THE

# SHAJRAT UL ATRAK,

OR

## GENEALOGICAL TREE

OF

## THE TURKS AND TATARS;

TRANSLATED AND ABRIDGED

BY

COL. MILES.

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ولوانما اسعي لادنا معيشة
كفاني ولم اطلب قليل من المال
ولاكن ما اسعي لمجد مؤثل
وقد يدرك المجد الموثل امثالي

KAFEEA.

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TO

SIR JAMES R. CARNAC, BART., M.P.,

CHAIRMAN OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

**Hon. East-India Company,**

THIS VOLUME

IS

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

# INTRODUCTION.

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The Shajrat ul Atrak, or the Genealogical Tree of the Toorks, appears to have been copied and abridged from the Compilation of Toorkish or Moghool History made by order of Alugh Beg Mirza.

On reading this work some years ago, in India, it appeared to me worthy of a translation, and I accordingly made one: which has been corrected since I returned to England by a collation with the original, and, such as it is, I now do myself the honour to present it to the Public.

In submitting this history of the Toorks, I consider it proper to observe, that I have not yet been able to discover whether the ground I have taken be occupied or not: that is, whether there be any previous translation of this work into English or not. I can only say, I never heard of any, except those of De Guignes and De la Croix, neither of which have been translated into English.

The language of the Author being, in general, plain and perspicuous, with a good copy of his work there is little difficulty in its translation. I should, therefore, claim no merit, even were the translation much better than it is; at the same time it may be proper to observe, that that from which this translation was made, although tolerably well written, is in some parts defective and in others obscure: it is also filled with Persian poetry, most of which is a mere versification of the history.

The merit of this work is said to consist chiefly in the details it gives of the life and conquests of Chungeez Khan and his descendants. I shall not presume to decide, but I perhaps may be allowed to say, as my opinion, that it contains, besides, many valuable historical documents.

The name of Chungeez Khan not being perhaps very familiar in Europe, it may not be improper to attempt a sketch or outline of his life, and a short account of what is known of his tribe and country.

Beginning with the last:—Moghoolistan, or the territory of the Moghools, is a wide tract on the western frontier of China, extending, on a rough estimate, from the 30th degree of north latitude to about the 45th, and from the 108th degree east longitude to the 128th.

This appears to have been near the limits of Moghoolistan before the conquests of Chungeez Khan.* The resi-

* See Strahlenberg's map.

dence of Chungeez, by which I suppose is meant Karakorum, is marked in Strahlenberg about 34 N. 118 E., that is, on the western side of the wall of China. The place where he was buried is named, in the same map, Karakoschun, and appears to be near the Chinese wall, lat. 38 N., 126 E.

Very little, however, appears to be known either of Moghoolistan or the Moghools; this being, I believe, almost the only History of the Eastern Moghools translated into the European languages.

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## *Of the Moghools.*

Of all the tribes inhabiting the north-eastern part of Asia, the Moghools are, I believe, the most noble as well as the most numerous. The limits of their dominion, before the time of Chungeez Khan, have been above very roughly estimated. In his time the whole of Northern Asia fell under his authority, and it is very remarkable that his descendants, or those of branches of his family, have, to this day, maintained or recovered their authority in the limits marked out by his enterprize and valour. As some proof of this, I beg leave to cite the following authorities.

According to the History of China, by De Guignes, fils, Genghis Khan, or Timoochin, called by the Chinese Tay-tsou, reigned in China in 1206. His son, Ooktaie Khan, named by the Chinese Tay-tsong, reigned there in 1228.

There can be little doubt but that the present race of Tatars reigning in China are descended from the tribe or family of Chungeez Khan; the Manchus, or Manshoors, are acknowledged Moghools.*

Timoor Goorkan, or the great Tamerlane, was, I believe, the eighth in descent from Kurachar Noyaun, the cousin of Chungeez Khan; the present Emperor of Dehli is, therefore, of the same family.†

The origin of the Osmanlies of Stamboul, or Constantinople, is disputed,—but they, I believe, ascribe to themselves the same origin with Chungeez Khan; they do not, however, appear to be favourites with the Moghools, and some, as the author or compiler of this work, deny their claim.

The inhabitants of the vast regions denominated Tartary by Europeans, and Tooraun by the Persians, are called Tatars, under which appellation the Moghools themselves are included; that of Toork is apparently common to all.

On this subject the author of the Histoire Généalogique des Tartars, says: "Quand j'ai dit cy-dessus p. 24, que depuis que Genghis Khan se rendit maistre de tout le nord de l'Asie, le nom des Turcs, s'est perdu chez la nation que nous appellons présentement les Tartars; cela s'entend par rapport à leurs voisins * * * et non par rapport à

* See Histoire Généalogique, pp. 86 and 385.

† See the Akbur Nameh of Abu'l Fazl.

eux mesmes, puisque ils conservent toujours entre eux celuy des Turcs, prétendant," &c.

Now, to explain satisfactorily the confusion which reigns in the terms Tatar, Moghool, and Turk, is certainly difficult : but it may be useful to state, that the Persian and European historians confound the two former, although by this history they are separate tribes, whereas in their own country they are all called Toork.

The Moghools, or Monghuls, the Manchus, or Manshoors, and the Jugatai or Chugatai Tatars, as they are diversely called, are considered by some authors as different tribes; I believe, however, they will be found all Moghools, and at the same time Toorks. But a more convincing proof that they are all the same, will perhaps be found in the language they speak, the Toorki, which, allowing for some difference of dialect, is spoken from the Bosphorus to the wall of China.

The author of this History affects to consider the Russians,* Hungarians, Bulgarians, Alans, Kirayuts or Croats, and Poles, as branches of the Toork or Tatar family, they being the children of Sclav, Koomari, or Gomer, and Roos, the sons of Japhet.

More modern authors, however, go much further, and say that the greater part of Europe and Asia was peopled by these same Moghools or Tatars.

* The mother tongue of the Russians, Poles, and other nations, is said by Strahlenberg to be Sclavonian. The Poles are called لاخ, or Leh, by the Arabs and Persians.

The following are a few selections from different authors, in proof of their almost universal paternity :

1st. That the origin of the Chinese is Tatar, or Toork, there can be little doubt.*

2d. Mr. Marsden has somewhere expressed his opinion that the Malays and the other Polynesian tribes had originally emanated from that great Officina Gentium, Chinese Tartary.†

3d. According to Strahlenberg, the Huns are Oighoor Tatars. It appears that in ancient times they separated into two nations, called the Unn Oighoors, and Nokos Oighoors. The Finlanders and Courlanders are said to be descended from the Huns.‡

4th. The Circassians, Georgians, and Kurds, are derived from the Tatars or Moghools.§

5th. The Sarmatians and Germans were originally Scythians, or Tatars, and the Franks also were originally Toorks.‖

6th. The Kings of Hungary, and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, are supposed to have descended from Shiebani Khan, the grandson of Chungeez Khan.¶

To this list may be added, the Hungarians, Lithuanians, Esthonians, the ancient Prussians, the Laplanders, Courlanders, &c.

* See the Preface to De Guignes' Voyage à Peking.

† Lang's Polynesian, p. 34. ‡ Strahlenberg, p. 33.

§ Histoire Généalogique, p. 446. ‖ Strahlenberg, p. 61.

¶ Histoire Généalogique, p. 455 and 483.

## *Chungeez Khan.*

Chungeez Khan, whose name was originally Timoochin, was a chieftain of the Kyaun, or as it is sometimes written, Kyaut, tribe of Moghools, and the son of Yusookai Bahadoor, also the chief of that tribe.

Chungeez Khan was born at or near Karakorum, a town or station on the borders of China, and the capital of the Moghools, in the year of the Hejri 540; some say 549, in the Turkish year called the Swine, of the Christian era, about 1154.

On the death of his father, from the enmity of his neighbours and the defection of his tribe, he was so much distressed and reduced, that the author of this work calls him the child of adversity, and it appears he was compelled by his misfortunes to accept service with Oong* or Oonuk Khan, the chief of the Kirayut tribe.

After remaining some time in his service, however, Oong Khan and his son becoming jealous of his military talents, and fearful he might use them to their disadvantage, treacherously attacked him. Timoochin, although very inferior in force to his late friend and patron, defeated him with great slaughter, and after a short campaign Oong Khan was again defeated and slain, and his tribe subdued by Chungeez

* Oong, or Vang, signifies king, in the Chinese language.

Khan; this occurred when he was about forty-nine years of age.

From this time, to his death, the increase of his power was wonderfully rapid; within a short period his victorious legions were employed in Russia, in Hindostan, and in China, and, as I have said before, Moghools, or Tatars of his tribe and family actually reign at Constantinople, Dehli, and Pekin; in fact, I believe no greater king ever existed, whether we refer to the number and importance of his victories, the extent of his conquests and dominions, or the time they have remained under the government of his race.

Chungeez Khan appears to have been a very good soldier; and if craft, and the rejection of every principle of justice and humanity, could make a good statesman, he certainly was one; this much, however, may be alleged in his favour, that, barbarian as he was, his contemporaries were not a degree higher in the scale of humanity than himself, and that the same measure he dealt to them, would in all probability have been dealt to him in reversed circumstances. Still he was a cruel, faithless tyrant, as I believe Tatar conquerors ever have been. As he himself says, there can be little doubt but that he was sent to the countries he devastated and depopulated, as a punishment for the wickedness of their inhabitants.

It is rather extraordinary, considering the man, the period, and the people he had to deal with, that after all

his enormities he died a natural death, and with all his children and relations surrounding him; and, what is still more extraordinary, that he should have left the greater part of his conquests to them as an inheritance for many generations.

# MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE SHAJRAT UL ATRAK TRANSLATED BY COL. MILES.



THE

# SHAJRAT UL ATRAK,

OR

# GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE TURKS.

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IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN!

PRAISE to the Omniscient God, the supreme controller of all things; and blessings on the most perfect of his creation, the Prophet Mahummud, his family, friends, and companions.

It has reached us by tradition, that after the creation of the world, a period the length of which is only known to God and his Prophets, God willed the creation from earth of Adam, and that he should be invested with the honorary dress of his Lieutenancy: "Of a truth I have appointed myself a Lieutenant on the Earth"*—these words attest the verity of this; and, consequently, the angel Gabriel was sent to the earth, to collect a little moist mould or clay to form the pure body of

* اِنّي جاعلٌ فِي الارض خلِفهَ

Adam, from that place on which the holy Kaaba now stands.

When Gabriel arrived on the surface of the earth and attempted to take a handful, the Earth adjured him in the name of the Creator of the heavens and the angels to desist; for, said the Earth, some unworthy creature may be formed of my clay, and on his account, I may fall under the displeasure of the Almighty. Gabriel, therefore, returned and reported the adjuration and affliction of the Earth, and his pity on her, to the Almighty, who next appointed the angel Michael to this office.

The Earth, on his descent, renewed her complaints, and adjured him not to take any portion of her substance: he accordingly desisted and returned. God then directed the angel Israfeel to proceed: but as the Earth still continued her adjurations, he also returned; and the fourth time Azrael* was sent. The Earth attempted to prevent Azrael from performing his office, but he disregarded her adjurations, and said, the commands of the Most High are superior to thy oaths and imprecations. He then collected a handful of mould from every part of the earth, moist and

* The angel of death.

dry, white and black, loose and bound, salt, sweet, and sour. To the number of every individual of mankind he took a little earth, and the grave of every one will be in the place whence he took the earth of which each was formed. As, for instance, the clay of the Prophet Mahummud was taken from the very place where his tomb now stands, at Medina. But to return:—the handful of earth was taken by Azrael to the garden of Eden, and there moistened or kneaded with the waters of Tusnim; and it was made known by Azrael to all the angels and inhabitants of Paradise, that the light of Mahummudanism was deposited, with the waters of Tusnim, in the clay of Adam; and also that the sole object in creating Adam was to provide for the future mission of Mahummud, whose head is ornamented with the crown of ———, "If it had not been for thee, I should not have created the heavens,"* and his person ennobled by the words, "We did not send thee except out of compassion to mankind."†

When Azrael had performed all his duties, the Almighty appointed him to receive the souls of departed men; and by the command of God, the

* لولاكُ لماخلقتُ الافلاك

† وما ارسلناكَ الارحمةً للعا لمين

rain of compassion and mercy fell on the clay of Adam forty days and forty nights: "I kneaded the clay of Adam forty mornings or days."* The form of man was given to him by the hand of power, and God breathed life into him—"with my breath I have inspired him;"† and from that he received his intelligence or reason, as is written fully in the *Muttuwwul.*‡

Some traditions say, that the head of Adam, when he was first formed, reached the clouds; and they also say that Adam (who is otherwise called the Father of Mankind, and *Sufih-ullah*) was so named because his body was formed from the surface or covering of the earth, and some say it was because his colour was red, or that of wheat; for wheat is called *oodmeh*§ in Arabic. A few say it was because Adam was formed of earth and water. But whatever the derivation, God manifested his power in his creation; for without the medium of speech, he taught Adam the names of all the things on the surface of the earth: "He taught Adam the names of all things."‖ All the

خمرتُ ادم بيدتي اربعن صباحا*

نَفَخْتُ فيه من روحي +

‡ A treatise on Theology, by Ibn Hajeb.

وعلّم ادم الاسما كلها ‖ ادُمه §

angels, therefore, acknowledged Adam's intelligence and excellence, and bent the knee to him, except Iblis, and he refused, as the following words establish: "Kneel to Adam; and they all knelt except Iblis, and he was of the genii, and disobeyed the commands of his Lord,"* &c. &c.

In highly respectable works, it is said, Adam is an Hebrew word, and that the creation of Adam occurred on Friday, the 10th of the month Mohurrum, at the eleventh hour.†

God then placed Adam in the garden of Eden, and created Eve from his left side while he was between sleeping and waking. By many he is said to have been forbidden to eat wheat; by Abdalla, the son of Abas, grapes; and by others, figs.

Iblis being cursed for refusing to kneel to Adam ("of a truth my curse shall be upon thee to the day of resurrection"‡), and seeing that for one crime he had forfeited all the merit of his former

* اسجدُ وُ لادمَ فسجد والاابليس وكان من الجِنّ ففسقَ عن امرربهِ
فسجد الملا يكة كلهم اجمعين الا ابليس

† Adam was created at the rising of the first degree of Aries, Saturn being in the same constellation, Jupiter in Pisces, Mars in Capricorn, the moon in Cancer, the sun in Leo, Mercury in Virgo, and Venus in Libra. He was a tall, beardless young man; his complexion the colour of wheat.

‡ وانّ عليكَ لعنتي الي يومِ الدين

obedience, departed in mortal enmity to Adam, and determined to do him any injury in his power.

Now Adam was in Paradise, and Iblis could not enter there. At length, however, as is detailed in history and tradition, by art and the assistance of a peacock, stationed on the walls of Paradise as a sentinel, and a serpent, the guard at one of the gates, he did enter.

