. By the time of evening prayer not one was left. All the servants of Mas'úd lay scattered like stars around that moon. Sikandar Díwání, who sat holding the honoured head of the Prince of Martyrs upon his lap, received several wounds in the breast; but such was the love he bore to that loved-one of the Lord of the Universe, that he never moved his knees from under his head, and yielded his life in his service.

• • • •

Before the author of this work had read the history of which he has spoken, he used often, by order of the Emperor Nuru-d din Muhammad Jahángír, to go into the north country at the foot of the mountains. Achárij Malí Bhádúr, who was the representative of the Rájá of the Hills, once came that way to meet me, and we chanced to speak of the Prince of Martyrs. That Brahman, who was perfectly versed in the works of Hindu historians, related to me, at length, from his own histories, the account of Mas'úd's expedition, from the time he came into India till his death; and all the wars he waged with the unbelievers. Moreover, he told me, that after Rái Sahar Deo had slain the Prince of Martyrs, he returned to his tent, where the Prince appeared to him in a vision, saying, "Thou hast slain me—dost think to escape? This is not manly." Stung by this reproach, Sahar Deo came to the field of battle the following morning and was killed, as has been related. Some years after, the *Tac-wilk* of Mulla Muhammad of Ghazní fell into my hands. I found all that the Brahman had related to me from the Indian histories corroborated there. The Brahman affirms

that the family of the present Rája of the Hills is descended from Rái Sahar Deo, and that he had seen the Indian histories in their library. Thus much detail have I entered into for the sake of my ordinary readers. What I have related in the preface will suffice for those who read with a spiritual object.

After the death of Mas'úd, Muzaffar Khán died also. The unbelievers drove his descendants from Ajmír, and re-established their idols; and idolatry again reigned over the land of India. Things remained in this state for 200 years; but after that time that chief of holy men, the venerable Khwája Mu'inu-d dín, of Chisht, was walking round the Ka'ba, when a voice reached him from the other world, directing him to go to Medina. Upon his arrival there, the Prophet (the peace of God, and rest be upon him!) appeared to him, and said, "The Almighty has entrusted the country of India to thee. Go thither and settle in Ajmír. By God's help, the faith of Islám shall, by thy piety and that of thy followers, be spread in that land." That holy man reached Ajmír in the reign of Rái Pithaura. Through the power of his religious faith, he persuaded Ajípal Jogí, who was Pithaura's spiritual guide, to become his disciple. But the darkness of unbelief did not rise from the heart of Pithaura, who was a second Abú Jahl; on the contrary, he even encouraged the followers of the holy Khwája to evil practices, till the holy man uttered a curse against that unbeliever.

After some years, Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín, otherwise called Shahábu-d dín Ghorí, made a second expedition from Ghazní, slew Pithaura before Dehli, and placing Kutbu-d dín Aibak on the throne of Dehli, returned himself to Ghazní. Khwája Mu'inu-d dín, of Chisht, through the powerful assistance of his prayers, brought the whole country of India into the hands of Kutbu-d dín Aibak. * * * The Mír died in Ajmír, and was buried in the old fort there. His sepulchre is a celebrated place of pilgrimage.

Since that time, no unbeliever has ruled in the land of India.

Some people say that the Prince of Martyrs came into India in the time of that Khwája. This is quite erroneous. I have examined trustworthy works, and find that the Prince lived in the time of Khwája Abú Muhammad of Chisht, ages before the time that that

chief of holy men, Mu'ínu-d dín of Chisht, came into India, and became a martyr. Rather more than two centuries intervened between the two. The date of Mas'úd's death has been mentioned already; Khwája Mu'ínu-d dín died on the 6th of the month of Rajab, in the year 632. He lived 170 years. God knows the truth.

[NOTE.—The following identifications of places mentioned in the foregoing Extract have been kindly supplied by General Cunningham, who visited the locality on his Archaeological survey in 1862-3. Satrah, which is placed at ten days' march on the opposite side of the Ganges from Kanauj, is probably the same as Vesákh or Besákh, a name of Sáhet or Ayodhya (Oudh). Saddhúr and Amethí must be Bhadr and Amethi, two towns between Karra-Mánikpur. The Súraj-kund, with the idol temple and mahúá tree, is probably at Asokpur, between Ayodhya and Gonda (or Gauda). According to local report, Mas'úd's sister's son Hátila was killed at Asokpur, and a small tomb there is said to mark the spot, though he was buried a few miles E. S. E. of Bahráich. At Asokpur there is a mound which has a mahúá tree upon it, and a tank at its foot, which is probably the Súraj-kund. The name of Sáhar Deo, who is represented as the chief of Mas'úd's antagonists, still survives in the varying forms of Suhál Dhav, Sohíl Dal, and Sohíl Deo. According to Buchanan Hamilton (ii. 380), this neighbourhood was selected by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh as a favourable spot for a garden.—See *Archæological Report* for 1862-3.]

NOTE H.

Sultán Jalálu-d dín Mankburni.

As the expedition of Jalálu-d dín Mankburni¹, the Sultán of Khwárizm, into Hindustán is among the most interesting of the many romantic adventures of his remarkable reign, I will add below various extracts from Oriental authors, who have treated of it in a manner somewhat different from the *Jahán-kushá*.

The European reader may obtain full information on the subject of this expedition from consulting Abú-I Fedá, *Annals Muslemic*; Vol. iv. p. 382; Abú-I Faraj, 293; M. Petit de la Croix, *Histoire de Genghizcan*, ch. xxxiv.; D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. "Gela-leddin;" De Guignes, *Histoire Générale des Huns*, Tom. ii. p. 280-1; Hammer, *Gemäldeaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Vol. vi. pp. 188-193; Col. Miles, *Shajrat-ul Atrak*, pp. 166-180; Price, *Retrospect of Mahom-*

¹ So Hammer distinctly enjoins that we should write the word, and not either Mankberni or Minkberni; and yet the inscription on this potentate's coins transposes the two last letters, making the word Mankburin. See *Gemäldeaal*, Pref. p. xiv., and Vol. vi. p. 187, and E. Thomas, *Journal E. A. S.*, No. xviii. p. 383.

medan History, Vol. ii. pp. 410-413 and 520; D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, Vol. i. pp. 300-18, Vol. iii. pp. 3-5; *The Modern Universal History*, Vol. iii. pp. 272-282, Vol. iv. 154-164; Rampoldi, *Annali Musulmani*, Vol. viii. 256-77. From the last two a few extracts have been copied into this Note. The four French authorities, which are all good, are chiefly founded upon the *Sirat-i Jalálu-d dín Mankburní* by Muhammad bin Ahmad of Nessa, the friend of the Sultán and the companion of his journeys and expeditions. This work is in the National Library of Paris, No. 845. It is in eight chapters, and the history is brought down to Jalálu-d-dín's death, A.D. 1231. It was composed only ten years subsequent to this event.¹

It is needless to quote Wassáf, for his account is a poor abridgement of the *Jahán-kushá*.

The following extracts are taken from the history of the Saljúkians in the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* of Rashídu-d dín. The Sultán's proceedings in Hindustán are recorded in almost precisely the same words as the *Jahán-kushá* uses. The following passages were written by Rashídu-d dín's continuator, but he himself has treated of the same subject in his history of Changíz Khán :—

“ At² nightfall every one retired to his tent, and in the morning both armies were again drawn up in battle array. This day also Sultán Jalálu-d dín marched on foot at the head of his army, and all at once made a charge upon the Moghals, and put them to flight. The kettle-drums were beaten in triumph by order of the Sultán, and his whole army pursued the Moghals on horseback. The Sultán rushed upon them like a fierce lion or crocodile upon its prey, and put many to death. Changíz Khán shortly afterwards, being reinforced with a small body of men, moved like destructive lightning or a rapid torrent against the Sultán. In the meantime, a dispute arising between Saifu-d dín Aghrák and Amin Malik, Governor of Hirát, on account of the division of the booty, and especially respect-

¹ See Rémusat, *Novv. Més. Asiat.*, Tom. i. p. 435

² [This extract appeared in Sir H. Elliot's original volume, published in 1849. The translation has since been compared with the text of the MS. in the E. I. Library, and many emendations introduced. Quatremère's criticisms in the *Journal des Savants* for 1851 have also been considered, and several admitted.]

ing the right to a particular horse,¹ the latter struck Aghrák on the head with a whip.² The king called upon Amín Malik to give an explanation of his conduct, but he replied that Kankalí³ troops would not submit to be questioned. Upon learning this, Saifu-dín deserted the Sultán under cover of night, and went off with his troops to the hills of Kirmán and Sankúrán.⁴ The desertion of Saifu-dín Aghrák materially affected the power of the Sultán, and diminished his chance of success. He resolved to cross the Indus, and make towards Ghazni; and for that purpose he ordered boats to be got ready.

"This circumstance coming to the knowledge of Changíz Khán, he hastened in pursuit of the Sultán, and surrounded him. At day-break, the Sultán found himself in a position between water and fire, the Indus on one side, and the fiery enemy on the other. He prepared to give battle, but was maimed like a fierce lion in the claws of a leopard. The victorious army of the Sovereign of the World (Changíz Khán) fell upon the right wing commanded by Amín Malik, and drove it back with great slaughter. Amín Malik being thus defeated, fled towards Persháwar; but the Moghal army had got possession of the road, and he was slain, in the midst of them. Changíz Khan compelled the left wing also to give way, but the Sultán firmly maintained his ground in the centre with seven hundred men, and opposed the enemy from the morning to mid-day, moving now to right now to left, sustaining every attack, and on each occasion slaying a number of the enemy. Meantime the army of Changíz Khán came pressing forward, and crowding upon the position occupied by the Sultan. At last Ajásh Malik, son of the king's maternal uncle, seeing all was lost, seized the bridle of the Sultán's charger, and led him from the field. The Sultán bade adieu to his sons and the ladies of his household with a burning heart and

¹ Most of the authorities specify an Arab horse.

² The *Tarikh-i Afi* concurs in this statement, and it is adopted by D'Ohsson, D'Herbelot, and Rampoldi.

³ The Kankalí was a Turkish tribe. The name signifies "invention," and the tribe is said to have been so designated from their ingenuity in constructing carriages upon a certain occasion.—*Shayratu-l Atrak*, p. 35. [The MS. of the E. I. Library reads "Kalasa."]

⁴ The *Tarikh-i Afi* mentions only Kirmán.

weeping eyes. He ordered his favourite horse to be brought,¹ and springing upon it, he rushed again into the torrent of conflict, like a crocodile into a river, charging the enemy with irresistible force. Having succeeded in driving them back, he turned his horse's head, threw off his coat of mail and shield, and urging his horse, plunged into the river, though the bank was upwards of thirty feet above the stream. He then swam across like a noble lion,² and reached the opposite bank in safety. Changíz Khán witnessed the gallant exploit, and hastening to the bank prohibited the Moghals from attempting to follow. The very heavens exclaimed in surprise 'They never saw in the world any man equal to him, nor did they ever hear of one like him among the celebrated heroes of antiquity.' Changíz Khán and all the Moghal nobles were astonished to find that the Sultán crossed the river in safety, and sat watching him as he drew his sword and wiped the water from his scabbard. The Khán, turning round to the Sultán's sons, addressed them in words expressive of his admiration. * * * *

"After his escape, the Sultán was joined by about ten persons who had also succeeded in crossing the river. They all concealed themselves in the woods, where fifty other persons joined their number. When the Sultán received intelligence that a number of Hindús, consisting of cavalry and infantry, were lying within two parasangs of him, and had given themselves up to pleasure, he ordered his followers to provide themselves with clubs. Thus armed, they made a sudden night attack upon the Hindú force, put many to death, and plundered their cattle and weapons. Upon this, several other people, some on camels and some on horned cattle, came over, and declared for the Sultán. They brought information that there were in the neighbourhood two or three thousand men of the Hindú force.

¹ Muhammad of Nessa tells us that in recognition of the noble service performed by this horse, the Sultán kept it till the capture of Tifis in 1226, without ever riding it in action.

² [The words of the MS. of the E. I. Library would seem to differ slightly from those in the MS. used by Sir H. Elliot—

بر مثال شتر شیور از میدان جیکون شیور کرد

"He crossed over like a proud camel from the plains of the Jihún." This seems the preferable translation, though "the Jihún" may possibly signify "the river (Indus)".]

The Sultán attacked them with one hundred and twenty men, put a number of them to the sword, and equipped his followers with the arms taken from the vanquished. When the report of the strength and improved circumstances of the Sultán was spread throughout India, a number of men from the hills of Balála¹ and Nakála assembled, and in a body of about five or six thousand horse, attacked the Sultán, who, drawing up in array five hundred horse, dispersed them. The Sultán afterwards received aid from several individuals and bodies of men, so that there now flocked round his standard not less than three or four thousand men. Intelligence of this gathering came to the knowledge of the world-conquering king (*i. e.*, Changiz Khán) while he was within the limits of the Ghaznín territory, and he sent troops to oppose him. When this force crossed the river, the Sultán was not able to cope with it, and he therefore passed on as a fugitive towards Dehli.

“The Moghals, on hearing that the Sultán had proceeded towards Dehli, returned, and pillaged the confines of Ghor. The Sultán, on reaching the vicinity of Dehli, deputed messengers to King Shamsu-dín to communicate his arrival, and to prefer a request to reside temporarily in some village near Dehli. The King killed the ambassador, deputed a messenger on his part with presents to the Sultán, but objected to comply with his demand for a place of residence, on the pretext that the climate of the neighbourhood would not suit the constitution of the Sultán. On receiving this reply, the Sultán returned to Balála and Nakála. Those who had effected their escape joined him, and he had now about ten thousand men under him. He deputed Taju-dín Malik Khilj, accompanied by a force, to Rái Kokár² Saknín, in the hills of Júdí, with a request for the hand of his daughter, which request Rái Kokár complied with, and sent his son with a number of troops to wait upon him. The Sultán gave the

¹ All who record these events concur in reading the first word, as Balála. The second may be either Bankála or Mankála. The *Tárikh-i Afi* adds “in the vicinity (*nauahí*) of Lahore.”

² Probably the same as the Rái Sarkf spoken of in the *Táju-i Ma-ásir* (*supra*, p. 232) twenty years before. Rái Kokar may mean something more than chief of the Gakkhurs. S. Binning says “Khokar was formerly in possession of a Muslimán, whose descendants still retain the title of Bájá, and enjoy a small *jágir*. The district comprehends the large town of Pind Dadan Khán.”

name of Katlagh Khán to the son, and sent an army under the command of Uzbek Pái against Násiru-d din Kubácha, who was at enmity with Rái Kokár. Kubácha, though he was an Amír under the Ghorian Kings, and governor of the country of Sind, yet was presumptuous enough to aspire to independence. When Kubácha with twenty thousand of his followers were encamped on the banks of the Indus within one parasang of Uch, Uzbek Pái,¹ with seven thousand men, suddenly fell upon them at night, defeated, and dispersed them. Kubácha embarked in a boat for Akar and Bakar (two island forts in his possession),² while the Uzbek descended upon his camp, taking possession of whatever fell in his way. He sent the news of this victory to the Sultán, who marched out, and together with the army, which was under the command of the Uzbek, reached the palace of Kubácha. The latter fled from Akar and Bakar to Múltán, where

¹ The *Rauzat-u Safá* also names him as the Sultán's general, owing apparently to some confusion of the names of contemporaries—for Uzbek, the son of Jabán Pahlawán the Atábak, was at that time ruler of Azurbáján, where we find him, a short time subsequent, engaged in active opposition to Jalálu-d din. It will be observed that Firishta speaks of him under a still more curious form.