After this, Iblis first deceived Eve and made her eat of the forbidden fruit, and she induced Adam to eat also. As soon as they had done this, the heavenly covering fell from their bodies, and they became naked: they, therefore, took leaves of the fig-tree to hide their nakedness. These five individuals were then expelled Paradise by God's command. It is said that Adam and Eve were not suffered to remain more than three hours after their transgression; also that, on Friday, the 5th or 9th of the month Nisan, at the seventh hour of the day, Adam descended or fell on a mountain of Serindeep (Ceylon), in Hindostan; Eve descended at Jidda, a town on the sea-side, near Mecca; the peacock fell in Hindostan, the serpent at Isfahan, and Iblis at Sumnan, or Sumnath.*

* Sumnan, a town in Khorasan, twenty-eight farsangs from Teheran.

It is also related, that it was after Adam fell on the earth that his beard grew. He remained one hundred years in Serindeep, in prayer and great affliction; and from the tears he shed sprang up pepper, cardamums, cinnamon, &c., and those spices are benefits derived from him.

After one hundred years had expired, on the Ashoora or 10th Mohurrum, his repentance was accepted before God.

The Ashoora is also celebrated on many other accounts. The translation to heaven of the prophets Idris and Jesus occurred on that day; as well as the settlement of the ark on the mountain of Jood; the birth of Abraham and his deliverance from the fire of Nimrod; the birth-day of Moses and Jesus; the day of the acceptance of David's repentance; the return of Solomon to his own country; the day of the recovery of Job from his diseases; the deliverance of Moses from the Red Sea, of Jonas from the belly of the whale, and that of his tribe from their affliction; Jacob's recovery of his sight; the release of Joseph from the well in Canaan; the acceptance of the prayer of Zachariah for children; the blessings he bestowed on Yahya, and the conquest of Pharoah by Moses, &c.

After Adam's repentance was accepted, to com-

fort him, a mansion was brought for him from Paradise, and placed where the holy Kaaba now stands. This house was formed of one stone, a ruby. God also directed that Adam should learn to perform the rites of a pilgrimage to Mecca; and while he was performing them, he met Eve at Urfat; and, as they recognized each other there, the place received that name: it is also called Mozdulifa.* At Minni they offered prayers for the acceptance of their petitions, and the accomplishment of their desires. This place is also known by the name of Urfat.

Adam and Eve made the *towwaf*, or circuit of the Kaaba, and then returned towards Hind.

It is said that Eve, after this, whenever she had children, had twins, a son and a daughter, and that Adam, by God's command, gave the son of one birth to the daughter of another, that there might be some distinction between them.

When Cain and his twin-sister, Ikleema, were born, Cain on account of her beauty was desirous to possess her; Adam, however, gave her to Abel, and a quarrel arose between them in consequence. Adam, therefore, desired them to sacrifice to the Most High, and said he would give Ikleema to

* ازدلف signifies 'to meet.'

him whose sacrifice was accepted. They accordingly took each a goat to the top of a mountain, and fire from heaven consumed that of Abel; Adam, therefore, gave Ikleema to him. Cain, now entertaining a violent hatred to Abel, struck him on the head with a stone while he was asleep, and killed him.

It is related that Cain, for a long time, not knowing what to do with the body of Abel, carried it about with him, till one day he arrived at a place where two ravens were fighting; and one being killed, the living one hid him beneath the earth—this taught Cain to bury his brother.

Until this period, Adam did not know what death was; but when he became aware of its nature, he cried bitterly, and in his grief composed certain verses in the Syriac language, and the learned have translated them into the Arabic verses,* "Death will change and destroy cities

تغيرت البلاد و من عليها *
و وجه الاض مغير قبيح
تغير كلّ ذي لونٍ وطعمٍ
وكلّ بشا شةٍ وجه المليح
فوا اسفي علي هابيل ابني
قتيل قد ضمنه الضريح

The above lines are written in the Shekisteh hand.

and those governing them, and disfigure the face of the earth. It will change every thing possessing colour or nourishment,* and even the divine countenance is nought but corruption. Returned to me is my grief for my son Abel. He is slain, and is now enclosed in his narrow grave."

Iblis, after this, persuaded Cain that fire was displeased with him, because he did not prostrate himself before it; that if he did, fire would be satisfied, and his sacrifice burn. These words threw Cain into doubt and perplexity, and he at length offered his adoration to fire. Murder and fire-worship are, therefore, derived from him; whoever, consequently, commits these crimes hereafter, one register of them will be entered against Cain, and one against the perpetrator, and at the last day they will receive appropriate punishment.

At the time the eternal contract was made with the progeny of Adam, and when their individual homage was taken [Arabic], "and when your God passed in review the seed of Adam, and demanded their profession of faith, saying, 'Am I not your Lord?' they answered, 'Yes;'" at that period when God showed Adam all his descendants, he saw one weeping. Adam asked God who he was? God replied, One of thy children who is lamenting

* *i. e.* Every thing delightful to the eye or the palate.

the crimes he will commit, as thou didst lament. Adam felt pity for him, and asked, How long he was to live? He replied, sixty years. Adam, seeing the existence of this pious son of his so limited, compared with that of his fellows, said, " I will give him forty years from my own life ;" and God gave his consent to this agreement. Adam then inquired, how long he was to live ? and found his term was one thousand years; and accordingly, when he attained 960 years, the Angel of Death, by God's command, visited him. [Arabic.] " God invites, or calls to the mansion of peace," and " every thing that breathes shall taste death."

On his arrival, Adam said to the Angel of Death, " Forty years of my life are still unexpired." The Angel replied, "You gave forty years to the prophet David." Adam denied this, and said, "When, where, or to whom, did I give these forty years? On the contrary, I merely asked a favour from the Almighty Treasury of beneficence and grace, with the humility due from a slave addressing his Lord; for when a slave, in such circumstances, asks a favour from his master, he should say, 'O Lord, thou hast granted me an indulgence, and I humbly submit such an one is worthy a similar favour ; do not, therefore, render him hopeless by denying it to him.' In such a case, it is only wor-

thy the giver of all gifts, that he should grant the same indulgence to both. On receiving this answer, by God's command, the Angel of Death returned, and the Almighty, in his goodness, granted David an extension of forty years, and to Adam the same, that his thousand years might be fully completed—and the release or return of a gift, which is legal by the Mahummudan law, is derived from this circumstance. Afterwards, in the time of the prophet Seth, in the Book which was vouchsafed to him by the Almighty, it was written that, as the sons of Adam, in their dealings with each other, made covenants, it was indispensable that on such occasions two impartial witnesses should be present, to whom a reference might be made in case of dispute, and that men might not deny or depart from their agreements. But to return. After the thousand years had expired, the Angel of Death came to perform his office.

It is related, that the first angels who prostrated themselves before Adam were Israfeel and Gabriel, and then the rest, except Iblis.*

Now the religion of Adam was the service of God. Prayer, fasting, and *korban*,† or sacrifice;

* This is a Persian or Ajemi word.

† The word *korban* signifies cohabitation with women, and abstinence from wine and the flesh of swine.

and the religion of mankind was then the same.

It is related, that the angel Gabriel, after the fall of Adam, taught him the blacksmith's trade, that he might be able to form the implements used in husbandry, and that he might till the ground. He next formed tools for weaving; and of his own children Adam taught Seth, who was born singly, the weaver's trade.

Adam and Eve had forty-one children, twenty-one sons and twenty daughters; from these sprung forty thousand *isbat*,* families or tribes.

Some authors state Adam to have lived 1,040 years, some 1,000, and some 937. His last sickness lasted twenty-one days, and when he died he appointed Seth his successor. He also gave him instructions respecting the light of Mahummud, which was placed in the forehead of Adam, and descended from him to Seth. On Friday, therefore, the 10th Mohurrum, he departed this life, at Mecca: some say, he died on the mountain of Abookees, some at Serindcep, and others again say at Nujuf, the city of Ali, and that he was buried there.

Seven years after this, Eve also died, and was

* اسباط

buried at Jidda; some write, that she was buried by the side of Adam.

It is related, that at the Deluge, Noah took up the bones of Adam and Eve, and placed them in the ark, and that when the waters receded, he buried them at Jerusalem.

In one hundred and twenty years (some say sixty), Adam had eight (some say twenty) books of prophecies delivered to him, and the *Soorut-i-abjud* (or the numerical letters), which is called the Mother of Books,* was one, and is therefore named the *Sifur* of Adam.

This book was translated by Plato into Greek, and the Ameer-ul-Mominin Ali also translated it into Arabic.

It is said, that when Adam appointed Seth his successor and departed to eternity, Gabriel, by the command of God, was sent to Seth with a message, and that he, Seth, washed the body of Adam, and wrapping him in his burial-clothes, prayed over him, and buried him at Mecca, between the Mukam or place of Abraham, and the Hujur-ul-Aswud (or the black stone), near where Imam Shafai is buried.

* امُ الكتاب

It is said, that at the time Cain killed Abel, the children of Adam amounted to thirty thousand of the children of Cain, and forty thousand of the children of Abel—male and female. God, however, only knows the truth of this.

## *Of Seth.*

The word *Seth* is Syriac, and signifies 'God-given.'

Seth was more like his father, both in form and temper, than any of his brethren; some say he was taller than the rest. Five years after the death of Abel, he espoused Ikleema, the twin-sister of Cain.

He received the gift of prophecy when he was fifty years old, and was the first who studied the arts and sciences.* According to Nussari, at 230 years of age, he commenced building the holy Kaaba with mud and stones; and his great abilities becoming evident, he was called *Ghazi Numoon.*†

Some say he was not the son of Adam, but the son of Mulja, the son of Adam; but this is not true.

* Doctors, therefore, call him the first Ooria. *Ooria* signifies 'a master,' in the Syriac language.

† A curious compound of Persian and Arabic.

Seth was the first person who studied mathematics, astronomy, arithmetic, and the first principles of science. He was also the first person who prayed over his deceased parents. He followed the death-bed instructions given him by his father. He also first taught the children of Adam letters—to make tents, to steep flax, hemp, or cotton, in water. He also introduced slavery, and made war to establish the faith. He made war on the children of Cain, who, like their father, were fire-worshippers; those who submitted he made prisoners, or suffered to remain at peace. The hours of prayer, day and night, were determined by him. His religion was the religion of his father.

In forty years, fifty books or messages were despatched by God to him, and for eighty years he confirmed the faith of his people. He died in his 1012th year—some say the 912th.

Anosh, the son of Seth.—The word *Anosh* signifies 'truth;' some say, although he was the successor of Seth, yet he was not a prophet. He retained his people in the faith of Adam, and was the first person who assumed kingly power and authority. He was also the first who planted and cultivated the date-tree.

When he had attained 965 years (some say 950), he appointed Keenan, the son of Anosh, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, his successor, and departed this life.

Keenan, the son of Anosh, lived 900 years; he built Babel, &c.

Mahlael, the son of Keenan, founded the city of Susa: he lived 962 years.

Eknookh, or Enoch, was the son of Zarid, the son of Mahlael. This prophet was called Idrees, from his great learning, and Hermes, which is the name of the planet Mercury; and also the third Ooria, which word in the Syrian language signifies Master.

According to Abu'l Mashur, of Balkh, many persons of the name of Hermes have existed; but three only are considered deserving particular mention. The first is the prophet Idrees; the second Hermes of Babylon, who was styled the second Ooria;* and the third Hermes, whose name was Isfilonus, was celebrated for his knowledge of chemistry and medicine. Idrees is said to be the father of astronomy, mathematics, and other sciences; it is said also that he erected the pyramids of Egypt. He is said to have contracted

* Pythagoras was one of his disciples.

an intimacy with the Angel of Death, and in the 365th year of his age, he was translated to heaven: some say he was carried to heaven on the wings of the angel Gabriel, from his favourite seat, a stone near Damietta, in Egypt.

Methusalah was the son of Enoch.

Lamech was the son of Methusalah. It is said, the worship of the image of Mahlael was the commencement of idolatry among the sons of Adam, and that it was very prevalent in his time. Lamech lived 770 years, and was succeeded by his son Sookeel.

Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methusalah. His name was originally Sookeel; some say Musakeel, and others, Sakil. Some also call him Yushkur; he is called also the second Adam. Some say he received the gift of prophecy in the 40th, and others in the 400th year of his age. He was the first who prescribed penance and celibacy, as propitiating the favour of the Deity. The Deluge occurred when he was in his 1004th year.

It is related, that while Noah was constructing the ark, the infidels by whom he was surrounded laughed at him, and asked him, why he had forsaken the profession of a prophet for that of a carpenter.

Eighty persons, it is said, entered with him into the ark during the Deluge, the water of which covered the highest mountains in the world, forty guz, or eighty feet.

Two persons are said to have been saved from the Deluge, besides those of the family of Noah; Oouj, the son of Oonuk, the daughter of Adam; and an old woman, who had a great affection for Noah. From the first day of the Deluge to the first of the Hejrut, is 3,725 years. Noah left only three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet. On the division of the earth among his sons, he gave the country of Syria, the islands, Persia and Khorasan, &c. to Shem, and the people of those countries are descended from him.

*Of Shem, the Son of Noah, and his Descendants.*

It is disputed whether he was a prophet or not. Shem had nine sons, Khorsheed, Arphaxad, Kyoomurs, Aswud, Tooruj, Lawud, Aleem, Irem, and Noorud. Some say, Khorsheed was not the son of Shem.

Arphaxad, the son of Shem, is called the Father of the Prophets; because many of them are descended from him. The Hebrews and Arabs are also descended from him. Kaya and Kuhtan

being the fourth in descent from him, and the Arabs being derived from Kuhtan, and the Hebrews from Kaya. The Arab tribes of Humiedi, Tisman, Aani, Kuzzuee, Ashuri, Arwi, and Tai, are the descendants of Sabai, the son of Kuhtan, the grandson of Arphaxad. Alim, the son of Arphaxad, had two sons, Khorasan and Hukyal. Irak was the son of Khorasan, and Kirman, Keich, and Mukran were the sons of Hukyal.

Kyoomurs, the son of Shem. His sons were named Ahwauz and Pehlv; Fars was the son of Pehlv.

Noorud, the son of Shem. His sons were Adurbijan, Iran or Eeraun, Irmun or Armun, Moghan, Kuzaan and Ferghan. It is said, Noorud lived 300 years.

Irem, the son of Shem, founded the city of Wuza. He had seven sons, *viz.* Aod, Sumood, Sokhar, Tism, Jodaish, Jasim and Taz; these took up their abode in Yumun,* under a prince named Umlik or Amalik, the son of Aod, the son of Irem, the son of Shem, the son of Noah.

To Amalik succeeded Shuddeed and Shuddad, who were great princes. Sumood resided between Hejaz and Syria, Tism at Omar and Behrien,

* Arabia Felix.

Jodaish at Yumama, Sokhar abode at Ty, Jasim at Hurm and Sinwaun, Taz in the country of that name. Aswud, the son of Shem, was the founder of Nineveh, and the people of Yumun; Sham,* Ahya, Akluma, and Mudain, are his children.

Tooruj, the son of Shem, died in his youth.

Lawud, the son of Shem, is the great ancestor of the Pharaohs of Egypt.

## *Of Ham, the son of Noah, and his descendants.*

It is disputed whether he was a prophet or not: the Negroes are all descended from him.

It is related that, on the division of the world among the descendants of Noah, the western countries, Africa, Hind, and the islands of Hind, &c., fell into the possession of Ham. He had nine sons, Hind, Sind, Zunj, Nobeh or Nubia, Kanaun, Gash, Kaisa, Berber and Habesh. The countries they inhabited were called after their names. There is some dispute whether all these were the sons of Ham, or whether some were not his grandsons. It is said no prophet has existed among the sons of Ham, because he was cursed by his father, for some misconduct in the ark.

* Arabia and Syria.

*Of Japhet, the son of Noah, and his descendants.*

Most of the learned agree that Japhet was a prophet. He had nine sons, Toork, Hirz, Suklub,* Roos,* Munsuk, Cheen,* Komari, Kymul and Mazukh; some say he had but eight sons, and that Komari and Kymul are one.

The sons and descendants of Noah lived together at Babul, until they became incommoded by their increasing numbers; and it is related that one night God confused their speech, and gave every tribe a different language, and that when they found they could not understand each other, they separated.

It is said that Noah divided the earth into three parts. From the east to the west, the country lying immediately to the north of the equinoctial line, the inhabited islands to the south of that line, which islands are situated between the seas of Hind and China, and the part of the world denominated Habesh, were given to Ham.

The country from the sea of China to the Fortunate islands,† which is the third part of the

* The fathers of the Sclavonians, Russians, and Chinese.

† It may be proper to remark here, that the manuscript seems to be incorrectly or carelessly written at this part. I have, however, given the words the signification they appear to bear.

third region or climate in longitude, and the third part of the fifth climate, or the centre of the inhabited world, were given to Sham or Shem.

The territory from the sea of China to the mountains of Kamroon, from the White mountains to the boundary of Russia, and from the third remaining part of the fifth climate, to the darkness of the pole, was given to Japhet.*

The whole earth was peopled from these three sons of Noah, and it is related that, because the countries of Tooraun and Toorkistan fell into the share of Japhet, he is therefore called the father of the Toorks; and as the countries of Iran, Ajem, and Ahwauz, were allotted to Shem, for that reason he is called the father of Ajem. Hindoostan and Africa also being allotted to Ham, he is called the father of Hind. Japhet, being the eldest son of Noah, inherited the gift of prophecy, and as

* According to Strabo, the first climate is estimated from the parallel of Meroë, about eighteen degrees north.

The second climate is the tropicus Cancri.

The third is the parallelus per Alexandriam.

The fourth is estimated from the latitude of Babylon.

The fifth is the parallelus per Alexandriam Troadis.

The sixth is the parallelus per Medium Pontum.

The seventh is the parallelus per Borysthenem.

The eighth is the clima adjectum per Ripheios Montes.

this book relates to his descendants only, no further mention will be made of his brethren.

Japhet, when he separated from Noah, went to the east. On his quitting his father, he requested him to teach him a prayer to God, to obtain rain when it should be required, Noah taught him the name of God, and traced the all-powerful characters of God's name on a stone which he gave to Japhet; and to this day the Turks possess a stone which is said to cause rain to fall when it is required: this stone is called *Jideltáshe* and *Sangí Yedeh*; and by the Arabs *Hajar-ul-matar*. Similar stones are found in the bodies of different animals. It is said that this secret was disclosed to Noah by Gabriel, and that he was instructed, when he wanted rain, to repeat the name of God, to breathe on the stone, and throw it in water, and rain would then fall. When Japhet died, his younger sons elected Toork, the eldest, to supply his place.

### *Of Toork, the son of Japhet.*

Toork named the whole of his family Japhet-Ooghlan.*

It is said that Toork lived in the same period with Kyoomurs; and as he was the first king of

* This passage is warranted by the original.

Fars, so Toork was the first kaan* or king of the eastern country.

Toork selected a very pleasant situation for his residence, called Jaeelgan; near this place is a small lake, the water of which always remains warm. Jaeelgan is also surrounded by hills and pleasant fountains. He here spent his time in the duties of his office and religion.

It is related that his authority extended from the boundary of China, called Khanjoo, to the borders of Russia; in fact, over all that tract which is now called Turkistan. The donations or allotments of free land (Inamee†), which remain among the Turks, are of his gift. He had five sons, Obluchi, Toonk or Toong, Chiegul, Bursunkhar, and Itlauk. It is said that the use of salt was first discovered by his son Toong, and that clothing made of the skins and fur of beasts was first brought into use in his time. He lived 240 years.

Hirz, the son of Japhet, resided on the bank of the river Atul, and was accustomed during the summer or hot season to retire to the desert.

* The word *Kaan* قان is radically different from the Persian *Khan* خان, with which it is sometimes confounded.

† This term is, I believe, intended to denote the gift of land.

Suklub* the son of Japhet. This man was a wanderer, and from some dispute existing between him and his brethren, remained separate from them. The custom of *Pargho* originated with him; this was a law of inheritance, by which all a man's property descended to his female issue, and his sword or arms only fell to the share of his sons.

Monsik, the son of Japhet, was a worthy man, and resided near the river of Balgoria. He had a son named Ghoor, who was the father of the whole of the tribes denominated Ghoor. It may be remarked, that the Ghoors are considered the worst classes among the Turks. It is said that Ghoor, the son of Monsik, contended with his uncle Toork for the possession of the stone producing rain, left them by his grandfather. In a battle fought for this stone, Pyghoor, the son of Monsik and the father of the Toorkmans, was killed, and that was the original cause of the unceasing enmity ever since subsisting between the Turks and Toorkmans. By some authors, Monsik is called Monsij. He is also the father of the tribes of Yajooj and Majooj.

Cheen, the son of Japhet. He abode in the country which is still called after his name, and

† Sclav.

was the inventor of many arts, as silk-weaving, &c. He had a son named Macheen.

Macheen, the son of Cheen, was a man of great knowledge and learning. He built the city called Macheen.* He had a son named Mukr Kowi Khan, who was the father of Nomees Khan, the grandfather of Alaee Osman, the son of Artogrul, the son of Suliman Khan. This family in Room (Asia Minor) is known by the name of Khoongar-Al-i-Osman.

*Of Komari, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah.*

He was a man addicted to hunting and pleasure, and is said to have introduced the use of fur in clothing. He had two sons, namely Burtas and Bulghar. These took up their abode in the countries of Aidul and Bulgaria, where their descendants now reside.

Kymul, the son of Japhet, was fond of a wandering life. His descendants are called Mirza Tubaee and Khoosh Zeestur among the Turks.

Mazeh or Mazij, the son of Japhet, was a man of mild temper, and celebrated among his brethren for his justice. He lived in the country

* Cochin China is called Macheen by the Mussulmans.

called Kamroon, on the borders of China, and his descendants became scattered over that part of the country.

Although all the foregoing be considered the children of Japhet, the father of the Turks, yet there is great confusion in their pedigrees. Some say that Japhet Ooghlan or Toork was contemporary with Kyoomurs, the son of Shem, the first of the kings of Fars or Persia. Kyoomurs is also called Adam, from his resemblance to the father of mankind. It is, however, certain, that Toork Khan was the first who assumed the kingly power in the East, and that he long governed the country of Turkistan. When he attained the age of 240 years, he died, and his eldest son, Abluchi Khan, with the consent of his family and their chiefs, was placed upon the throne.

Abluchi Khan, after his succession, made several new regulations among the Turks; he divided the ooloos or tribes into right and left; those of the right he called *oonghar*, and those of the left *joonghar* or *jowaunghar;* and he directed that the *oonghar* should never appear, either in his durbar or in the field, on the left, nor the *joonghar* on the right. When arrived at an advanced age, his eldest son, Debad Kowi, assumed the chief authority, and

Abluchi Khan devoted the remainder of his days to religious abstraction.

Debad on his death was succeeded by his son, Kyook Khan, who again was succeeded by his eldest or most able son, Alumchi Khan.

In the time of Alumchi Khan, the Turks, having amassed riches, became proud, and abandoned the religion of their forefathers. In process of time, Alumchi Khan had two sons, who were twins. One of them he called Tatar, and the other Moghool. When he died, seeing that his sons were intelligent and able men, he divided his hereditary possessions between them. These princes during their lives remained united, but after their deaths their tribes divided, one being denominated Tatar and the other Moghool.

## *Of the Tatars.*

Eight persons are enumerated as the original founders of the Tatar tribes.

1. Tatar Khan, who was the first king of Tatars. The descendants of Tatar were:—

Booka Khan, the son of Tatar Khan.

Alumchi Khan, the son of Booka Khan.

Abili or Esul Khan, the son of Alumchi Khan.

Esteez Khan, the son of Esul Khan.

Ardoo Khan, the son of Esteez Khan.

Baidoo Khan the son of Ardoo. This prince, being possessed of great power, was the first who made war on the ooloos or tribes of the Moghools.

Subook, the son of Baidoo, was the last king of the Tatars, the affairs and tribes of which nation in his time fell into utter confusion and disorder.

## *Of the Moghools.*

The original founders of the Moghool tribes are nine in number, commencing with Moghool Khan, and ending with Eel Khan. The reverence they entertain for the number *tukooz** originated in this circumstance; but it is also otherwise well founded. Moghool Khan, the first king of the Moghools, had four sons, Kara Khan, Ooz Khan, Kooz Khan, and Oor Khan. Kara Khan succeeded his father. He resided at Karakorum, between two mountains, named Irtak and Kirtak, which situation he constituted the Ailak and Kishlak† of his dependents. He was an idolater.

It is said that his eldest son, Aghooz, at his birth, refused his mother's breast, and that his mother

* Or *nukooz*—nine, apparently. The Chinese also have a peculiar reveence or prejudice for the number nine.—See M. De Guignes' Voyage, vol. i. p. 40.

† Winter and summer stations.

had a dream, that until she adopted the Mussulman faith, her son would not take her breast; she consequently acknowledged the unity of God, and became a true believer. Aghooz is said to have spoken in his cradle, and to have told his father his name when he was only one year old. Aghooz Khan was married to the daughters of his uncle Ooz Khan; but as they were infidels, he did not agree with them, and afterwards married the daughter of Oor Khan, who became a true believer; his former wives, therefore, from jealousy and in revenge for his neglect, informed his father he was a Mussulman, and his father, irritated at his apostasy, having attacked him while he was out hunting, with an intention to put him to death, was himself killed in the affray, and the whole army, after his death, elected Aghooz Khan to succeed him. Aghooz Khan converted all his ooloos or tribes to the Mussulman faith.*

He was seventy-two years employed in fighting with those who refused to obey his call to the true religion, and latterly expelled them from Turkistan. Some retired to Khatai, but the majority passed beyond Khatai to the borders of

* The religions of Noah, Moses, Jesus, and Mahummud are all called the Mussulman, or the true faith, in their respective periods.

China. Some, however, sought refuge with the king of the Tatars, who, instigated by them, invaded the territory of Aghooz Khan with a large army. Aghooz Khan, on being apprized of this movement, arranged his troops in the same order instituted by Abluchi Khan: that is, the *oonghar* tribes were stationed to the right and the *joonghar* to the left, whether in the field or in the durbar, or court.* As the expelled Moghools had joined the Tatars, Aghooz Khan assembled all his troops, and formed them into seven divisions. The first was called *booljoonghar*, and preceded the army as an advanced guard. The Turks call this division *kurawul*.

The second was called *boroonghar*, and followed the *booljoonghar*, occupying the space between it and the army, for the sake of communication; this is called *erawul*, and *munkulai* in Turki, and *mukdumut-il-Jysh* in Arabic, because the bravest young men in the army are posted there.

The third division was called *oonghar*, as by Abluchi Khan; this was posted on the right, at the distance of an arrow-shot or a short gallop; this is called in Turki *oonkool*, and in Arabic *Yumeena*.

* It is mentioned here, that, in the latter, the elders were allowed to sit, and the young men were obliged to stand.

The fourth was called *joonghar*, as by Abluchi Khan, and occupied the same relative position on the left.

The fifth is the centre of the army, which is called *ghool*. It was arranged that this body should move between the right and left flank divisions above described. The chief took his station here under a *toogh* or standard; this is called *yasaow* in Turki, and in Arabic *kalb-ul-jaish*.

The sixth division was called *ookjoonghar;* this was to follow the *ghool* at a distance, at which the dust of the *ghool* might reach it, or that its dust might reach the *ghool*. This is called in Turki *chungdawul* or *chunukdawul*, and in Arabic *sakeh*. Some Turks call it *ookchi*.

The seventh division, called *bustoonghar*, followed the *ookjhoonghar* (without deviating to the right or the left), at such a distance that an enemy may not be able to discover the horses or dust of the *ookjhoonghar*. The *bostoonghar* is called *bokhturma* by the Turks, and by the Persians *kumeengah;* the *boolchoonghar* and *bostoonghar* are unknown to the Arabs, and they have no names for these divisions of an army.*

* The military mandarins in China take their names and rank from a somewhat similar organization of the Chinese

After this arrangement, Aghooz Khan advanced to meet the exiled Moghools and the Tatars of Karshow, who, alarmed when they heard of his new military arrangements, halted, to consult on the best mode of opposing them. It happened that, while they halted, a dreadful storm arose, and the air being darkened by clouds of sand, they became so much alarmed that they all separated and fled.

Aghooz Khan with his troops followed them slowly, and those who resisted were killed, but those who submitted he spared; he continued his pursuit of them to China, which country he subjected to his authority, and compelled the whole of the ooloos of the Moghools and Tartars to acknowledge him as their chief; he governed the whole of Khatai, Turkistan, and Sclavonia, and reigned from the cities of Tuluteen, Tulash, Tulathee and Syram, to Bokhara and Samarkand; he converted all his subjects to the true religion. Aghooz Khan reigned from China to the sea of Russia, and from the Yoorut of Altai to the river

army;—as, for instance, the first class are denominated *Heou-fou* (*i. e.* the rear-guard); the second, *Tso-fou* (the left wing); the third, *Yeou-fou* (the right wing); the fourth, *Chong-fou* (the centre); and the fifth, *Tsien-fou* (the advance-guard).—*Vide* De Guignes, p. 464. The Persians have borrowed their military terms from the Tatars.

Jihoon. Among the Turki kings he is compared with Jemsheed among the Persians.

It is related in books of history that Aghooz Khan gave the Turkish tribes the titles and names which they still retain. The following are some of these: Oighoor, Kankuli, Kupchak, Kurlook, Khuluj, or Khulij, and Chupoorgan. The meaning of the word *Oighoor* is 'unity and concord,' and the tribe received this name from the assistance rendered by it to Aghooz Khan in his wars. The word *Kankuli* signifies 'invention,' and the name is said to be derived from the following circumstance. Aghooz Khan, on some occasion, took a great quantity of spoil, and being at a loss how to transport it home, some persons of this tribe invented and constructed carriages for its conveyance, and were from their ingenuity called Kankuli.