² [The text of this passage as printed in Sir H. Elliot's original volume ran thus:—*در کشتی باکرو بگردو قلعه داشت در جزیره رفت* The MS. of the East India Library has *در کشتی باکرو بگردو قلعه است در جزیره رفت* *Quatremère, Jour. des Savants*, Sep. 1850, p. 520, offers a correction, and says the text should be read as it is given by Rashidu-d din in the *History of the Mongols* *باکرو بگردو قلعه که در جزیره است رفت* and translated "il se rendit dans ce canton d'Agroubgher á une fortesse située dans une ile." If the learned reviewer had pointed out where Agroubgher is, or was, I would readily have altered my reading, but having found the passage in the *Jahán-kashái* expressed in the same words as in the *Jamí'u-t Tavárikh*, I prefer retaining it. That the ascertainment of the right reading is difficult may be inferred from the name being left out altogether by most of the authorities subsequent to the *Jamí'u-t Tavárikh*. The *Rauzat-u Safá* says only "a fort." Translator says "fled to some place." Briggs (iv. 418) says "Nugaur," which is not supported by the original; but doubtless the proper reading of his copy was "Bakar." The *Tárikh-i Alfí* says plainly "he went towards the island of Bakar." Altogether, I make little doubt that the famous island-fort of Bhakkar is the one indicated. Bhakkar, indeed, does comprise two islands. But, when instituting inquiries on the spot, I could not find that the small island lying to the north was ever called "Akar." It now goes by the name of the shrine on it. But that it might once have been called so, is not improbable, as the tendency to the reduplication of the name of Bhakkar is even now shown by its being rarely mentioned, except when coupled with the name of one of the towns lying on either side of it,—as "Bará-Bhakkar," "Sakkar Bhakkar."

the Sultán sent an ambassador to him with a demand for money, and for the surrender of the son and daughter of Amír Khán, who had taken shelter at Múltán, having fled from the battle which took place on the banks of the Indus. Kubácha sent the son and daughter of Amír Khán with a large contribution in money, soliciting at the same time that his territories might not be despoiled. The weather, however, growing hot, the Sultán determined to proceed from Uch to the Júdí hills, to Balála and Nakála, and on his way besieged the fort of Bisráam, where in an engagement he was wounded in the hand by an arrow. In the end, the Sultán captured the fort, and put all who were in it to the sword. At this place he received intelligence of the movement of the Moghal troops, who were endeavouring to effect his capture, so he turned back. When he was in sight of Múltán, he sent an ambassador to Kubácha to intimate his return, and to demand the tribute due by him. The advanced guard of the Sultán waited but for a short time, and as the inhabitants of Uch were hostile, he set fire to the city and marched upon Sadúsán, where Fakhru-dín was governor on behalf of Kubácha. Láchín of Khitá was commander of the troops, and he led them forth to oppose Okhán, who was general of the Sultan's army, but he was slain in the conflict. Okhán then besieged Sadúsán, and when the Sultán arrived, Fakhru-dín Sálári with tears supplicated for pardon, and presented his sword and coffin¹ in token of submission. The Sultán remained there for one month, and showing favour to Fakhru-dín, he made over to him the government of Sadúsán and marched towards Dewal (Debal) and Damrila. Hasar, who was the ruler of this territory, took to flight, and embarked in a boat. The Sultán, on reaching the borders of Dewal and Damrila, deputed Klás Khán with a force to Nahrwála, from which place he brought away much spoil and many prisoners. Shortly after, the Sultán entered Dewal and Damrila, and erected a Jámí mosque in the former place, opposite the temple of an idol.² In the meantime,

¹ The *Jahán-kushá* has "winding sheet" instead of "coffin." They both imply the same sentiment, that Fakhru-dín was fit only to die, and placed his life in the Sultán's hand. The *Tarikh-i Alfi* says "his coffin and his sword suspended from his neck." On the Sultán's return to Persia, we find the repentant generals going through the same emblematic form of contrition.

² Fuishta says that the name of the chief of Daibal, or Thatta, was Jaishi, and

intelligence was received from 'Irák that Ghiyásu-d dín Sultán had settled himself in 'Irák; that most of the troops of that country professed their attachment to Sultán Jalálu-d dín, and felt anxious for his presence. Upon this the Sultán prepared to join them, but on learning that Burák Hájb was with hostile intentions fortifying the strong post of Burdsir in Kirmán, he determined on proceeding to 'Irák by way of Makrán."

Mírkhond's account of this expedition is very clear and explicit, and is chiefly derived from the *Jahán-kushí* and *Jám'u-t Tawárikh*. He is, in some respects, fuller than either of those authorities. The following extracts are taken from the history of the Kings of Khwárizm in the Fourth Book, and the history of Changíz Khán in the Fifth Book of the *Rauzat-u-Safá*:—

"When¹ the Sultán arrived at Ghaznín, which his father, Sultán Muhammad, had bestowed upon him as an appanage, he was joined by the armies of his father, which had been dispersed in different directions. Saifu-d dín Aghrák, with forty thousand Kankalis,² Turks, and Khiljs, and Yamín Malik, the governor of Hirát, with his valiant Kurds, were amongst those who joined his standard.

"When spring returned, the Sultán left Ghaznín with his army, and went to Bárání (Parwán) where he fixed his camp. There he learned that Pakchak and Yemghúr³ were engaged in the siege of Wálián,⁴ and they were nearly capturing it, when the Sultán, leaving his heavy baggage in the camp, attacked the Moghals, and put to the sword nearly one thousand men of the advance guard. As the Moghal force was smaller than that of their opponents, it retreated across the river, and after destroying the bridge, fled during the night. The Sultán returned to his camp with much booty, and remained encamped at Bárání.

that the Sultán demolished the temples of the idols at that place. This may probably have been a regal title, for some such name was borne by the son or brother of Dábir, who was governor of Debal. [See Vol. i. pp. 197, 201.]

¹ [Translated by Sir H. Elliot.]

² The *Gemáldesawi* says Kanikli, and calls the governor of Herat "Tizin," but in the next page calls him "Emin."

³ "Balghúr" in the *Tárikh-i Afí*. Price reads "Begjek and Yemghúr." Miles has "Begchuk and Tumkoor."

⁴ [See Thomas, *Jour E. A. S.*, ix. 313.]

"When Changíz Khán heard of this defeat, he despatched Kútúkú¹ and another of the Náyáns, with thirty thousand men, against the Sultán, and himself followed in their rear. As soon as Kútúkú reached Bárání, the Sultán prepared for action, and gave orders that his men should dismount and bind the reins of their horses round their waists, fighting only with swords and arrows from morn till evening. At the approach of night, both infidels and Musulmán's retired to their respective camps, and on the return of morn, the Sultán's army saw a double line of troops opposed to them, more than they had contended with the day before. The reason was, that Kútúkú during the night had devised a stratagem, by ordering each of his troopers to make human figures with basket-work and felt, and place them in the rear. The Sultán's army, conceiving that reinforcements had reached the Moghals, became alarmed, and proposed to leave the field; but the Sultán making them take heart, prevented them carrying this foolish design into effect, and ordered them again to fight during that day also on foot. After a time, when they saw their own strength and the weakness of the Moghals, they suddenly mounted their horses, and charging the enemy, slew the greater part of these infidels, and the two Náyáns fled, with only a few followers, to Changíz Khán. • • •

"On the day of this victory,² a quarrel arose between Saifu-d dín Aghrák and the governor of Hirát respecting a horse, upon which occasion the latter struck Aghrák's horse on the head; and as the Sultán was not confident that any remonstrance of his would be listened to, he did not call the governor to account. The consequence was that during the night Saifu-d dín Aghrák left the camp in anger, and went off with his Kankalí, Turkoman, and Khilj troops towards the hills of Sankrák.³ • • •

¹ "Sankghúr Náyán" in the *Turikh-i Aft*, and "Kaikúr" in the original *Jahán-kushái*. D'Ohsson says, "Shieki Coutoucou." The *Universal History* also has "Kútúkú," and places him at the head of eighty thousand men." The *Gemälde-saal* says, "Schiki Kutuhu." Miles has "Kykoor."

² The *Modern Universal History*, on the authority of Muhammad of Nessa, says that Jalálu-d dín, after reproaching his prisoners with their cruelties, caused nails to be thrust into their ears, to revenge the miseries which his subjects had so long suffered from the Mongols and Tátárs.

³ Price reads "Sekrauk." Hammer, "Sinkrak." The *Jámi'-'t Tawdríkh*, "Sankúrán." Rampoldi says, "Sangrak, non molte distante da Gazna." Miles reads "Sunkrán."

“The right wing of the Sultán, which was commanded by Khán Malik, was first attacked by the enemy, and many of his personal attendants and the greater part of his troops were killed. The left wing was also destroyed, but the Sultán kept on fighting from morn till noon, supported by seven hundred men who were with him in the centre, and laid many low in the dust at every attack, performing incredible deeds of valour, of which Rustam and Isfandyár would have been envious. The army of Changíz Khán kept pressing on in increasing numbers, and constantly contracting the space of the Sultán’s action, insomuch that they were nearly taking him prisoner. * * *

“After his last charge, the Sultán turned his horse’s head, and seizing his royal umbrella and throwing off his coat of mail, and lashing his horse, urged him into the river Sind, which was flowing more than thirty feet below the bank. Some of the cavalry followed his example. * * * The Títár soldiers drew their bows, and the waters of the Sind were red with the blood of the slain. When the Sultán escaped from that danger, he went along the bank of the river, and witnessed the enemy plundering his camp on the opposite side.