The word *Kupchak* is derived from *kubook* or *kubo*, which means 'a hollow tree.' It is said that Aghooz Khan, in one of his battles, being defeated by his enemies, fled to an island between two rivers, where he found a woman in labour in a hollow tree. It happened that this woman's father and husband had been slain fighting for him in the battle from which he had escaped; this woman was delivered of a son, whom he adopted in con-

sideration of the losses the child had sustained on his account, and from this circumstance called him Kupchak; the Kupchaks are all descended from this man.

It is related that this battle was fought between Aghooz Khan and Ait Borak, the king of Eeraun, and that, after a war of seven years, he conquered Ait Borak and his country. When Aghooz Khan returned to Tooraun, hearing that his enemies had again commenced hostilities, he ordered his adopted son Kupchak, with his followers, to Mamak, to defend the frontier. Kupchak accordingly took up his residence at Mamak.

Kurlook.—When Aghooz Khan departed from Ghoor to Tooraun, the winter was very severe, and the country covered with snow; he therefore ordered that no man should loiter or remain in the rear of the line of march. Some men, however, remained behind; and on its being made known to him, he denominated them Kurlook.

Khilij or Khuluj.—It is related that Aghooz Khan, in one of his wars, ordered that no man of his army should remain behind the rear-guard. One man, however, whose wife was in labour, remained to assist her, and Aghooz Khan, to reproach him, called the child Khuluj.

Chupoorgan.—This tribe was so called by Aghooz Khan, because on some expedition they loitered behind the rest of the army, and came up in a separate body.*

Aghooz Khan, after his wars, retired to Karakorum and Kulooran.—He had six sons, Kun, Ai, Yeldooz, Kook, Tak, and Tungeez.

These young men being out hunting in the desert together one day, found a golden bow and three arrows, which they brought to their father. Aghooz Khan divided the bow among the three elder brethren, who are therefore called Boozook, and the three arrows he gave to the younger brethren, whom he therefore called Oojook.—The families of the first are considered superior to the latter, as the bow may be likened to a king, and the arrows to his vakeels or servants.—Aghooz Khan directed that the Boozook should be attached to the oonghar or right-hand tribes, and the Oojook to the left or joonghar, both in the field and ooroonkoor or durbar. He also directed that the Boozook should possess the right of succession to his authority, and the Oojook constitute the nobility of his kingdom.

* The crime of the first chief, mentioned in the Chinese history, as put to death in the reign of the Emperor Yu, was arriving last at the great assembly at Touchan.

Kun Khan succeeded his father Aghooz, and Kubul Khwajeh, his father's vizir, conducted the duties of minister. On his accession, Kubul Khwajeh represented to him that his father, Aghooz Khan, had left great riches and an extensive kingdom; that he had also left six sons, whose children were then twenty-four in number; that it was probable dissensions and quarrels would arise among them for this wealth and dominion, and that it was best to provide against such occurrences, by dividing the property of his father between them; also by separating them, and giving them different districts and titles. This arrangement meeting the approbation of Kun Khan, and being carried into effect, they remained for many years united in friendship with each other. Kun Khan reigned seventy years, and appointed his brother Ai Khan to succeed him.

Ai Khan was succeeded by his eldest son, Yeldooz Khan.

Tungeez Khan, the son of Munguli Khan, governed Moghoolistan 110 years. When he became old, he resigned his authority to his son Eel Khan, and retired from the world.

Eel Khan was celebrated for his mildness and liberality.—It is related, that in his time King Afridoon Toor, the second son of Feridoon, with a

great army invaded Toorkistan. Toor having crossed the Jihoon to Mawarunnahar, Subookh Khan, who was the eighth of the kings of Tartary, to revenge himself for some enmity subsisting between him and Aghooz Khan, joined the army of Toor, the son of Feridoon, and Toor, in concert with Subookh Khan, commenced plundering the tribes of the Moghools under Eel Khan. The people of Moghoolistan, however, being attached to Eel Khan, fought desperately in his defence, and destroyed a great number of Oighoors, Tatars, and Toorks. Under these circumstances, Toor and Subookh Khan determined to employ a stratagem to effect the defeat of the Moghools, and therefore affected to retreat from them: consequently, after retiring a few miles, the next day they returned unexpectedly, and surprised them. This surprise was so complete and fatal, that it is said only Keyan, the son of Eel Khan, Nukooz his cousin, and their two sisters, escaped, the rest being all destroyed. This event is said to have occurred one thousand years after Aghooz Khan. By one account it is stated, that in this battle, forty women escaped on one side of the field, and thirty men on the other. From the women the (tribe of) Kurkeez (the Kirghis) is

derived, and from the thirty men that of Ootooz Ooghool.

Keyan and Nukooz, with their wives or sisters, concealed themselves among the slain in this battle until night, when, having caught some stray horses, they mounted them and fled to the mountains, where they discovered a valley abounding in streams and forage. These mountains are called by the Turks Arkuni Koon (the steep or precipitous hills), and abound in game and fruit-trees. Keyan and Nukooz took up their residence in this valley; and their offspring and herds increasing greatly, their descendants in process of time became divided into several tribes. Of these, those who are descended from Keyan or Kyan are called Kyaat, and those from Nukooz, Darulgeen.*

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*An account of the kings, the descendants of Osman, who now reign in the kingdoms of Room† and Zung,† and who are now called Khoongar, and are said by some to be descended from Aghooz Khan.*

Agreeably to the relations of the best historians,

* These families, to the best of my recollection, are stated by Abool Fazl to have remained concealed in this valley two thousand years, and the Moghools have no records of this period.

† Asia Minor and Africa, or that part called Barbary.

it is established that the Aghooz Khan, who is the fifteenth ancestor in lineal ascent from Sooltaun Osman Khan, is a modern prince, and originally derived from Cheen the son of Japhet. On the contrary, the Aghooz Khan, of which an account has been given in this book, is one of the patriarchs or ancients, and descended from Turk, the son of Japhet. The ascending genealogical line from Osman Khan to Japhet is as follows:

Osman Khan, the son of
Artogrul Khan, the son of
Suliman Khan, the son of
Kya Alp Khan, the son of
Kuzul Boogha Khan, the son of
Yanud Khan, the son of
Ai Kootloogh Khan, the son of
Toor Ghar Khan, the son of
Keeltoon Khan, the son of
Bai Sunkoor Khan, the son of
Baki Agha Khan, the son of
Soor Ghar Khan, the son of
Took Timoor Khan, the son of
Basook Khan, the son of
Kook Alp Khan, the son of
Aghooz Khan, the son of
Bai Soob Khan, the son of

Yulwaj Khan, the son of
Bai Buk Khan, the son of
Toghrul Khan, the son of
Ai Tooghlimush Khan, the son of
Toochung Khan, the son of
Artook Khan, the son of
Fukyari Khan, the son of
Buktimoor Khan, the son of
Tooruj Khan, the son of
Yumake Khan, the son of
Kuzulboogha Khan, the son of
Yamook Khan, the son of
Bash Boogha Khan, the son of
Toghrul Khan, the son of
Tai Khan, the son of
Subookh or Subooneej Khan, the son of
Koor Tulmush Khan, the son of
Jar Soogheh Khan, the son of
Kara Jad Khan, the son of
Balchuk Khan, the son of
Amood Khan, the son of
Koomash Khan, the son of
Kureh Ooglan Khan, the son of
Suliman Khan, the son of
Koor Chool Khan, the son of
Koor Noghan Khan, the son of

Bai Timoor Khan, the son of
Kowi Khan, the son of
Mukri Yumunish Khan, the son of
Mukri Kowi Khan, the son of
Macheen Khan, the son of
Cheen Khan, the son of
Japhet.

This is the ascending line of the family of Osman to the prophet Noah, on the faith of tradition.

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*Of the emigration of the tribes of Kyaut and Darulgeen from the mountains of Arkuni Koon.*

When these tribes had increased so that they became straitened for room in the mountain, they determined to separate; and as part of the mountains contained mines of iron, they dug up the earth and melted the iron until they formed a road to pass out from their pleasant valley. They then marched to the country of their forefathers, Moghoolistan, and began to attack and expel the Tatars and other tribes who had usurped their possessions. The Moghools, who had formerly retired to Khatai, also returned and joined their brethren. The Moghools, however, do not admit any race to be of the original stock but the descendants of these two families.

The former extent and boundaries of Moghoolistan, agreeably to record, were as follows:

The eastern boundary extended to the borders of China and Khatai; so that from the south-east to the north-west, China was its boundary; and from the north-east to the south-east, Khatai. On the west, the Moghool boundaries extended to Oighoor; on the north to, Kurakur and Salnukoie; and on the south, to Thibet.

It is related that the Moghools lived entirely on the flesh of animals they caught in hunting, and that of their cattle. The reason of this is, that in this tract the soil is not cultivated, and these people are all rich (in herds); whereas in a cultivated country, it is impossible the greater number should be rich, from the difficulty they find in accumulating property and in retaining possession of their wealth.

The clothing of the Moghools is the skins of animals, as the *sunjab*, *sumoor*, *kokum*, and *altai*.

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*The history of Yuldooz Khan, the son of Munguli Khwajeh, the son of Timoor Tash Khan, of the sons of Keyan or Kyan.*

Yuldooz Khan the son of Munguli Khwajeh, the son of Timoor Tash Khan, the son of Yuldooz

Khan, who was descended from Kyan, the son of Eel Khan, the son of

Tungeez, the son of
Munguli Khan, the son of
Yuldooz Khan, the son of
Aai Khan, the son of
Aghooz Khan, the son of
Kara Khan, the son of
Moghool Khan, the son of
Alumchi Khan, the son of
Kyook Khan, the son of
Debad Kowi Khan, the son of
Abluchi Khan, the son of
Toork Khan, the son of
Japhet Khan, the son of
Noah Khan.

The Yuldooz Khan above-mentioned became the chief of the Moghools, after they quitted the mountains, and assembled all their *eels* and *oolooses*:* it is to be remarked, that they respect only those descended from Kyan, because there is no question as to their origin; whereas, with regard to that of the others, there is great doubt.

These Moghools were in the habit of visiting the mountains of Arkuni Koon every year, and

* Tribes.

extracting iron from the mines for the fabrication of arms, &c.

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*The history of Boozunjur Khan, the son of Alenko or Alunko, the daughter of Choyumna Khan, the son of Yuldooz, the son of Munguli Khwajeh, of the tribe of Koorlass, the descendants of the Kyaat.*

From historical evidence it is established, that when Yuldooz Khan died, he left two sons, one named Ooyumna Khan and the other Choyumna Khan.

Ooyumna Khan had one son, named Dewun Beyan, and Choyumna Khan a daughter, named Alankooah, or Alunko. This lady was extremely beautiful, and at the age of fourteen she was married to Dewun Beyan, the son of her uncle Ooyumna, the son of Yuldooz, at that time chief of the Moghools. By this prince she had two sons, one named Bolkodi and the other Boljoodi. Dewun Beyan died after they had been married three years, and Alankooah succeeded to his authority over the Moghools.

It is related that Alankooah being in her chamber one night, awake, and mourning for her husband, a ray of light entered the window and illumined

the whole of the apartment. This light suddenly condensed, and assumed the form of a handsome young man, who approached and entered her bed. Alaṇkooah strove to resist him, but without effect; and after he had remained with her some time, he assumed the form of a wolf, and in that shape left her apartment. This spirit for a long time continued in this manner to visit Alankooah, who at last found she was with child, and her condition became too evident for concealment. The tribe of Moghools being exasperated at her supposed incontinence, reproached her in very severe terms, and Alankooah found herself obliged to assemble the chiefs, and enter into an explanation of her extraordinary case: she therefore detailed all the circumstances as they occurred, and desired them to convince themselves of the truth of what she had said, by watching at her window a few nights, which they did, and at length satisfied themselves of the truth of Alankooah's statement. Burning with rage, however, at the dishonour done to their family, they determined, the next time the spirit or wolf returned, to kill him; and accordingly, when he next came, they attacked him with their swords and knives, but found that at every blow they made at him they inflicted wounds on them-

selves, and did him no harm. They therefore, with good reason, abstained from offering any further violence to the wolf, and allowed him to depart. The chiefs now admitted the veracity of Alankooah, and all reproach ceased. But the Moghools are still divided as to the nature of the man of light, as they call him; some conceiving him to be an angel, some saying the light of God visited Alankooah, and that she must be considered pure as the Virgin Mary. Some, however, stigmatize this as an impious attempt to raise the character of Alankooah to an equality with the mother of Jesus, and say that the person who visited her was either a man or a *jin* (one of the genii). Alankooah was in due time delivered of three sons at one birth: the first was named Boorkoon, the second Bosoonghoor, and the third Boozunjur. It is said that the birth of these children occurred in the year of the Hejri 111, which is also the auspicious year in which Ameer Aboo Moslim of Meroze also manifested himself.

The author of the history of Boozunjur (the first king of this stock) calls him Saheb Kiran.

Boorkoon had two sons; one called Kubki, from whom the tribe of Kubkeen is descended; and the other Kutghan, who is the great ancestor of the

Kutghan family. Bosoonghoor had two sons; one called Saljee, who is the father of the Moghool tribes of that name; and the other named Saljeeout, who is the father of the Saljeeout tribe.

Boozunjur had also two sons; one named Bookee, who is the great ancestor of all the kings of Turkistan, and the other named Tookta.

The descendants of the man of light and Alankooah, are called Neroon, and those who are descended from Dewun Beyan, Dulkeen. These latter have for their great ancestor, Ooyumna Khan; the children of Dulkeen are also called Oimavut.

It is related that when these three sons of Alankooah were born, the astrologers of that period predicted that they would become the fathers of many great nations, particularly Boozunjur Khan, who it was stated would reduce all the tribes of Moghools to acknowledge his authority and become the greatest king of his age; and after him, his descendants would be kings to the end of time.

In historical documents, it is also stated that the three sons produced by Alankooah had each at his birth a *purchum** (a mole or tuft of hair) on

* *Purchum* is the tail of the Thibet cow.

his head; that those of Boorkoon and Bosoonghoor depended from their ears, but that of Boozunjur Khan was on the top of his head; this was understood as a mark of sovereignty by the learned of that time. Boozunjur also possessed another sign of royalty, which was, that in his infancy, whenever his nurse laid him to sleep on his back, he immediately turned round and slept on his face; and it is also stated, that the bones of his neck were so rigid or inflexible, that he could not turn his head on either side without also turning his body round. Some say the bones of his neck were without joints; these are also signs of greatness. It is also said that the *purchum* on the head of Boozunjur Khan was the mark of his superiority, and that those on the ears of his brethren denoted servitude or inferiority.

Boozunjur Khan was the ninth lineal ancestor of Timoocheen Chungeez Khan, and the fourteenth in ascent from Ameer Timoor Goor Khan.