“Changíz Khán likewise stood on the bank of the river and watched the Sultán dismount from his horse, take off his saddle, spread his saddle-cloth, his arrows, and his tunic in the sun to dry them, empty the water out of his scabbard, fix his umbrella on the point of his spear, and then sit down under the shade. About the time of afternoon prayers he was joined by seven of his followers who had escaped the whirlpools of the river, and, accompanied by them, at sunset the Sultán went his way. When Changíz Khán saw all this, he seized the collar of his tunic between his teeth ;

“ He lauded him and said, from no father
Will such a son be produced throughout the world.
He is like a victorious lion in a forest,
And as courageous as a crocodile in a river.”

Turning round to his sons, he exclaimed—‘Such a son, and no other, should be born to a father :’

“No one in the world has seen a man like this,
Nor heard of one amongst the heroes of antiquity.”

* * * *

"This event took place in Rajab, 620 H. (July, 1223 A.D.)

"The Sultán remained two years in Hindustán, The officer whom he deputed to Shamsu-d dín was poisoned by that king. When the Sultán left Bistrám, and was passing by Múltán, Kubácha offered opposition, and the Sultán, after defeating him, went to Uch.

"After the Sultán had crossed the Sind, Changíz Khán detached Balá Náyán, with two tumáns, or twenty thousand men, in pursuit. After crossing the river, he arrived at a fort which was held by one of the Sultán's officers, and after the fort was captured, he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants. Thence he went towards Múltán, and the inhabitants closed the gates against him. The Náyán discharged stones from his manjániks, and demolished some of the gates, and was near taking the fort; but as the Moghals were unable to withstand the excessive heat, the Múltánís escaped that Balá (calamity); for Balá Náyán marched away from Múltán, and after pillaging and devastating the whole of that province, and Labáwar, he went to join Changíz Khán.

"After consulting with his sons and officers, it was finally resolved by Changíz Khán that a detachment of the army should be sent to Kij and Makrán and the borders of Hind to watch the proceedings of Sultán Jakálu-d dín, and that another should be sent towards Ghaznín to destroy that capital, and the descendants of Subuktigín, so that all desire for the restoration of the Sultán might be extirpated, and should then return towards Túrán in the spring.

"In furtherance of these designs, Changíz Khán sent Chaghtái with a large army towards the Makráns (Makránát), and Ogtái was ordered to return to Ghaznín from the lowlands on the banks of the Sind. The chiefs and elders of that city felt themselves compelled to submit; but under the apprehension of further opposition on the part of Sultán Jakálu-d dín, the Moghals sent to Paradise all the inhabitants of that tract,—the old as well as the young, the weak as well as the strong,—and destroyed the colleges and schools, making them the abode of owls.

"After this massacre and pillage Ogtái Kaán, by order of Changíz Khán, went through Garmsír and Hirát towards Máwárau-n nahr and Turkistán. Chaghtái, who had gone to Makrán, after bringing the whole of that country and its borders under subjection, took up his winter-quarters at Kálinjar,¹ a country on the banks of the river Sind. The governor of that province entertained them hospitably, rendered all kinds of acceptable services, and provisioned the Moghals to the fullest extent of his power.

"The greater part of the army fell sick, owing to the badness of the climate. And since many prisoners had fallen into the hands of the Turks, insomuch that each soldier had as many as ten or twenty, * * * orders² were issued, as a precautionary measure, to put them all to death. Ambassadors were despatched by Chaghtái to the chiefs³ who were in the vicinity of his camp, and most of them proffered their allegiance; but against those who were at first submissive and afterwards offered opposition, armies were sent, and they were all put to the sword.⁴

"After the troops had recovered from their sickness, as no tidings of Jalálu-d dín reached them during the time they were in their winter-quarters, they returned with the grand army towards their native country, * * * and Chaghtái and Ogtái went on a hunting expedition to Bokhárá."

¹ This is not the famous fort in Bundelkhand, nor the hill fort on the frontier of Kashmir mentioned by Firishta (I. 89, 99). The *Turikh-i A'jib* says it was "within the confines of Multán." Col. Miles reads "Lanjoor;" but all the readings throughout the *Shajratu-l Atrak* are adopted without any consideration or authority, and carry no weight with them.

² In the corresponding passage in the *Jahán-kusháí*, these orders are attributed to Changiz Khán, which would make it appear that he himself wintered in Hindústán—an improbable supposition.

³ The *Shajratu-l Atrak* says, "to the countries of Kech, Kutch, Mukran, and the port of Surat."

⁴ There is great confusion of names and places in respect to these winter-quarters. D'Ohsson's statement adds to the difficulty. He says: "After the sack of Ghuznin, Ogtái asked leave to besiege Sistan, but Changiz Khán ordered his return on account of the great heat. He cantoned himself on the plain which the Mongols call Bérouan, and pillaged the whole surrounding country. Changiz Khán waited for the Nuyán Bela and Túrtái, and on their arrival he marched, and was joined by Ogtái near the fort of Gounaoun Courgan. He wintered in the mountainous country of Bouyaketter, near the sources (?) of the Sind, where an epidemic sickness broke out. In the spring of the year 1223, Changiz Khán resolved to return to Mongolia by India and Tabbet, after ordering the massacre of the prisoners."

A very curious statement respecting this expedition is found in the *Tazkira* of Daulat Sháh, Art., "Jamálu-d dín Muhammad 'Abdu-r Razzák Isfahání," who was a contemporary of the Sultán's. It differs from all other accounts; and much of it is nonsense, but part may be true :—

"Sultán Jalálu-d dín defeated the Moghals in the vicinity of Panjshír, one of the districts of Kábul. * * * When he dismounted from his horse after crossing the Sind, he fixed his spear in the ground, and sat down, drying his turban, clothes, and arms.

"The Khán came to the bank of the river, and praising the gallantry of his antagonist, called out to him on the opposite bank: 'Oh prince, I hear that you are of lofty stature: rise, and let me see you.' Jalálu-d dín rose, and again the Khán addressed him: 'Oh prince, sit down again, for all that I have heard respecting your stature and appearance is exceeded an hundredfold.'¹ Jalálu-d dín sat down, when the Khán again said. 'It was my anxious desire that you should become my vassal; but now go your way in safety.' The Khán then retired from the bank of the river.

"Of the remnant of Jalálu-d dín's army, about seventy men managed to join him by some means or other; and they plundered in the neighbourhood of Lahore an Aughán (Afghán) caravan which was on its way to Multán. They thus set themselves up in arms and equipments, and four hundred of the Afgháns joined the Sultán. It was about that time that the Hazára Láchía, from which tribe Amír Khusrú of Dehlí is descended, flying from the neighbourhood of Balkh before the Moghal army, joined the Sultán, to the number of seven hundred men. They took the fort of Kargishghál (?), and the King of Multán made peace with the Sultán. 'Aláu-d dín Kaikubád (Mas'úd (?), a legitimate son of the King of Hind, gave him his daughter in marriage,' and the Sultán maintained independent power in Hind during three years and seven months. When

¹ We have a sufficient proof that he was handsome, from the fact of the wife of Uzbek Jahán Pahlawán falling in love with him, and betraying her gallant husband's fort to him for the gratification of her passion.

² D'Ohsson (iii. 4) also says that, when the Sultán learnt that Shamsu-d dín Altamsh was advancing to render assistance to Kubácha, he went out to oppose him, but, instead of fighting, Altamsh proposed peace and the hand of his daughter, which were both accepted by the Sultán.

intelligence was received of the return of Changíz Khán towards the desert, Sultán Jalálu-d dín left Hind, and went to Kirmán, by way of Kij and Makrán."

The *Tárikh-i Alfí* contains (ann. mort., 609), the following particulars not noticed by the other authors; but in the general narrative it follows the *Jahán-kushá*, the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, and the *Rauzatu-s Safá* indifferently.

"When Sultán Jalálu-d dín reached Ghaznín, Malik Amín went out to do him honour with fifty Hazáras, and the whole army and peasantry were rejoiced at his arrival. The Sultán married the daughter of Malik Amín, and encamped during the whole winter on the plain of Ghaznín. * * By reinforcements his army amounted to more than one hundred thousand men.

"Sanakghúr Núyán reached Birwán on the morning of the eighth day after the Sultán had arrived there. The Sultán advanced one parasang and prepared for action, and ordered all his men to dismount their horses, and devote themselves to death in the approaching fight with the infidels. * * The Moghals during the night made figures of men, and placed them in the rear on their spare horses. * * The archers of Malik Saifu-d dín Aghrák put the Moghals to flight and committed great havoc, and the Sultán making a charge with his whole army, completed the rout and slaughter. Sanakghúr Núyán, with another Amír, who commanded the advance, fled to Changíz Khán with only a few followers. * *

"On the retreat towards the Sind or Niláb, Amír Khán, who commanded the rear-guard, was defeated, and fled to the Sultán. * * Changíz Khán gave the strictest orders that every kind of precaution should be taken to prevent the Sultán's crossing the river. * * Amínu-d dín Malik, who commanded the right wing, fled to Pesháwar, and falling into the hands of the Moghals, was slain there. * * When Changíz Khán witnessed the Sultán's exploit of swimming the river, he exclaimed, 'A wise man should be cautious in dealing with one who can save himself from such whirlpools and can perform such gallant actions.' * * *

"When the intelligence of the Sultán's successes came to the ears of the world-conquering Changíz Khán, he dispatched two sons of

Amírs, one named Túrtaí and the other Bákín, with an immense army to seize the Sultán, but as his troops were in great alarm at the Moghals, he went towards Dehlí before the enemy could reach him.

• • Shamsu-d dín to all appearance received 'Aínu-l mulk with great distinction and kindness, but in his heart he entertained the greatest alarm: for like as the Khwárizmsháhís were afraid of the Moghals, so, but to a greater extent, were the soldiers of Hind afraid of those of the Sultán. • • The Sultán returned towards Laháwar after his unsuccessful advances to Shamsu-d dín. • • •

“Kubácha had collected a large army within the borders of Uch and Multán. Upon this occasion, when he heard of the approach of the Moghals, he foreswore his allegiance to the Sultán, and prepared to demand reparation for former injuries. • • •

“At that time the ruler of Tatta was a person called Jaisar, who, when he heard of the approach of the Sultán, placed his treasure and property in a boat, went toward the sea, and took refuge in some of his islands.

“The Sultán remained some time at Tatta, demolished the temples which were there, and built a large Masjid-i jámi’.”

Firishita, in the account of this transaction, contained in the *History of Sind* (Vol. ii. pp. 610-5), has followed the *Rauzat-u Safá* almost verbatim, adding only a few particulars which his greater local knowledge enabled him to supply:—

“Sultán Jalálu-d dín, after applying to Shamsu-d dín for such aid as would enable him to return to his native country, where he learnt the sentiments of the Sháh towards him, returned by way of Lahore towards the abodes of the Khakkars, and after arriving in that country, he went to the hills of Balála and Bankála, and thence despatched Tájú-d dín Khilj to the hills of Júdí, to plunder that province. • • The Rái of the Khakkars, Kokár Sanká, who had attained the honour of Islám in the time of Sultán Shahábu-d dín, solicited the Sultán that he would prevent Násiru-d dín Kubácha from harrying his country, as he was for ever doing. The Sultán gave the Rái's son the title of Kalij Khán, and sent one of his nobles, who was known as Uzbek Báshí (he was Jahán Pahlawán Uzbek), with seven thousand men against Kubácha, the ruler of Uch

and Multán, who was encamped with twenty thousand men on the bank of the river Sind, which is near Uch.

“As Uzbek Báshí found Kubácha unprepared, he made a night attack upon him, and so routed the whole camp, that Kubácha with the greatest difficulty was able to flee away on a boat to some other place. Uzbek Báshí remained in Kubácha's camp, and sent to communicate the tidings of his victory to the Sultán, who, when he heard of the advance of the army of Dehli, thinking it not expedient to remain where he was, left that hill-country and went to Uch. * * *

“When the weather became hot, the Sultán prepared to take up his summer quarters in the hills of Júd, and Balála and Bankála. * * * As soon as the Sultán heard that Chaghtái Khán was in pursuit of him, reflecting upon the fact that, at the commencement of their intercourse, Sháh Násiru-d dín Kubácha had been well affected to him, he went towards Multán, and asked for a contribution in money. Kubácha, hearing of the advance of the Moghal army, rejected the demand, and prepared to wreak vengeance on the Sultán, * * * who marched on towards Daibal, which is now called Thatta, committing on his road massacre and pillage in every city and town which belonged to Sháh Kubácha. When he arrived at Thatta, the ruler of that place, whose name was Jashí, of the tribe of Súmra, placed his property and wealth on board a boat, and fled in haste with his children and relations to some islands. * * *

“Relinquishing the conquest of Sind and Gujerát, the Sultán in the year 620 H., went to 'Irák, by way of Kích and Makrán. * * * Chaghtái Khán, who was in pursuit of him with the Moghal army, came to Multán and laid siege to that place, but Sháh Násiru-d dín Kubácha exhibited such determined courage, that the siege was raised after forty days, and Chaghtái, marching to Kích and Makrán, and having laid those countries waste, wintered at Kálinjar, a country situated on the banks of the Sind. While quartered there, he put to death nearly thirty or forty thousand Hindustánis who had been taken captive, on the ground that they made the air of the camp pestilential; but as, notwithstanding this butchery, the deaths in the camp still continued, and as the Moghals could obtain no intelligence of Sultán Jakálu-d dín, respecting where he was and

what he was doing, Chaghtái Khán broke up his camp and marched towards Túrín. When Sálár Ahmad, the governor of Kálinjar, wrote to Kubácha, complaining of the ruin which had been brought upon his province, that prince was much grieved, and used his best endeavours to restore the country to its former prosperity."

The following extracts from the *Modern Universal History* present some new features. The account is chiefly taken from La Croix's life of Gengiz Can, which is founded upon the biography by Muhammad of Nessa, and the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*. Like as in most other portions of Oriental History, so in this, the *Universal History* is the best authority for the English reader to consult.

"The chief reason for the Sultan's quitting Gazna was to give his disunited troops time to rejoin him. He did all that was possible to bring the three Turkish commanders to listen to reason. He wrote and sent to them several times representing the ruin which must attend their separation, and the advantages which might arise from their union.

"They at length suffered themselves to be persuaded by the sense of danger, but it was too late; for Jenghiz Khán, informed of what was in agitation, sent sixty thousand horse to seize the passes, and prevent their joining the Sultan, who, finding himself deprived of this powerful aid, retired towards the river Sind, or Indus. There he halted, in a part where the stream was most rapid, and the place confined, with a view both to take from his soldiers a desire of flying, and prevent the Mungls from bringing up all their army to engage at once. Ever since his departure from Gazna, he had been tormented with a severe colic; yet, at a time when he suffered most, hearing that the enemy's vanguard was arrived at a place called Herder, he quitted his litter and mounted on horseback; then, marching in the night with his chosen troops, surprised the Mungls, and, having cut them almost all to pieces, returned to his camp with a considerable booty.

"Jenghiz Khán, finding by this event that he had to do with a vigilant enemy, proceeded with great circumspection. When he approached the Indus, he drew out his army in battalia: to Jagatay he gave the command of the right wing; the left to Oktay; and put

himself in the centre, surrounded by six thousand of his guards. On the other side, Jaláloddin prepared for battle; he first sent the boats on the Indus further off, reserving only one to carry over the Sultána his mother, the queen his wife, and his children; but unluckily the boat bulged when they were going to embark, so that they were forced to remain in the camp. The Sultán in person assumed the command of the main body. His left wing, drawn up under the shelter of a mountain, which prevented the whole left wing of the Mungls from engaging them at one time, was conducted by his chief wazir; and his right wing by Amin Málek. This lord began the battle, and forced the enemy's left wing to give ground, in spite of all the troops which sustained them. The right wing of the Mungls likewise wanting room to extend itself, the Sultán made use of his left as a body of reserve, detaching from thence squadrons to sustain the other troops. He himself, at the head of the main body, charged that of Jenghiz Khán with so much resolution and vigour, that he put it into disorder, and penetrated to the place where the Khán had at first taken his station; but that prince had retired from thence to give orders for all the troops to engage.

“ This disadvantage had like to have lost the Mungls the battle: for the report being spread all over the army that the Sultán had broken through the main body, the troops were so discouraged, that if the Khán had not immediately rode from place to place to show himself, they would certainly have fled. In short, what gained him the battle, was the orders which he gave to Bela Neván to cross the mountain, if practicable, and attack the Sultán's left wing, which the Khán observed had been much weakened by the several detachments. Bela, accordingly, conducted by a guide, marched betwixt rocks and dreadful precipices, and, attacking that disabled wing behind, obliged it to give way. The Sultán's troops, which were in all but thirty thousand, much fatigued with having fought ten whole hours against more than three hundred thousand men, were seized with a panic, and fled. In this confusion his eldest son was taken prisoner. One part of the troops retired to the rocks on the banks of the Indus, where the enemy's horse could not follow them. Many others, closely pursued by the Mungls, threw themselves into

the river, some of whom happily crossed over; while the rest placing themselves round their prince, continued the fight through despair.