Boozunjur Khan is said to have excelled all his followers in hunting, wrestling, horsemanship, and in arms. When he arrived at manhood, with the consent of the chiefs of the *ooloos*, on the first of the month of Rubbi-il-Avul, 130 Hejri, he was seated on the Moghool throne. It is also related

that he was contemporary with Aboo Mooslim of Meroze. Aboo Mooslim was born in the hundredth year after Mahummud. It is stated by historians that Boozunjur Khan was the restorer of the race of Moghool kings, which had been previously extinct or latent. He also reduced all the chiefs of the Tatars (in possession of kingly power) to submit to his authority, and he was therefore called *Kaan*,* which signifies 'great king.' The Moghools are not profuse of their titles, and it is remarkable, that they are accustomed to add one name only to the ordinary appellations of their kings. It may be here remarked also of the troops of the Moghools, that they are grateful and obedient. If a chief had the command of an army of one hundred thousand men, and the king, for any fault he might commit, should send for his head, a single horseman would suffice to bring it.

The chiefs appointed to a post dare not quit it, nor would others allow them to quit it.

Whenever Moghools are assembled, they always select one of their number to be their chief, and obey him with every mark of respect and attention; but they will not be governed by any but the race of their chiefs.

* قان

Boozunjur Khan had two sons; one named Booka,* and the other named Tookta, who had only one son, named Macheen.

Booka Khan succeeded his father, and when he died was succeeded by Dootmeen his son. It is said that this prince had a very beautiful wife, named Khatoon Menooloon, who, on his death, retired to the mountains called Anosh Arki; and as she had nine sons, she demanded a daughter from each of the Moghool tribes for them. Her wealth in herds is said to have been immense.

At that period, the tribe of Jullair, of the race of Darulgeen, had increased to a great extent, and seventy *kuruns*† of this tribe were then encamped on the western bank of the river Kulooran. At that time, also, there was war between the tribes of Moghools and those of Khatai. The troops of Khatai at this time advanced to make an attack on the Jullair tribe, and arrived at the river Kulooran; but the river having overflowed, they could not cross, and therefore encamped on the opposite bank; the Jullair, relying on the depth of the water, taunted and ridiculed them. The Khatai

* Booka is the eighth ancestor of Chungeez Khan and Kurachar Noyan.

† Each consisting of one thousand families.

chiefs and troops, however, soon made a bridge, and having crossed over the river, attacked them with such fury that nearly the whole of this tribe was destroyed, except a few who sought refuge at Anosh Arki, the residence of Menooloon. These, however, were so reduced by their misfortune as to be compelled to subsist on the *sonekoon*, or mountain onion; and as, from their continual digging for these onions, they injured the pasturage and rendered the ground broken and uneven, Menooloon was at last obliged to forbid their digging any more. The Jullair were deeply offended by the prohibition, and watched for an opportunity to revenge the insult they conceived was offered them; and one night an opportunity presenting itself, they treacherously attacked Menooloon's camp, and murdered both Menooloon and her adherents; but being aware of the consequences, should her sons by Dootmeen escape, they followed them to a place where they were out hunting, and having surprised these young men, they killed eight of them. Kaidoo Khan, the remaining son, at the time his brethren were killed, had proceeded to court the daughter of a chief of the Kinoot tribe, who was related to him, being the child of his uncle Macheen. When Macheen heard

of the treachery of the Jullair tribe, he kept Kaidoo Khan with him, and despatched a vakeel to the chiefs of the Jullair to demand satisfaction of them. The chiefs made many excuses, and asserted that the wrong had been done without their privity or consent; that they were engaged in war with Khatai, and that the tribe which had committed this crime resided far distant from them. The chiefs of the Jullair, however, in order to satisfy Macheen, put to death seventy of the murderers of Menooloon and her servants, and forwarded their families to Kaidoo Khan and Macheen, and these families remained their slaves ever after. Kaidoo Khan and Macheen Khan resided on the banks of the river Urbon.

Kaidoo Khan is the sixth ancestor of Chungeez Khan and Kurachar Noyan, and by the aid afforded him by his uncle Macheen, he succeeded his father. He dug a canal, called Juraloom, which adorned and fertilized his country; he made war frequently on the tribe of Jullair, and reigned independent. He had three sons, Boisunghoor, Churkeh Linkoom, and Jarcheen. The son of Jarcheen was named Soojeeout, and is the father of the tribe of Soojeeout.

Churkeh Linkoom had many children, the eldest

of whom was named Surokud: he succeeded to the chieftainship of his father, and the tribe of Surokud is derived from him. The next son of Churkeh Linkoom was named Tasjoot, the father of the tribe of Tasjoot. A son of Surokud, named Humeka, in his youth, fell in with a body of Tatars, and was made prisoner by them and carried to Altan Khan, the chief of Khatai. Altan Khan, from an old enmity to his family, put him to death, by nailing him to a wooden ass.

When Kaidoo Khan died, he was succeeded by his son, Boisunghur Khan, as king of the Moghools, and on his death his place was filled by his son, Toomneh Khan. This chief made some new conquests in Turkistan, and joined them to his paternal possessions. He had two wives, one of whom brought him seven sons; and the other, two sons, who were twins. The latter excelled all their brethren in strength and valour: the name of one twin was Kubul, and that of the other Kacholi. Kubul was the fifth ancestor of Chungeez Khan, and the eighth from Ameer Timoor Goor Khan.

When these young men had arrived at manhood, it happened, one night, that Kacholi dreamed he saw three stars rise on the left of Kubul Khan,

one after another, and these stars having attained the meridian, declined and disappeared, when a fourth star of great magnitude, and very bright, arose from the neck of Kubul Khan, and after some time many smaller stars separated from it, which shed light over all parts of the horizon; and when the great star had set, they still continued to shine with undiminished splendour. When Kacholi awakened from his dream, he found a large portion of the night was still unexpired, and therefore again composed himself to sleep, and again dreamed that seven stars rose from his neck successively, and that an eighth arose, of very large size and great refulgence; several stars also separated from this, and shed light over different parts of the earth; and when the great stars had declined and set, the remainder still continued to illumine the heavens. When Kacholi awoke from his second dream, it was morning, and he arose and went to his father, to whom he related his vision. Toomneh Khan, on hearing his recital, expressed much joy, and sent immediately for Kubul Khan, and when he arrived, desired Kacholi to relate his dreams again, that they might all hear them. The astrologers and sages of that period, by order of Toomneh Khan

expounded these dreams: to the first they gave the following interpretation, *viz.* That three kings would reign successively, of the seed of Kubul Khan, but that the fourth would be the conqueror of a great part of the inhabited world; that he would have many children, who would all reign over different parts of the earth; and that their descendants, for a long period, would also succeed them in rank and power. The interpretation of the second dream was, that seven of the immediate descendants of Kacholi would also be rulers in a second degree; but the eighth, whose existence was denoted by the large star, would become the conqueror of the greatest part of the earth; that he would have many children, who would all be kings of different countries.

When Toomneh Khan heard this prediction, he determined to constitute these two sons his successors, and Kubul and Kacholi entered into a solemn covenant, in the presence of their father, that the throne of the kaans or khans should descend to Kubul, and the command of the troops and the direction of all military affairs should devolve to Kacholi; and that this covenant should extend to all their children and descendants in the same manner. This agreement being written in the

Oighoor character, all the princes of the family signed it, and it was called the *Al Tumghaie*.

When Toomneh Khan died, he was succeeded by his son, Kubul Khan, and Kacholi continued in friendship with him, and obedient to his commands.

Kubul Khan was a great prince, and the fifth ancestor of Chungeez Khan; his brother Kacholi filled the office of Noyan. The Turks call Kubul Khan, Alchung Khan, which signifies 'the protector and cherisher of his people,' and all the tribes of Moghools were subject to him.

The Khan of Khatai, or the Emperor of China, hearing of the justice and power of Kubul Khan, became much alarmed, and despatched ambassadors to him, with a friendly message, to invite him to meet him. Kubul Khan agreed to visit him, and having constituted Kacholi, who is the third ancestor of Kurachar Noyan, his viceroy, marched towards Khatai. Altan Khan, the chief of Khatai, received him with great respect, and at an entertainment given on the occasion, plied him with wine, which Kubul Khan, suspecting it was poisoned, avoided drinking.*

* It is stated also that, one day, Altan Khan visited Kubul Khan while the latter was drunk, and Kubul Khan grossly reviled him and laid hold of his beard. Kubul Khan, however, made an apology, and this breach of good manners was made up.

It is related that Altan Khan, when Kubul Khan took leave of him, presented him with a crown of gold* and a belt ornamented with jewels. The Ameers of Khatai, however, slandered him after his departure, and expressed their sorrow that so great an enemy was allowed to depart. Altan Khan, therefore, sent messengers after him to desire him to return. Kubul Khan replied, he had departed with the good-will of the Khan, and that he did not know the *shokoon*,† or the way, to return. When Altan Khan heard this, he became much inflamed with anger, and despatched a body of troops after him. Kubul Khan, when they approached, concealed himself in the house of one of his friends, named Saljooki, and there came to a determination to return to Altan Khan. Saljooki, however, dissuaded him from so hazardous a proceeding, and told him that if he returned he would risk his life, seeing that Altan Khan no doubt entertained sinister designs against him; that he would lend him a horse which, from his speed, would certainly clear him of his enemies; Kubul Khan accepted his offer and mounted the horse,

* Kubul Khan from this appears to have been merely a feudatory of Altan Khan.

† *Shokoon* is an omen, in the language of Hind.

which carried him home in safety. The detachment of horse sent in pursuit of him by Altan Khan, however, followed him thither. Kubul Khan first ordered that they should be kindly treated, but on consulting with his chiefs, by their advice, put them all to death. Kubul Khan gave the crown and belt he had received from Altan Khan, to his brother Kacholi.

It is related that Kubul Khan had a wife of the tribe of Kunkoorat, named Kowa Kurak. This woman had three sons by him; the eldest was named Ooktun Turkak, the second was named Kowilai Khan, and the third Boortai Bahadoor. The eldest, Ooktun Khan, was exceedingly handsome. One day, Ooktun Khan Turkak (who is the father of the tribe of Turkak), soon after his marriage, went out on a hunting excursion, and by accident fell in with a party of Tatars, who seized him and carried him to Altan Khan. Altan Khan, from cruelty and enmity to his family, ordered him to be put to death, by nailing him to a wooden ass.

When Kubul Khan died, his son Kowilai Khan succeeded him, and assembled a force of Moghools to revenge the death of his brother Turkak. Kowilai Khan, having completed his army, marched

against Altan Khan, defeated him, and took the whole of his baggage.

It is related that Kowilai Khan was a very strong man, and that he had a remarkably loud voice; he was therefore called Kowilai Alp;* no man of his time could engage in a personal contention with him; in the battle with Altan Khan, he charged and cut down his *toogh*,† and defeated the *asabah* or select troop of his army, and from that circumstance the battle was gained.

When he died, he was succeeded by his brother, Boortai Bahadoor.

Boortai Bahadoor, the son of Kubul Khan, was placed on the Moghool throne by the chiefs of that nation. He was a prince of great valour, ability, and power; and after his accession, Kacholi Bahadoor, his uncle, died, and Boortai appointed his son Eroomjee in his place, as commander of the forces, and gave him the name or title of Birlass; all his people were thence called Eroomjee Birlass: the tribes of Birlass are said to be descended from him. Boortai Bahadoor had many sons; Yusookai Bahadoor excelled all the rest in wisdom and valour. After the death of

* *Alp* signifies a lion, a strong man, or a champion.

† The cow's or horse's tail, used as a standard.

Boortai, Busookai, or Yusookai, his son, succeeded him; in his reign, Eroomjee Noyan Birlass died. He had twenty-nine sons—of these the chief were named Esun, Aghool, Ooltan, and Sooghoo Chichun; the most capable of the sons of Eroomjee, however, was Sooghoo Chichun, whose ability and bravery were well known;* for this reason he was held in great esteem by Yusookai, and placed in the office held by his father Eroomjee, *i. e.* the command of the troops. The descendants of the other twenty-eight brothers and Yusooghoo Noyan or Chichun, became numerous; a quarrel existing between Yusookai Bahadoor and the Tatar tribes, with the advice of Sooghoo Chichun, he assembled an army and attacked them. In this campaign, the Moghools were very successful; they plundered the Tatar hordes and took prisoners their chiefs Timoocheen Ooka and Kara Baka.

When Yusookai Bahadoor had successfully completed his expedition, and was on the road to return home, he was met by Chup Koonchi Dana, a messenger, who informed him that Aloon Yoonke Khatoon, his queen, had presented him with a

* The meaning of the word *chichun* is 'eloquent and wise.'

son. It is related that this child was born on the 9th of Zi Huj, 540 Hejri (A. D. 1145), in the Turkish year called The Boar; and some say he was born on the 20th of Zikad, in the Tungooz-eel, 549 Hejri (A. D. 1154): but all agree that he was born with his hands and feet sprinkled with blood, a peculiarity said to have denoted his blood-thirsty unsparing character. When Yusookai Bahadoor heard of the birth of his son, he was much pleased, and requested his chiefs to fix on a name to be given him. Sooghoo Chichun, on this occasion, represented that he knew from certain circumstances, that his son was the star which was to illuminate the face of the earth, and for whose approach the learned in the histories of former times were waiting in daily expectation; that it was proper, therefore, he should give him the name of some great king, and that he should have no other name. Yusookai Bahadoor coincided with Sooghoo Chichun, and the Moghool chiefs assembled and determined that he should be called Timoochin, for this reason, that Timoochin Ooka, the king of the Tatars, taken prisoner by Yusookai Bahadoor, was the greatest prince of his time.

Yusookai Bahadoor besides Timoochin had four

sons by the same wife, their names were Joji, Koosar, Kuchghoon and Oonche; their descendants are very numerous. Yusookai had by another of his wives a son named Tulkooti; this young man was inseparable from his father in the field, and in his domestic concerns: he had also several other sons, whose names are Ootgeen Noyan, Elja Noyan, Tukoot, and Rookai.

Yusookai Bahadoor died in the month of Tangoozeel, 562 Hejri. Timoochin was then sixteen years old, and about that time, Sooghoo Chichun, the chief of the army, also died, and his sons, Byusam and Kurachar Noyan, being very young, the troops of Yusookai Bahadoor abandoned his children and joined the tribe of Taijoot. At that time, the tribes of Moghools were not under one chief, but each had a chief of its own; and they were continually fighting with each other. Timoochin, therefore, until he arrived at manhood, was literally the child of misfortune; but as it was ordained he should become a great man, he overcame all his difficulties.

He was continually engaged in war with the tribes of Jamooka or Jajerat, Taijoot, Kunkoorat, Jullair, Sojée, and Bek or Pyke; the tribe of Birlass, the sons of Eroomjee, also opposed him. At

this time, Timoochin, who resided near Oonuk* Khan, contracted a friendship with him; and Soo-ghoo Chichun, the founder of the tribe of Birlass, had a son, named Kurachar, who joined Timoochin, and both depending upon the friendship which had formerly subisted between Yusookai Bahadoor and Oonuk Khan, sought protection with the latter. Oonuk Khan was the chief of the tribe of Kirayut, and a prince of great power; he was also the friend of Altan Khan, king of Khatai.