• • • • •

“When he was in the middle of the river, he stopped to insult Jenghiz Khán, who was come to the bank to admire his courage, and emptied his quiver of arrows against him. Some brave Mungl captains would have thrown themselves into the river to swim after Jaláloddín, but the grand Khán would not permit them, telling them this prince would defeat all their attempts.

• • • • •

“This prince as soon as he was landed safe in India, ascended a tree to pass the night secure from wild beasts. Next day, as he walked melancholy along the banks to see if any of his people appeared, he perceived a troop of soldiers with some officers, three of whom proved to be his particular friends. These, at the beginning of the defeat, had found a boat, in which they sailed all night with much danger from the rocks, shelves, and violence of the current. Soon after he was joined by three hundred horse, who informed him of four thousand more saved by swimming over two leagues from thence. The Sultán went to meet them, and promised to provide for their necessities. Mean time Jamálorrazad, an officer of his household, who was not at the battle, knowing that his master and many of his people had escaped, ventured to load a very large boat with arms, provisions, money, and stuff to clothe the soldiers, and cross over to him; for which eminent piece of service Jaláloddín appointed him great steward of his household, and surnamed him Elkéároddín; that is, *the chosen, or the glory of the faith.*

• • • • •

“On this intelligence, Jenghiz Khán sent orders to his brother Utakin, and marched with the troops that remained with him as far as Kandahar, which he took.

“Some time after the reduction of this fortress, Multán, a city of India, was subdued by Bela Neván, who had orders to conquer Lahúr also; but, as he was informed there was in that place a stronger army than his own, he did not go thither. A Patán prince, named Kobália, had sent those forces, thinking he had more reason

to provide against the Mungls than against Jaláloddín ; for, although the Sultán was then in arms on his frontiers, yet he had only a few troops with him, and could only make a slight irruption into the territories of a prince named Rána, whom he slew for having insulted him in his distress.



“The defenders of Gazna made frequent sallies on the besiegers, several times destroyed their works, and broke above a hundred of their battering-rams ; but one night, after an obstinate engagement in which Oktay fought in person to encourage his soldiers, who began to be intimidated, one side of the city walls fell down, and, filling up the ditch, a great number of Mungls easily entered sword in hand. The governor, seeing all lost, at the head of his bravest soldiers, charged among the thickest of his enemies, where he and his followers were slain. However, Gazna was not entirely ruined, nor did all the inhabitants perish ; for after the pillage had lasted four or five hours, Oktay ordered it to cease, and taxed the people who were left alive at a certain rate to redeem themselves and the city. This prince continued here till the whole province was reduced, and then went to rejoin his father in Tartary.

“Meantime, Jagatay having entered Kermán, the ancient Kuramania of Persia, took by degrees all the cities in that province. After he had reduced Tiz, one of the first cities, with some other places which he destroyed, he proceeded to Kalánjer, a country bordering on Hindustan, where, intending to pass the winter, the soldiers by the help of their slaves built houses, cultivated gardens, and kept flocks of sheep, as if they intended to make a settlement ; but when the scorching winds began to blow, to which they were not accustomed, almost all of them fell sick, while the greater part of those who lived became so weak and languid that they were not fit for service. By this distemper the country of Fárs, or Párs, which is the proper Persia, and that part of Khúzestán which belonged to Kayasoddín, Sultán Jaláloddín’s younger brother, escaped for this time the invasion of the Mungls. Jagatay, by removing his troops from one place to another, gradually restored them to health ; and finding the slaves which the soldiers had taken were a burthen, ordered the throats of the greater part of them to be

cut. Then having committed the care of the conquered countries to one of his lieutenants, he, pursuant to his father's orders, directed his course to Báلكh, where the general rendezvous was appointed."

The account of Rampoldi, in his *Annali Musulmani*, differs much from others, and contains many improbabilities, notwithstanding that he quotes Mirkhond and translates D'Herbelot; yet, as it is founded in some portions on independent Arabic sources, it presents some passages worthy of translation:—

• • • •

"In the tract of country between Kábul and the Indus, according to the account of Kara Tchelebi, the Tartars, after the manner of locusts, had spread desolation and extermination with ineffable rapidity, and inflicted such damage, that six centuries were not able to repair it. • • •

• • • •

"The Sultán was prevented making his last desperate charge by his nephew Malek Agiasch, who said, 'Beware how you precipitate yourself rashly upon those who so surpass you in numbers, lest you be accused of madness, as one who deals a blow upon the edge of a razor.' • • • The hundred thousand Tartars did not cease to discharge at him a million of arrows, but were not able to hit him. When he had passed the greatest current of the stream, he was obliged to go much further in order to find a ford, as the banks of the Indus were nearly everywhere very steep. He saved himself finally at the ford of Kaitoul. • • Only seven soldiers out of the three hundred¹ who had dared to follow, unwilling to abandon the unhappy prince, escaped to the opposite bank: the rest being either slain by arrows or drowned in the river. Among the latter was his nephew, Malek al Agiasch. • • •

"Oktay took Gazna by assault after a siege of four months. It was burnt and destroyed to the very foundation, after about two hundred thousand persons had been inhumanly massacred.

• • • •

"The Sultán having composed an army out of these refugees thought of obtaining for himself an asylum, and a principality at

¹ De Guignes says four thousand.

the same time, beyond the Ganges, because the whole country which extended on both banks of the Indus had been successively subdued by Jengiz, who had made himself master of Multán, Lahor, Jenghapúr, Dehli, and Agra, compelling the freedmen of Scheab-e'ddin of Gaur, who had possessed themselves of those places within the last fifteen years, to flee from their abodes and abandon their estates, or at least to repair to some lofty castles, which by their situation were judged to be impregnable, at least for many years. * * *

“The troops of Jenghiz triumphantly overran in this year (1223) the whole country, from the Ganges and Indus to the Caspian Sea, and from the Sihoun to the Euphrates. * * Jenghiz returning from India, closed the warlike achievements of this year by taking Khandaar.

* * * * *

“Scarcely had Jelale'ddin Mankberni learnt that Jenghiz had crossed the Sihoun with the greater part of his Mongols, and had taken the road of Tartary, when he repassed the Indus and entered Persia, through the provinces of Kaboul, Gazna, and Kandaar, and immediately occupied Mekran, Sejestan, and Farsestan, expelling everywhere the few Mongols who had remained to protect those conquests. * * * While the Sultán was engaged in recovering his dominions in Persia, his brother Tatar Shah was extending his conquests in Hindustan, where in a short time he conquered and expelled every Mongol who dared to show his face.”

D'Ohsson observes that neither the date nor the place of action on the Sind is known. “Aláu-d din says it took place in the month of Rajab (August), but Muhammad of Nessa says the 22nd of Shawwál (9th December), which appears more exact. Nowhere do we find any precise indication of the place which was the theatre of this event.”

Price says the action at Barwán took place probably in the spring of 618 A.H. (1221 A.D.), in which D'Ohsson concurs; and that the action on the Indus took place in Rajab of that year, or September, 1221, but he is disposed to place it a year later. But there is no reason to doubt that it took place in 1221 A.D., and as the action of

Parwán certainly occurred in the spring of that year, it would be much too late to defer the action on the Indus till December, for the retreat to the Sind was nearly instantaneous after the action at Parwán. Independent of which, the march from Ghazní to the Sind would have been impracticable in December, and the passage of the river would have been no such very gallant feat in that month, when the river was at its lowest. Besides, what becomes of the proverb which is said to have celebrated the occasion: "Marvels occur in Rajab." And although it is highly improbable that the event did give occasion to the proverb, inasmuch as it is in Arabic—a language spoken by no class of people concerned in the transaction.—yet an old proverb may have been made applicable to the event, and as it is quoted by an author nearly contemporary, we may be sure that Rajab and no other was the month in which the achievement was performed.

The crossing of the Indus in the same fashion had been accomplished four years before by Shamsu-d dín Altamsh, when in pursuit of Násiru-d dín Kubácha, and though he succeeded in reaching the opposite bank with a few followers, many were drowned in the attempt. The credit which has been given in later years to Mahá-rájá Ranjít Sing for the same feat, was not so well earned, because he caused his cavalry and infantry to ford the Indus where the bottom is rocky and shingly, and where the stream was not more than knee deep, though the current was so rapid as to make the footing insecure. Many men and horses certainly were lost, but Ranjít Sing himself crossed on an elephant.

Respecting the place where the Sultán crossed the Indus there is much doubt. Hammer, however, sees no difficulty, reproving D'Ohs-son for not knowing that it was at the ford of Kaitul, quoting for his authority D'Herbelot, who calls it Caitool, quoting for his authority Muhammad of Nessa. But the question is where is Kaitul or Caitool?

NOTE I.

Karmatians.

[The religion of Islám had no sooner become a power than divisions, feuds, and schisms broke out among its professors. Dissen-

sions and heresies appear to be inseparable from all newly-established creeds, and the fervid Oriental temper, excited to the highest pitch by the worldly success and the intolerant fanatical doctrines of Islám, impelled professing Musulmán to unparalleled excesses and most execrable crimes. The overthrown but uneradicated superstitions of the old religion, and the mystical theology and philosophy of nations with which the Muhammadans came in contact, had their share in the production and development of these heresies; but the acting moving spirit which gave them political importance was lust of personal distinction and temporal power. Thus the principal divisions turn upon the question of the rightful succession to the Prophet in the office of "Leader of the Faithful."

One of these heretical sects, the Karmatians, appear on the scene very frequently in the present volume. This sect is an offshoot of the Isma'ílian heresy, and is often confounded with it. There were some points of doctrinal difference, but the uninitiated were ignorant of them, and unable to distinguish them; so the two names came to be often used indifferently. Orthodox writers, hating and despising the heretics, were prone to speak of them by some general name; or if they attempted to be more specific, their ignorance frequently led to a confusion, and misappropriation of terms. Thus the title Isma'ílian includes Karmatians, Assassins, and others, and for the Isma'ílians the wider term "*Mulhida*, heretics" is often used.

The Isma'ílians do not admit the rightful succession of the Imáms recognised by the orthodox. They acknowledge 'Alí, Hasan, and Husain, but maintain that the line closed with Isma'il, son of Ja'far Sádik, who was the seventh and last Imám. From him they take the name Isma'ílian, and from him also they are called "Seveners." The teaching of the Isma'ílians put a metaphorical interpretation on the Kurán, which tended to explain away and supersede its doctrines, leaving only a negative religion, and substituting license for morality. The doctrines of the Isma'ílians were embraced by a man named 'Abdu-llah, son of Maimún, a native of Persia, who devoted his powers not only to the overthrow of Arab ascendancy, but to the subversion of Islám and indeed of all religion. His mode of action was by secret influence and missionary exertion. The culminating doctrine of his teaching was the vanity of all

religions, and the indifference of men's actions, the good receiving no recompense, the evil no chastisement, either in this world or the next.

Among the followers of 'Abdu-llah was one named Ahmad, or, as he was afterwards called, "Karmat." He rose about the year 278 H. (891 A.D.), and was the founder of the Karmatians. The term *Karmata* or *Karmat* belongs to a kind of Arabic writing in which the letters are very small and the lines very close. This style being well suited for secret communications, was adopted by Ahmad, and hence he was called Karmat, and his followers Karmatí or Karámata, *anglicè* Karmatians. Teaching the doctrine that everything desirable was allowable, he differed from his predecessors by endeavouring to carry out his views by violence, and began an open unrelenting war upon the ruling powers. In 290 H. (903 A.D.), the Karmatians made a fearful inroad into Syria, and in 311 (923 A.D.), they plundered Basra and Kúfa. In 319 H. (931 A.D.), under a famous leader, Abú Táhir, they took the city of Mecca with terrible slaughter, plundered the temple, and carried away the holy *Najru-l aswad*, or black stone, which they retained for twenty years. Ar Rázi, the twentieth Khalif, actually agreed to pay them an annual subsidy to secure the safe passage of the pilgrims to Mecca.

The Fatimide throne of Egypt, founded by an Isma'ílian in 297 H. (909-10 A.D.), in rivalry of the Arabian *Khiláfat*, grew rapidly in power, and became a source of great jealousy and trouble to the occupants of the throne of Baghdad. Political rivalry thus combined with religious hatred to make the war between the faithful and the heretics most savage and unrelenting.

From the Isma'ílians sprang another sect which forced itself upon the notice of the Crusaders and introduced a new word, "*Assassin*,"¹ into the languages of Europe. This sect was founded by a native of Re, named Hasan Sabáh, who was schoolfellow and

¹ [De Sacy insists, though his dictum has been disputed, that this term is derived from the term "*hashishin*," hemp eaters, because these fanatics probably infuriated themselves with this drug in preparation for their bloody work; but he acknowledges that there is no proof of such having been their practice. The fanatical fury of these murderers hardly needed any stimulus, and the craft as well as the boldness which they exhibited in the execution of their designs are hardly referrible to a state of frenzied inebriation. Does not the name of their founder *Hasan* or *Al Hasan* present sufficient materials for the formation of the word *Assassin* ?]

companion of Nizámu-l mulk, the well known wazír of the Saljúki government, and author of the *Majma'u-l Wasáya*. An extract from that work, in page 490 of this volume, gives some account of this redoubtable character. The forcible removal of all foes and rivals by the dagger of the assassin, was the profession and the distinctive practice of this abominable sect. Nizámu-i mulk, above referred to, fell under their daggers, and the author of the *Jahán-kushá* had nearly become a victim to Isma'ílian assassins. In 483 n. Hasan Sabáh obtained possession of the strong fortress of Alah-amút, or Alamút (the eagle's nest), in the province of Rúbbár, about eleven parasangs north of Kazwin, and here he and his descendants maintained themselves for nearly two centuries,¹ when the fortress and many others fell under the iron tread of the Mongols. The excesses of the Assassins had impelled Mangú Khán to determine upon the extermination of the whole sect of Isma'ílians, and under him and his successor Hulákú their fortresses were taken, and many thousands of their men, women, children, and babes at the breast, were put to the sword.

The Karmátians appeared to have pushed themselves eastwards into the valley of the Indus at an early period. From Báuní we learn that the Karmatians destroyed the great idol at Multán, and the heretical chief, whom Mahmúd of Ghazni drove away from that town, was no doubt a member of this sect, for the name of Karmatian is applied to him by one or two writers, although the more general name of *Muláhidá* is more frequently used.

Mahmúd's wazír, Hasnak, was brought to the stake by Mas'úd upon the charge of being a Karmatian. The personal enmity of Mas'úd no doubt precipitated this act; but there is ample proof that the Khalif was greatly incensed against the wazír for having received a *khilát* from the Egyptian Khalif, and that he had urged Mahmúd so strongly to execute him that the incensed monarch broke out in the indignant words recorded by Baihaki: "Tell the dotting old Khalif that out of regard to the 'Abbásides I have meddled

¹ [From this stronghold the Chief of the Assassins was called the *Shaikh-u-l jabbal* or, as we have it in English, the "Old Man of the Mountain."]

² [The Assassins are the *Muláhidat-i Alamut*, who are stated to have been patronised by 'Alau-d din Ghorí. He is censured for the attention he paid to them by the author of the *Talakut-i Nasri*, *supra* p. 259.]

with all the world. I am hunting for the Karmatians, and wherever one is found he is impaled. If it were proved that Hasnak is a Karmatian, the Commander of the Faithful should soon see what had happened to him. But I have brought him up, and he is to me as my sons and my brothers. If he is a Karmatian, so am I." When Mahmúd departed, and Hasnak's enemy succeeded, the Khalif's animosity was soon appeased.

Though Mahmúd expelled the Karmatian chief from Multán, the heresy was not suppressed, for in 571 (1175 A.D.), Muhammad Ghorí once more "delivered Multán from the hands of the Karmatians."¹ In 634 (1237 A.D.) we find them in some force at Delhi, where they made a concerted assault upon the faithful in the great mosque, and slew a considerable number; but they were finally overpowered, "and every heretic and Karmatian was sent to hell."]²

NOTE J.

Geographical Index.

[The following descriptive list of countries and places, more or less frequently referred to in the preceding pages, will probably be found useful, and may obviate the necessity of reference and enquiry. Some of the names are well known, and are marked on the maps; but others are only to be found in the works of the old geographers.

Bardasír.—A large town of Kirmán, on the road leading to Khurásán, lying north-east of the town of Kirmán. It is also called Kawáshír.