After Timoochin had served Oonuk Khan a short time, the latter became very much attached to him, and entertained so high an opinion of his wisdom, that no measures were undertaken without his advice, and at length Oonuk Khan adopted him as his son. In this high situation, he performed many great actions, and among the rest fought with Arki Kara, the brother of Oonuk Khan; and also with Oorkin and Tookta Begi, the leaders of the tribe of Makreet, and defeated them all.

In consequence of this, the tribes of Taijoot, Saljoot, Kunkoorat, Bahreen, Durman, Makreet, Jajerat, Jullair, Tatar, Jyurat, Boorkeen and Koikeen, confederated against Oonuk Khan and Timoo-

* The word *oong* or *oonuk*, in the language of Khatai, signifies 'emperor.' *Wang* is 'king' in Chinese.

chin. It is related that at the time of their making their treaty of confederacy, they sacrificed a bull, a horse, a *kooh*,* and a dog, and each prayed that he who violated the articles might be put to death in the same manner: this is the most solemn form of oath and imprecation in use among these tribes.

When Oonuk Khan and Timoochin heard of this treaty, they assembled troops, and at a place called Shuhoori Naderian, a battle was fought, in which the confederates were defeated and reduced to subjection.

At this time also, Boirak, the brother of Naiman Khan, who was the chief of the Naiman tribe, made war on Oonuk Khan and Timoochin, and brought a force to attack them; he also ordered the *jèdehches*, or magicians, to perform *jedeh*: this the Turks call *jedeh yai eez*.

The magicians, in pursuance of his orders, threw the *jedeh* stone (which has been before described) into water, and immediately a storm arose, which covered the plains with snow and hail. This was done to destroy the troops of Oonuk Khan and Timoochin: but the result turned out contrary to their expectations, as most of the troops of Boirak were destroyed by it. An attack was afterwards

* A woman, I believe.

made on them at a place called Kotun, but the troops of Boirak fled without making any resistance.

Timoochin remained eight years with Oonuk Khan, and in that time performed many great actions, but from the affection manifested towards him by Oonuk Khan, the relations of that chief envied and hated him, and sought his destruction. Their machinations, however, for some time had no effect, until Jamooka, who was the chief of the tribe of Jajerat, and who of old was an enemy to Timoochin, represented to Shunkoon, the son of Oonuk Khan, the great power Timoochin had attained, and stated that he was in league with Atabang Khan, to wrest the kingdom of Oonuk Khan from his and his father's hands. Shunkoon did not, at first, place any confidence in the statement, nor did Oonuk Khan give credit to it; it being, however, repeated, with warnings, that if they did not take care of the son of Yusookai, it would be too late, Oonuk Khan became alarmed, and having assembled his chiefs, they all agreed to anticipate Timoochin.

It happened, however, that one of the chiefs, in private conversation with his wife, disclosed this secret, and that two boys, the name of one of whom

was Badaie,* and the other Kushluk,† who were bringing milk from the herds, being under the window of the apartment, overheard the conversation. These lads, being unwilling Timoochin should be injured, immediately went to him, and gave him a full account of what they had heard. Timoochin was greatly affected at the intelligence, and having imparted it to Kurachar Noyan, the same night, they left their tents standing, and fled to the mountains with their dependents. Oonuk Khan, the same night, with a large body of troops, surrounded the tents of Timoochin, and as many fires were blazing in the encampment, ordered his men to pour a shower of arrows into it; as no one, however, appeared, they entered the camp, and found it empty; and they therefore followed the track of Timoochin, and in a short time his spies informed him Oonuk Khan had arrived. Timoochin was alarmed in consequence of the smallness of his force; however, Kowildar Noyan suggested to him that there was a chance of success, in occupying as a strong position an eminence in the rear of the enemy, and that the best thing they

* The father of the tribe of Badaie.

† The father of the tribe of Kushluk.

could do was to seize it and place their standard on the top of it; they therefore charged, and obtained possession of the hill. It is related that Timoochin showed such excessive bravery, and even rashness, that day, that he appeared to have devoted himself to death. The battle was fought at a place called Koolachin, and in it Shunkoon, the son of Oonuk Khan, was wounded, and a great portion of the tribe of Kirayut destroyed. When the troops of Oonuk Khan retreated, Timoochin also quitted the field and retired to a fountain named Balkhooni (the water of which was salt), and those troops which had before separated from him, joined him there. At this place, Kurachar Noyan represented to Timoochin, that on such a memorable occasion, it was advisable he should order the names of all those persons who were present in the battle to be inscribed in his records, and that every one of them should be provided with a munsub or jageer. Timoochin greatly approved of the measure proposed by Kurachar Noyan, and their names were inscribed in the records, and each was placed in the Oonghar and Joonghar, which together consisted of twelve koors.* An *oorooni*, or place of honour, was established

* *Koor* is a division, tribe, &c.

for each koor. 1st. The two koors of the right and left had permission to sit in the presence of Timoochin, because they were distinguished by rank and learning. 2d. The next two tribes of the right and left were stationed at the door of his durbar, and they were ordered to stand and superintend the entrance and departure of persons to and from the hall of audience. 3d. Two tribes of the right and left were stationed outside the door of the hall or durbar, where Timoochin sat. These were placed each agreeably to its rank or *ooroon*, and were allowed to sit. These tribes were composed of the bravest men in his army. 4th. Two koors or tribes of the left and right were ordered to take their places behind the two preceding koors, and were permitted to sit. 5th. The next two were also directed to sit in the rear of the fourth, and the two last koors of the right and left were ordered to sit behind them. Timoochin also appointed *yussawals* to superintend the places, and the order in which the koors were disposed. The twelve koors were also divided into six right and six left, both in the durbar and in the field. Those who were in the battle fought against Oonuk Khan, received greater honours than the rest; and the two young men,

who informed Timoochin of the evil intention of Oonuk Khan, were entitled *Tur Khan*, which signifies a chief who is not subject to base or low services, and who is in battle permitted to retain whatever spoil he takes. The Tur Khan is also privileged to enter the durbar or presence whenever he pleases, and, until he commits nine offences, is not amenable to justice. Timoochin ordered, that for nine generations all immunities should be preserved inviolate to them. The present tribe of Tur Khan is descended from these lads, but most of the Tur Khans are of the tribe of Badaie. Those Tur Khans who belong to the ooloos of Chughtai are the descendants of Kushluk.

Timoochin, having for the present presented written patents of titles and feuds to his chiefs and army, moved to Khatai, and encamped in an ooroon * called Naroo, on the banks of a river under a mountain, in the boundary of that kingdom. He mustered his army here, and found he had four thousand six hundred horse and foot. The tribe of Kunkoorat here joined him, and as forage was abundant, he remained at this place many days. When Timoochin Khan had assembled a sufficient number of troops, he despatched

* Place of encampment.

a vakeel to Oonuk Khan to inquire the reason of his enmity, and several messages passed between them, and every prospect appeared of an accommodation. Timoochin, however, on the last message, despatched a spy with the eelchee or ambassador of Oonuk Khan, and moved after him with all his forces. Timoochin had not advanced far, when he was met by Oonuk Khan and his troops, and a battle ensued. In this battle, Kurachar Noyan was opposed personally to Oonuk Khan, and killed his horse; and Oonuk Khan, being defeated, fled with his son to the tribe of Naiman; his wife and daughter, however, fell into the hands of Timoochin. Oonuk Khan and his son sought refuge with Tabang Khan, of Naiman, and it is said the former was there murdered by the ameers of Tabang Khan. Shunkoon, however, escaped, and fled to Kashghur, where he was seized by the tyrant of that country and murdered. The tribe of Kirayut immediately after this battle surrendered, and acknowledged Timoochin as their chief, as did most of the chiefs of the Moghools. This event occurred in the year 599 Hejri, in the month called Tungooz-eel, and at that time Timoochin was forty-nine years of age.

Timoochin, after this, returned to his own coun-

try; and the whole of the tribes of Moghools in that quarter immediately repaired to his residence, which was called Naiman Gíreh, and there constituted him their king.

About this time, Naimanuk Khan, the king of the tribe of Naiman, being apprehensive of the power and intentions of Timoochin, prepared to oppose him, and the tribes of Awirat, Duriat, Tatar, Dukeek, Makreet, and Jamooka, joined him in his object. He also despatched a message to Alakosh Sakeen, who was the khan of the tribe of Ankout, to this effect: that another king had arisen among them; that it was impossible their interests should not clash; and that it was in the power of Alakosh to prevent the rise of this new potentate, by joining him in abridging his authority. When Alakosh received this message, being a man of sensc, he despatched one of his chiefs, named Nooridash, to Timoochin. This chief informed Timoochin of the intrigues and object of Naimanuk Khan, and entered into a treaty of friendship with him; and as Timoochin was before aware of the enmity of Naimanuk Khan towards him, this information only made him the more eager to take revenge for his evil designs. He therefore assembled his chiefs and family, to

consult on what plans should be adopted in this exigency. Kurachar Noyan* being present, advised him above all things to lose no time in attacking his enemy, and convinced him, that the earlier he commenced, the greater chance there was of success. Timoochin adopted his opinion, and about the middle of the month Jumad-us-sani, 600 Hejri, or the Turkish month Sunjkoon-eel, marched to attack Naiman Khan, and on their meeting at a place called Kultaki Ooktai, a bloody battle was fought, in which Naiman Khan, the son of Enanuch Khan, with almost all his chiefs, were killed. When Timoochin marched from Kultaki to attack Naiman Khan, by the advice of Kurachar Noyan and his chiefs, he arranged his troops in seven divisions. His son Tooli was appointed to the *booljoonghar*, and Koblai and Jubeh Noyan to the *booroonghar*, and also to act as the *munghulai*, or advanced guard. Joji was placed near the togh or standard, in the division called the *ghool*, or main body; the com-

* The family of the present kings or emperors of Delhi are descended from Kurachar Noyan.—*Abool Fazl.*

The author of the *N. Histoire de Genghis Khan* says, the emperors of the Moghools in India are descended from Genghis by the female side, and that Tamerlane was the fifth in descent from Kurachar Noyan.

mand of the *oonghar*, or right wing, was given to Chughutai, Timoochin's son, and that of the *joonghar*, which is the left wing, was given to the Prince Ooktai. The chieftainship of the *boostoonghar*, which is called the rear division, was committed to Kurachar Noyan. Timoochin, with the *kunghoors*, or bravest men in his army, took his station with the *ookchoonghar* (sakeh), and advanced in this order.

It is related that when the dust raised by the army of Timoochin was observed by Naiman Khan, he consulted with his chiefs, and determined to retire a few marches, in the hope that the horses of Timoochin (being very much out of condition) would be unable to follow him, and that he might thereby obtain an opportunity to attack him to advantage.

Naiman Khan had in his army a chief named Koozi Soyajoo; this man had served him from his infancy, and on this occasion took the liberty to represent to him that his (Naiman's) father, Enanuch Khan, never rested from his labours in the field while an enemy was before him; that he never retreated in the face of an enemy; and that such a measure was disgraceful. On hearing this, Naiman Khan became much ashamed, and

immediately ordered the troops to prepare for battle; and at this time, Prince Tooli arrived with the *booljoonghar*, or advanced guard, of Timoochin's army, and attacked that of Naiman's army, which was defeated and dispersed; to assist them, however, the *booroonghar* of Naiman Khan, under Koozi, advanced; but they were met by the *mun-ghulai* or advance, commanded by Koblai and Noyan Jubeh; the battle here was nearly equal, and in the contest many were slain. At this period, the *ghool*, or main body, of Timoochin's troops, arrived, preceding the right and left wings. Chughutai next advanced with the right wing. and Ooktai with the left; Joji remained with the *asubeh* or reserve, to secure the flanks and rear. On this occasion, Kurachar Noyan displayed a bravery almost superhuman, and Naiman Khan in opposing him performed many glorious feats of arms. At this time, Timoochin (or Chungeez Khan) charged with the *élite* of his troops, and Naiman Khan, after great exertions, and performing wonderful acts of valour, being desperately wounded and faint from loss of blood, fell on the neck of his horse, and retired with his ameers to a neighbouring mountain with his standard. When he arrived at the mountain, he was speechless, and at

the point of death; and Koozi, on seeing his condition, in a paroxysm of grief and anger, recommended they should immediately descend from the mountain, and revenge his death or die with him. The Naiman ameers accordingly descended from the mountain, and again attacked Timoochin, and, true to their faith and Naiman Khan, were all slain. Timoochin expressed great admiration at their fidelity and resolution on this occasion. In this battle, the tribe of Naiman was nearly exterminated, and Naiman Khan expired from loss of blood.

After the death of Naiman Khan, no person of his family remained but his son Kushluk, who sought refuge with his uncle Boirak, and reported to him the death of his father.

After Timoochin had conquered Naiman Khan and his tribe, Tokta Begi Khan, of the tribe of Makreet, became insubordinate, and he therefore marched towards his country, and on his arrival there gave him battle and a great defeat, and reduced the Makreet to submission. After this defeat, Tokta Begi fled with his son to Boirak Khan, the brother of Naiman Khan; and Timoochin marched towards the country of the tribe of Tingit (Tungut, perhaps), which is called Kashin or

Fashin. On the road thither, the troops of Timoochin took prisoner Tair Oosoon, who had sought refuge in a fortress, and brought him to Timoochin. When Timoochin arrived at Kashin, he took the chief fort or city in that country and razed it to the ground. Timoochin, wherever he went, accepted those *eels* or tribes who professed to obey him, joined them to his army and improved their condition; but he relentlessly destroyed all those who opposed him in arms; by this means he reduced all the *eels* and *oolooses* of the Moghools and Turks to obedience. Those tribes, however, who were with him in the battle with Oonuk Khan, and in those subsequently fought, he treated with peculiar kindness, gave them fees of lands, and made them chiefs of *tomans*.* These titles and feuds subsist among the descendants of the Turks to this day.

In the month of Rujub, 602 Hejri, or Parus-eel, Timoochin ordered a *togh* or white flag to be displayed, and that a *kurultai*, or general meeting of his subjects, should be convoked; and accordingly, he sent a messenger, or *evandoochee*, to every tribe.

It is proper to remark here, that in the Moghool language, *kurultai* signifies 'a general assembly.'

* Thousands, hundreds, and tens.

When all his sons and ameers had assembled and were presented, they made their offerings, and were placed in different koors, or classes, agreeably to their rank; and Timoochin then seated himself on his throne, and received their compliments and homage.

At that period, there was a man, an *abdul*,* residing near the court of Timoochin, called Tib Tankri by the Moghools, and Ulunkaj by the Oozbuks, for this reason, that he possessed the gift of prophecy. It is related that this man at all seasons remained naked and alone, residing in caves and woods, and that he wept and laughed by turns, and almost at the same time. At this period, this holy and inspired man entered the durbar of Timoochin, and reported that in a dream the night before, he had been informed by the angel Gabriel, that Timoochin and his children would obtain, and be the lords of, the greater part of the earth, and that almost all other kings would depend on them; that it was the pleasure or command of the Most High, that he should now assume the name of Chungeez Khan, and in future abstain from using his former name Timoochin,

* A religious mendicant.

and lastly, that he was appointed an instrument for the punishment of tyrants.