Bast.—A city of the district of Garmsír, in Sijistán. It is situated on the west of the river Helmand, and is noted for its great heat.

Diwar.—Known in old times as the "Biládu-d dáwar," and by the modern inhabitants as Zamín-dávar. A large province, con-

¹ [*Supra*, p. 293.]

² [See Vol. i. of this work, pp. 453, 481, and 491, and Vol. ii. pp. 93, 293, and 336; Hammer Purgstall, *History of the Assassins*; Defrémery, *Histoire des Seïdjoukides et des Ismaélites*; D'Herbelot, v. *Carmath*; Price, *Mahomedan History*, Vol. ii. pp. 167, 332; Renaud, *Fragments*, p. 142; *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 254; Ram-poldi, v. 357; *Das Buch der Länder*, 2nd Ed. Index; Dorn, 89; Gibbon, chap. liiv.]

tiguous to Rukkhaj, Bust, and Ghor, and the opening of the latter to Sijistán. Elphinstone says: "On the right bank of the river (Helmand) lies the rich country of Zamín-dáwar, which has the Parapomisar mountains on the north, and some hills connected with that range are found within its limits. This fine country extends for forty or fifty miles to the west of the Helmand."—See Elphinstone's *Caubul*. 4to., p. 122; Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, 173.

Fáriyáb.—See *Tálikán*.

Garmsír.—The hot country, so called from the heat of the climate. A narrow tract of country in Sijistán, along the lower course of the Helmand.—See Thornton, *Gurmsell*.

Ghor.—Also called Ghoristán. The mountainous country between Hirát and Ghazní. According to Istakhri and Ibn Haukal it was a rugged mountainous country, bounded by the districts of Hirát, Farrah, Dáwar, Rabát, Kurwán, and Gharjistán back to Hirát, which were all Muhammadan countries. Ghor itself was a country of infidels, containing only a few Musulmán, and the inhabitants spoke a language different from that of Khurásán.—See Elphinstone's *Caubul*, Vol. i., p. 244.

Gharjistán.—The correct orthography of this name according to Yákút and others is Gharjistán or Gharshistán. Yákút says it is bounded on the west by Hirát, east by Ghor, north by Merv, and south by Ghazní. The ruler of the country was called Shar, and from this title the land was also called Gharju-s Shar. The Merv-rúd waters the country, and its chief towns are Bashín and Súrmin, but the Shar generally dwells at a town in the hills called Bilkán.¹

Gilán.—(In Arabic, *Jilán*.) A country between the Caspian and Black Seas, in great part the same as Tabaristán.

Gilyit.—A small unexplored country on the southern declivity of the Hindu Kush, between Chitral on the west, and Baltistán (Little Tibet) on the east.—Burnes, *Bokhara II.*, 209.

Gurdez.—A country between Ghazní and India.

Júzján.—Also called Júzjánán. Júzján is the Arabic form of the native name Gúzgán. It must not be confounded with the country of Jurján or Gurgán, on the eastern shores of the Caspian. Yákút

¹ [Colonel Anderson's text of Ibn Haukal makes the name of this place to be "Kankán," or, as he transcribes it, "Gungán."]

says the names Júzján or Júzjánán both designate a large district of the province of Balkh, between that city and Merv. The chief town was Yahúdiya, and Ibn Haukal mentions Shabúrkán, Andkhod, and Ambár among its principal places, adding that Ambár was the largest town.

Kazwín.—In Persian, *Kasbín* or *Kashwín*. A celebrated town of Persia, a little to the west of Teherán.

Khwárizm.—Chorasnia. The country on the east of the Caspian Sea, the capital of which was Gurgánj,¹ The Arabs converted the name of the country into Jurján, and that of the capital to Jurjániyá. The Mongol form of the name was Orgánj. Noshigín, a Turkí slave of Maliksháh Saljúk, was made governor of this province, and contrived to secure his independence. His son, Kutbu-d dín, extended his dominions, and acquired the title of Khwárizm Sháh, a name which had been borne by the rulers of the country before the Muhammadan rule. The empire of the Khwárizm Sháhs rose upon the ruins of the Saljúk dynasty, and their territories extended from Azarbáiján and the Caspian Sea to the Indus, and from the Persian Gulf to above the Síhún or Jaxartes. A succession of nine princes reigned for 138 years from 491 to 628 Hijra (1097 to 1230 A.D.): but in 618 H. the last of them, Jalálu-d dín Mankburní was driven by Changíz Khán beyond the Indus, and he was killed in Mesopotamia ten years afterwards, stripped of all his dominions.

Kum.—A town of 'Irák-'ajamí, between Teherán and Ispahán.

Mávaráu-n Nahr.—" (The country) which is beyond the river (Oxus);" Transoxiana, including Bokhárá and Samarkand.

Re or Raiy.—An ancient city, the ruins of which are situated a little to the south of Teherán. All Oriental writers agree upon its antiquity, and it is called "the mother of cities." It was once a very large place, the capital of the Jabbál (the hills), and very rich and flourishing; but it was destroyed, and the inhabitants were put to the sword by the Tatars at the beginning of the seventh century of the Hijra.

Rukháj.—Or more properly *Rukkkháj*, from which, preceded by

¹ [The town of Khwárizm or Kás (Káth), on the east of the Jihún, was for a time the capital. See Defrémery, *Hist. des Samanides*, p. 275; D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, i. 183; Jaubert's *Edrisi*, ii. 192; Aboulfeda, 479.]

the article *al* (ar Rukhaj) comes the Arachosia of the ancient geographers. One of the dependencies of Sijistán, the chief town of which, bearing the same name, was situated on the Hindmand or Helmand.

Sabúrkán, Shabúrkán.—A city of Júzján, west of Balkh. The Shibbergán and Shubergán of the Maps.

Sakáwand.—In the territory of Kábul, which belonged to Kumlu. It is mentioned by Istakhri and Ibn Haukal as one of the dependencies of Bámián, along with Kábul, Ghazní, and Parwán. Idrisi gives it as being seven days' journey from Kábul, and the same distance from Khouíab, for which I would read Haríab, *حریاب*, as I believe it to be the Iryáb or Irjáb of Sharífú-d dín and the Haryáb of the present day,—which is at the head of the Kuram valley, to the south-east of Kábul. Sakáwand would therefore be at or near Jalálábád;—and this position agrees with Idrisi's account of the warm climate of Sakáwand and Hariáb, at which places the palm tree did not grow, and snow did not fall. The Buddhist establishments mentioned by Fa Hian and Huen T'sang were no doubt still flourishing in the time of Kumlu.—*Gen. Cunningham.*

Sarakhs.—An ancient city of Khurásán, situated about mid-way or six days' journey, between Merv and Naishápúr,

Sijistán.—Same as *Sistán*. A province south of Hirát.

Takínábád.—A large city of Garmsír.—See *Tabakát-i Násiri*, *supra*, p. 293.

Tálikán.—A city of Tukháristán between Balkh and Merv, three days' journey from the latter. There is another town of the same name east of Kunduz. The Tálikán of Tukháristán is the one most frequently mentioned, and it is generally coupled with Fáriyáb, a city of Júzján west of the Oxus, three days' journey from Tálikán, three from Shabúrkán, and six from Balkh.—See Elphinstone's *Cabul*, ii., 221, 240.

Tukháristán, Tuhíristán.—A province of Balkh, lying east of the city of that name, and west of the Jihún. The chief town was Tálikán.

Tús.—An ancient city of Khurásán, two marches N.E. from Naishápúr, and a little to the north of the modern town of Meshhed. It consisted of two towns, Tabarán and Nákán, and was a place of

considerable importance. The city was devastated by the Uzbeks in 996 H. (1588 A.D.), and its place has been taken by Meshhed.

Zábul, Zábulistán, Zábulistán.—A large province south of Balkh and Kábul, including Sístán, and having Ghazní for its capital. Rustam Zábulí, the hero of the *Sháh-náma*, is said to have been a native of this country.

Zaranj.—The chief town of Sijistán, from which the lake formed by the Helmand and the Farra is often called the Lake of Zaranj (the Zarrah of the Maps),

Zár.—Name of a mountain in Dáwar, and of a celebrated idol which was there worshipped. According to Elphinstone, it is in the middle of the Lake Zaranj or Zarrah, which the natives call the Sea of Zár. Conolly however says it is not in the lake, but in the vicinity of it.—See Elphinstone's *Cambul*, Book iv. chap. iv. ; Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 174.]

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