Timoochin, therefore, adopted his new title from that day. *Chungeez Khan*, in the Turkish language, signifies 'king of kings.' When Timoochin, now Chungeez Khan, had finished his consultation with his *kurultai*, or national assembly, he immediately marched to attack Boirak Khan, the brother of Naiman Khan. Boirak, at that period, was hunting with his ameers, and not aware of danger: the troops of Chungeez Khan, therefore, arriving when he was unprepared, he was killed by them, his family made prisoners, and his property and country plundered. Kushluk Khan (the son of Naiman Khan), having received intimation of this event, fled in company with Tokta Begi, the chief of the Makreet, who had also sought refuge with Boirak Khan. At this time, the tribe of Tongut again rebelled, and Chungeez Khan marched to reduce them, and conquered their country; he next attacked the Karkeez (Kirghis), who, however, made their submission.

After resting his troops during the winter season, Chungeez Khan marched to attack Tokta Begi and Kushluk Khan, the son of Naiman Khan. In this

expedition, he received the submission of the tribe of Awrat, who became his guides to the camp of Tokta Begi, the king of the tribe of Makreet. On their arrival there, a battle was fought, in which Tokta Begi displayed great bravery and conduct. Tokta Begi was slain by a Kunkoor archer, in the year 605 Hejri, or Peelan-eel, and most of his army was destroyed; the rest of the tribe of Makreet submitted to Chungeez Khan. Kushluk Khan, the son of Naiman Khan, on learning this event, again fled to the city of Baligh, to Goor Khan, king of Kara Khatai,* and his people that had remained with him dispersed. Kushluk was well received by Goor Khan, who gave him an establishment and his daughter in marriage. The Moghools and Turks, on hearing the defeat and death of Tokta Begi, became each solicitous for his own safety, and crowded to offer their obedience to Chungeez Khan; and among the rest, Arslan Khan, of the tribe of Kurligh Yudeekoot,† the king of the tribe of Oighoor, also submitted; but as this chief was dependent on and

* Kara Khatai is supposed to be the kingdom of Ava, or some country near it. It is called *Kara* or 'Black' China, because the people are so dark, and because they were formerly dependent on China.—*Hist. Généalogique*, p. 122.

† The meaning of the word *yudeekoot* is chief or leader.

tributary to Goor Khan, when his submission became known, a quarrel arose between Goor Khan and Chungeez Khan, and the darogah of the former, Shad Kam, was killed at the town of Kura Khwajeh by Yudeekoot, who became the firm friend of Chungeez Khan. Some of the tribe of Naiman Khan also surrendered, and some concealed themselves. Chungeez Khan, after these battles, conferred lands, gifts, and titles on his chiefs and army. When it was known that Yudeekoot, the king of the Oighoor tribe, had killed the vakeel of Goor Khan, Chungeez Khan invited him to his court. Yudeekoot, well pleased at this invitation, selected a number of presents and went to visit Chungeez Khan, who received him with distinction and gave him assignments of territory and his daughter in marriage, and called him thenceforward his adopted son.

Altan Khan, the king of Khatai, having in former times, during the reigns of the forefathers of Chungeez Khan, treacherously murdered two princes of his house, Humeeka, the son of Surokud, and Ookin Turkak, the son of Kubal Khan, as before mentioned; in revenge, Chungeez Khan, his affairs being now in the most flourishing state, and his armies numerous and well ap-

pointed, after leaving a body of troops to protect his camp and territory, marched with an immense army towards Khatai. On his arrival there, he, in a short time, took possession of the country of Hoorbukht, which contains seventy tomans; he also took the city of Meskeen and destroyed the city of Toikung, one of the first in the realm of Khatai. From this place he despatched his sons and officers to reduce the country to obedience, and it is said they took more than two hundred cities and fortified towns. Chungeez Khan marched next to the capital of Khatai, which is called Chungdoo;* Altan Khan residing in that city.

Altan Khan, as soon as he heard of the movement and object of Chungeez Khan, assembled his ameers, Kyking, Berkuk, and Toongshah, and consulted with them on the best mode of opposing him. His vuzeer, Jungshanuk, on this occasion, represented to him that peace was the best policy for the present, and that after the retreat of Chungeez Khan, they might at leisure prepare to arrest his career. Altan Khan approved of his advice, and despatched ambassadors to Chungeez Khan, and offered him a sum of money

* Pekin.

and his daughter Gunjwar in marriage, to retire. Chungeez Khan accepted these terms, and was married to the daughter of Altan Khan, and afterwards retired to his own country.

Altan Khan, after Chungeez Khan's departure, finding his country was in great disorder, after leaving his son with a large army in the city of Chungdoo, which is called by the Moghools Khan Baligh, to protect the country, retired to a city called Tumsik, or Oonshai,* built by his father. This city was situate on the river Jung Kho, and was surrounded with high walls.

It is said that it was so extensive, that a boat sailing on the river would be a day in going and returning to the extent of its limits: the environs were also celebrated for the fruit they produced. When Altan Khan retired to this city, many of his troops abandoned him, and joined Chungeez Khan. Chungeez Khan, as soon as he heard of the departure of Altan Khan, ordered two of his chiefs of Tomans, Menkun Moungli and Samooka, with a great force, to besiege Khan Baligh, and they accordingly attacked that city, which, after some time, was reduced to extremity for want of

* Supposed to be Nankin.

provisions. Altan Khan, of Khatai, from grief at this persecution, poisoned himself, and the city was reduced by famine.*

As soon as Chungeez heard of the capture of Khan Baligh, he despatched three of his ameers, named Kunghoor, Angoor, and Kurti Kiar, to take possession of the treasures of Altan Khan, and bring them to him.

These ameers accordingly marched to Khan Baligh, and when they arrived there the treasurer of Altan Khan delivered over his charge of stores and treasures to them, and at the same time made them a present of three pieces† of China silk, embroidered with gold. Kunghoor, however,

* In speaking of the attack on the Emperor of China, after Genghis Khan had made peace with him, the author of the *Nouvelle Histoire* says, "Le Roi de la Chine, le voyant occupé vers l'Occident à la conquête de Capsat (Kipchak), avoit fait ravager les terres de quelques Tartares de Caracathai, qui s'étant mis sous la protection de Genghis Khan, lui avoient refusé le tribut ordinaire."

"Il n'en falloit pas davantage à un conquerant, &c."—P. 34.

The city of Peking was taken by the Moghools in 1210 of the Christian era.

The city of Altan Khan, the extent of which is said to have been so great, is supposed to have been Nankin. The *Nouvelle Histoire de Genghis Khan* says, the King of China and his son were slain in the assault; but this is apparently a mistake.

† تحفة

would not accept that offered to him; the others did.

The ameers, with the treasure and treasurer, now returned to Chungeez Khan, who, on their arrival, asked Kunghoor why he had refused to accept a present from the treasurer? Kunghoor replied, if the city had not been taken by force of arms, and the property had belonged to Altan Khan, he would certainly have accepted whatever was offered to him; but seeing the city was regularly besieged and taken, every particle of the property belonged to his majesty the Khan.

Chungeez Khan was highly pleased at this answer, and gave Kunghoor twice as much as he had refused from the treasurer.

Having thus, in the course of two years, conquered Khatai, Chungeez Khan now returned towards his own country. At this period, however, he despatched Soweida Bahadoor to attack the tribe of Makreet, the ruler of which, Kodwi Bahadoor, was the brother of Tokta Begi. This chief had occupied the country of Naiman.

When Soweida arrived at Naiman, the Makreet Tatars fought several battles with him. At length, however, Kodwi Bahadoor, with the three sons of Tokta Begi, and a great number of their tribe,

being all slain in battle, they were completely subdued, and Soweida returned to Chungeez Khan.

About the same period, Borghul Noyan was sent with a force to attack the tribe of Toomat. On his arrival at Toomat, he attacked that tribe, and put most of them to the sword, but was himself killed towards the conclusion of the action fought with them.

Some time after this, a chief named Yughli Goyanuk was despatched with a large force to occupy and protect the country of Khatai.

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## *An Account of the Wives and Children of Chungeez Khan the Great.*

Chungeez Khan is said to have had more than five hundred wives and mistresses; but of this number, five only were distinguished above the rest.

The first of these was the daughter of the chief of the Kunkoorat, Boorut Kochin. This lady was the mother of his eldest children.

Second. Gunjoor, or Gunjwur, the daughter of Altan Khan, the King of Khatai.

Third. Koozi Sozoon, the daughter of Naimanuk Khan, the chief of the Naimans.

Fourth. Pusloon, the daughter of Chabukto, and
Fifth. Kowlan, the daughter of Tair Asoon.

Of these, however, the first was the greatest favourite, as she had borne Chungeez Khan four sons and five daughters.

Of his sons, the eldest was Joji Khan.

The second, Chughutai Khan.

The third, Ooktai; and

The fourth, Tooli Khan.

These four sons were each appointed by Chungeez Khan to a particular duty, *viz.*

To Joji was committed the care and charge of hunting expeditions.

Chughutai was appointed to the administration* of warlike measures, and the order and arrangement of the army.

Ooktai Khan, whose abilities surpassed the rest of his brethren, was appointed to preside over the political affairs of the state.

Tooli Khan, who was also called Baligh Noyan, had the superintendence of the horses and cavalry; also the arrangement of the encampments, as quarter-master-general.

Besides these, Chungeez had five sons by other ladies.

* یاساو و برغوزدن و کرفتن

Chungeez, having obtained possession of Khatai, and the territory to the eastward, to the boundary of Almaligh,* now, in concert with the tribes and families of the Moghools, divided the whole among his sons and Kurachar Noyan, who was descended from his uncle; also among his relations of all degrees.

He also placed all his relations under the particular protection and patronage of one or other of his sons, and strove by every means to establish firmly the ties of friendship and consanguinity between them.

This was his constant endeavour, and one day, having assembled all his sons and relations, he took an arrow from his *teer kush*, or quiver, and broke it. He next took out two, and did the same. He went on thus increasing the number by one each time, until at last he had so many in his hand he found it impossible to break them; he then handed them round to all his family present, the strongest of whom found they also were unable to break them.

He then addressed his sons and relations, and told them this was precisely their case: that as

* Almaligh is supposed to be Southern China, or that south of the river Keang.

long as they remained in concord and united, no one would be able to prevail against them or injure them; and the reverse; that it was indispensable one of them should be constituted king, and that all the rest should be obedient to him, and serve him with one heart and accord, to the end that quarrels might not arise among them, and, in consequence of such quarrels, their enemies overcome them: for, he observed, although the title of king was confined to an individual, yet in fact all his sons and relations were partners and participators in the possession of the country and its wealth.

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## *An Account of the Customs of the Moghool Tribes, and the Yasaie, or Regulations of the great Chungeez Khan.*

As the Almighty, blessed be his name! had bestowed more knowledge of the affairs of this world on Chungeez than on any of the sons of Turk, the son of Japhet; he (Chungeez), in his wisdom, instituted certain regulations in his judgment fitted for all cases and circumstances, and he also devised punishments for all offences. Among these, the fine for the murder of a Mussulman was fixed

at forty (*balish** or) pieces of gold. The fine for a man of Khatai was estimated at the price of an ass.

Before the time of Chungeez, the Moghools do not appear to have had any written language: Chungeez Khan, therefore, directed them and their children to learn the Oighoor character. The orders or regulations of which we speak are written in that character in the records called *Shub Ashob*, and they are also called the Great Code of Regulations.† This book was deposited in the treasury, and was so highly esteemed by the Turks, that they never departed from its authority.

When the tribes and families of the Moghools first joined Chungeez, their customs were loose. By these regulations, however, theft and other crimes were checked and eradicated.

Whenever Chungeez Khan wrote to the kings and princes of his time, his style was formed after the manner of the Ancients, for he never regarded the extent of their kingdoms or their power, but in all cases, the spirit of his address was this: "If you join and obey us, your lives will be

* بالش The meaning rather obscure here.

† شب اشوب یاسا نامه برزک

spared; if you do not, the fault is not with us; God only knows what may be the consequence." These words were expressed in affectation of a pious reliance on the result, and after that, for whatever befel them, they themselves were answerable.

Chungeez Khan, being attached to no religion in particular, was entirely divested of the rancour and hostility with which one sect generally regards another. The religious of all sects were therefore received by him with equal deference and respect, particularly as he considered their mediation with the Deity in his favour as highly efficacious.

As the territory of Chungeez now became very extensive, and as intelligence from remote parts was constantly arriving, and moreover, as an immediate and constant communication with them was indispensable, he stationed relays of horses at different places, and provided for their subsistence, and that of the men attached to them, from each Toman.

At each stage, also, the horses were registered, that expresses might be sent by the different agents and ambassadors without delay; and also

that his subjects and troops might not sustain annoyance or injury.*

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### *The Customs of the Moghools.*

The regulations or customs of the Moghools may be comprised in the following words :—That all orders of the Khan shall be implicitly obeyed. —It is to be remarked here, that the language of their commands and letters is always plain and simple; they despise all literary ornament, and reject forms and titles. They are much attached to hunting, and consider it the most honourable of all exercises and amusements; and when the winter approaches, they make a general hunting expedition into the desert. On these occasions, they first send hunters to examine where the game is most abundant, and then assemble their troops in the order of battle before described. They then enclose an immense space of ground, sometimes twenty days journey in extent: the king himself, with his wives, and a good store of provisions, then proceed to the field, and the whole close in gradually upon the game, so as to

* The arrangement of post and relay horses in Tatary is the same with that of the Chinese government at the present time.—See De Guignes, *Voyage à Peking*, p. 126.

prevent its escape; and should any notwithstanding escape, the ameers and their servants are punished: also, should the circle be broken or irregular, they are punished. When they arrive close to each other, they lay hold of each other's hands; and when they approach nearer, they stand back to back and knee to knee. In the midst of this circle is the game: the king first, with his particular friends, kill some of these with their arrows, and after that his sons and ameers, conformably to their rank. When the king returns, the rest of the game is given up to the soldiers.—Their object in this hunting excursion, however, is not the game, but to exercise their troops in horsemanship and archery, and to teach them to be steady and cautious in the field of battle. This custom exists among the Moghools to the present day.

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*The Character of their Troops.*

It is well known that, from the time of Adam to the present day, no kings have possessed troops equal to those of the Turks; none ever existed so patient in suffering and calamity, and so obedient and grateful in prosperity; so attached to their chiefs both in private and in public; so contented

with their stations and degrees, whatever they may be, in life; or so brave and so expert in the use of their arms. The Turks are also famous for the readiness with which they adapt themselves to circumstances, whether in war or peace; they also carry all their necessary utensils and arms into the field with them, and if any are deficient, they are punished; their women are also trained to assist their husbands in all things.

When any expedition of importance is to be undertaken, the chiefs of the *oolooses* or tribes communicate the details to the ameers of thousands, and these again to those of hundreds, and so on; all are expected to provide their own resources. If an army is to be assembled, an order is given that so many thousand men are to be ready at a certain place and time, and it is not possible, under their regulations, that there should be any deviation from the order; and however distant may be the army from the Khan, all exertion is made to conform to his orders, and those are severely punished who neglect them. A single horseman is sent, who, if such be his orders, cuts off the offender's head. No man can quit his tribe without permission; and if he does, no one can

protect him, as both would certainly be publicly executed for the offence.

*Goor Khan* is the title of the kings of Kara Khatai, and signifies 'lord of lords;' the Goor Khans are descended from the chief inhabitants of Khatai. It is related that, before the rise of Chungeez Khan, eighty persons (some say a multitude) left that country from some dissensions existing among them, and proceeded to the country of the Kurkeez, where they were opposed by that tribe, and were obliged to deviate in their course to Aimeel, where they built a city; and a great number of Turks and other tribes joining them, it is said that city at length contained forty thousand houses. At that time, in the city of Balasaghoon,* which the Moghools call Khan Baligh, or the beautiful city, there reigned an Ameer, who was descended from Afrasiab, but who was a weak prince, and the tribes of Turks, in consequence, frequently attacked and plundered his country.

'When this prince heard of the power of Kara Khatai, king of Aimeel, he sent ambassadors to him and requested he would visit Balasaghoon

* Pekin.

and take it under his protection, that it might be relieved from the ravages of the Kurligh and Kunkuli tribes. Goor Khan, the king of Aimeel, at his request, accordingly repaired to Balasaghoon,* and having dispossessed the descendant of Afrasiab, at last poisoned him, and seated himself on the throne of the khans of Balasaghoon; after which, he reduced the robbers who plundered the country to obedience, and subdued the country of Kashghur and Khotun; he also reduced the tribes of Paish Baligh and Kurkeez, who had before opposed him. He then attacked Mawurunncher and Ferghaana; and the kings of Mawurunneher, who were the ancestors of the great Sultan Osman, submitted to his rule. He also defeated Sultan Sunjur at the gate of Samurkund, in the year 536 Hejri, agreeing with the Aiteel of the Toorks. Sultan Sunjur fled to Balkh, as will be found in the histories of that period. Goor Khan after this conquered most of Turkistan, Mawurunneher, &c.; and he also despatched a considerable force from Boor to plunder Khorezm, which it did effectually; and Aitseez, the chief of Khorezm, also offered his submission, besides presents and cattle, and agreed to pay him

* A name for Pekin.

one thousand dinars yearly as a tribute. Goor Khan dying about this time, his queen, Kurneik, assumed the chief authority. The brother of Goor Khan, however, displaced her, and reigned under the title of Goor Khan. About this time Ail Arslan, the son of Aitseez Khorazm Shah, died, and Sultan Shah, the son of Ail Arslan, ascended the throne in his place. Turkash, the brother of Sultan Shah, however, opposed him and fled to Kara Khatai; and, with the aid of Goor Khan, returned and conquered Khorezm, and Sultan Shah fled. Turkash ascended the throne on the 22d Rubbi-is-sani, in the year 568 Hejri, or the Turkish Loo-eel.*

Koshluk, the son of Naimanuk Khan, after the death of his father, sought refuge with Goor Khan; and, after remaining with him some time, ob-

* Many poets wrote verses on his accession; among them, Rusheeduddin Wutwat, who had served his forefathers many years, and was near eighty years of age. He wrote the following quatrain:—

"Thy grandfather washed tyranny from the page of time;
Thy father, by his justice, made the broken whole;
Truly, the robes of royalty become thee well:
Yes! what canst thou do; thy good fortune leads thee on."

جدت ورق زمانه از ظلم بشست
غدل پدرت شکسته ها کرده درست
اي برقد تو قباي شاهي شده چست
هان تاچه کنی که نوبت دولت تست

serving that the ameers of Goor Khan to the eastward had advanced their feet beyond the carpet of submission, and had rebelled against Chungeez Khan, and that Sultan Osman, of Samurkund, had also manifested enmity towards him; he addressed Goor Khan, and requested he would give him a force, that he might take advantage of these circumstances, assemble his tribe, and try to recover his father's territory. Goor Khan, seduced by his representations, unfortunately for himself, agreed to his proposition, and dismissed him with the title of khan.

Koshluk accordingly assembled his scattered tribe, and the fame of his expedition having spread to all parts, most of the troops of Kara Khatai connected with him, joined him. When he arrived near Aimeel and Kialik, Tokhtughan, the chief of the Mukreet, who had fled from Chungeez Khan, also joined him, and he now being powerful, agreeably to the adage, "power is sure to make men rebellious," plundered the country, and committed great ravages: he also quarrelled with his patron, Goor Khan.

Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah, (who, after the death of his father Tukash, returned to Khorezm, and ascended the throne of that

kingdom on the 25th Shawal, 596 Hejri, agreeing with Bije Eel Toorki,) being offended and ashamed that Goor Khan had demanded tribute from him, although the tribute had been paid by him and his fathers before him for many generations, also despatched a vukeel to Koshluk Khan, with a message, that he was about to attack Goor Khan, and recommending Koshluk to follow his example. These two princes, therefore, made an agreement, that if the sultan should first succeed in conquering Goor Khan, he was to take possession of the country from Kashgar to Khotun; and if Koshluk should first succeed against Goor Khan, he should possess the country to the river Fusakut. They therefore advanced against Goor Khan; but Koshluk being first in the attack, a battle was fought by him with Goor Khan, in which he (Koshluk) was defeated.

When Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah advanced with his army to attack Goor Khan, and arrived at Bokhara, that city surrendered to him, and he thence marched to Samurkund. Sultan Osman, called the King of kings,* the chief of that

* He was descended from Boghra Khan and Eeluk Khan of Mawurunneher, the actions of which princes are detailed in the *Yumeeni Aini*.

city proceeded to meet Sultan Mahummud, he being offended with Goor Khan for his having refused him his daughter in marriage: he, therefore, tendered the sultan his alliance and obedience, by striking money and reading prayers in his name. Sultan Mahummud affianced his daughter (whose name was Khawind Sultan) to him; and leaving a relation of his, named Toortuboor, in Samurkund, marched with Sultan Osman towards Goor Khan, who on hearing of their movement directed Taneko, the commander of his army stationed at Tiraz, to prepare to oppose them. Sultan Mahummud crossed the river Sihoon by a bridge, which he afterwards destroyed, that his army might have no hopes of retreat. When he arrived at the desert of Eelash, Taneko met him with a numerous army; and on Friday, the 7th Rubbe-ul-avul, 607 Hejri, the troops on both sides being prepared for battle, the sultan directed his army to await until prayers had been read from the *mimber*, or pulpit, and then charge; in the hope that, by the efficacy of prayer, the Most High, the giver of victory, might afford them his divine assistance. As soon as the *tukbeer* and prayers were read, therefore, they charged; and the battle, although bloody, was not doubtful. The troops of Goor Khan were defeated, and Taneko

wounded and taken and sent prisoner by the sultan to Khorezm, with an account of his victory. Boorak Hajib of Kara Khatai (an account of whom will be found in the History of Kirman) was also taken in this battle, with his brother Hameed, the son of Poor, and both were brought before the sultan; and, after some time, Hameed was exalted to the *amarut*, or was made an ameer; and his brother to the office of *hajib*, and therefore called Boorak Hajib. Sultan Mahummud, after this victory, was called Sekundur Sani, or the second Alexander. He after this marched to Otrar, the chief of which city submitted, and was pardoned, and allowed to retain his property on condition he should remove with his family to Nussa; and on his departure the sultan appointed Ainan Jowk, a relation of his mother's, to command at Otrar, and then returned by Samurkund to Khorezm, where he directed that Taneko, the chief of Goor Khan's army, should be put to death, and that his body should be thrown into the Sihoon.

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### *The march of Khorazm Shah to Jund and Samurkund.*

It is related, that during the absence of Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah a number of the depen-

dents of Kadir Khan had rebelled in the district of Jundoom, and for this reason Sultan Mahummud did not remain long at Khorezm, but marched towards that quarter. Sultan Osman, who waited to be married to the daughter of Khorazm Shah, remained in Khorezm. When Sultan Mahummud had destroyed the rebels, news was brought to him that an army from Kara Khatai* had arrived at Samurkund, and had besieged that city. The sultan, therefore, returned from Jundoom, and despatched messengers to all quarters to collect his troops, and marched towards Samurkund. The troops of Khatai during this period encamped on the river of Samurkund, and assaulted the city, it is said, seventy times, and failed in every attempt but one, when the Samurkund people sustained some loss. The troops of Khatai being irritated at their ill-success, closed in upon the city, and exerted themselves much to take it; but the news of the advance of the sultan, and of the newly acquired power of Koshluk Khan, arriving, they retired.

When Sultan Mahummud arrived at Samurkund, and had collected his army, he marched to

* It is a mistake that Kara Khatai is Ava, or near tha country.

the city of the Sughnanians, who were mostly Mussulmans. On his arrival, they seized their chief, and brought him in irons to the sultan; and as they exaggerated the great strength and power acquired by Koshluk Khan, he became the more eager to attack him, and marched forward for that purpose.

Goor Khan having heard of the sultan's movements, prepared to oppose him; and when the armies approached each other, Sipehbood of the blue garments, and Burtuneh, the chief or mayor of Samurkund, entered into a secret confederacy, and they sent a messenger to Goor Khan, to say that when the armies met in battle they would join him, provided that if Goor Khan should conquer, he would resign Khorezm to Burtuneh, and give Khorasan to Sipehbood. Goor Khan agreed to these propositions, and even offered more; and when the troops engaged, the left wing of the army of Kara Khatai totally defeated the right wing of the sultan's army. The main bodies then engaged, and both fell into utter confusion. It was the custom of the sultan on the day of battle to wear clothes of the same colour as those of his enemies, and some of his courtiers also followed his example, and when he fell into the hands of

the troops of Kara Khatai he was not therefore recognized, and after some time he escaped from them and joined the remnant of his army at the river Sihoon, and restored confidence among his dependents, who supposed previously that he was either slain or taken prisoner.

Sultan Mahummud now proceeded to Khorezm, and the troops of Kara Khatai retired after plundering the country, and not sparing even their own. When the Khataians arrived at Balasaghoon, the inhabitants of that place, who detested them, trusting that when the sultan recovered his strength he would take that part of the country under his protection, shut their gates and manned their walls; the defence of the city was therefore maintained for sixteen days, in the hope that the sultan would arrive; but at last the elephants taken from sultan Mahummud being brought up to the gates, they were forced, and the city taken, and for three days the people of the city were indiscriminately massacred. It is related that forty-seven thousand chiefs and respectable citizens were killed on this occasion, and as the whole of the treasure and valuable property of the city was plundered, Mahummud Bai a very rich man, proposed that the loss sustained by Goor Khan's treasury in the war should be made up by the army, from the

spoils of the city generally. The ameers, however, having heard of this proposition, and being offended at it, separated and rebelled.

When Koshluk heard of these events, he marched to attack Goor Khan : who being employed in the collection of his revenue, and unaware of his design, was surprised and taken prisoner, and the whole of his property and country seized by Koshluk, who gave him his life, but occupied the throne of the Goor Khans in his stead. Goor Khan lived only two years after this event, and died aged ninety-five years.

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*The reign of Koshluk Khan, the son of Tabang Khan, the King of the Naimans.*

After the death of Ghoor Khan, the king of Kara Khatai, Koshluk Khan reigned independently over that country. Koshluk was an idolater, and his wife a Christian ; he was in the habit of making converts to idolatry, and those who refused to conform to its rites he massacred ; and many Mussulmans attained the honour of martyrdom in this good cause. At this time Tokatughan, the son of Toktabegi, the king of the tribe of Mukreet, left the service of Koshluk Khan, the son of Naimanuk Khan, and retired to the Khum

Kuchuk. Koshluk Khan about this time despatched an army to Kashghur three or four successive years, and so ravaged that country that he produced a dreadful famine, and the people were obliged to eat all kinds of animals. He at last determined to march thither himself with a great army; on his arrival there the people all submitted to him, and he then moved to Khotun, of which he also possessed himself, and constrained the inhabitants to follow his idolatrous religion. He also directed that the learned of the Mussulman and other religions should assemble and hold a public disputation on their respective faiths; it is said that three thousand imams and learned Mussulmans made their appearance on that occasion, and Koshluk Khan, when they had assembled, addressed them, and asked who was so bold as to refuse to listen to truth. Shaik Moafiq Ala-ud-deen Mahummud Khotuni (may God enlighten his tomb!) approached him, and, determining to speak the truth, began a dissertation on the evidences of the Mahummudan religion. Koshluk Khan, however, interrupted him with a foolish reply, and reviled the prophet Mahummud. The imam could not brook this insult, and cried out, "Dust in thy mouth, infidel!" Koshluk, on hearing this, ordered him to be seized, and directed

him to abjure the Mahummudan faith, and, as he refused, he was fastened with four nails to the gate of the Keir mosque (which he himself had built), and was most cruelly tortured; during which time he addressed the people, and advised them not to give up their hopes of eternity for the fear of present pain.* After this, the Mussulman religion was abolished in that country.

At the time Koshluk Khan conquered Khotun, there resided at the city of Almaligh a man of uncommon strength and bravery, of the Kunkoli tribe, whose name was Ooraz. This man was a robber, and as a number of men of the same description joined him, he became strong enough to plunder the environs of Ilmaligh, and at length obtained possession of that city, and became its ruler. He then collected troops, and attacked Foulad Soom, which was one of the most considerable cities in that country, and took possession of it. Koshluk Khan despatched a large army against him, which defeated him, and ravaged his country: and when he was reduced to extremity, he sent his daughter with ambassadors to Chungeez Khan, and begged his assistance in opposing Koshluk Khan. Chungeez Khan gave him a *munsub*, and affianced his

* انّا لله وانا لله راجعون

daughter to his eldest son, Joje; and Ooraz afterwards visited Chungeez Khan, who received him with great favour. On his departure, Chungeez advised him to refrain from hunting, that he might not in time become the prey of a hunter. He also gave him a thousand sheep, and dismissed him to Almaligh. At that time Koshluk Khan had, as usual, despatched an army to plunder Almaligh, and after having ravaged the country to its gates, besieged that city. At this time also news arrived in the camp of Koshluk Khan that Chungeez Khan was advancing towards him with a great army, and Koshluk's troops in consequence retired. Ooraz Kunkuli, who was a great hunter, and knew nothing of the advance of Koshluk Khan's army, and had also forgotten the advice of Chungeez Khan, being on the road attended by a few horse, fell in with a large body of Koshluk Khan's troops, and was killed by them. Chungeez Khan, on hearing of this event, placed the son of Ooraz, Shuknagh Tukeen, in his father's rank and office, and gave him to wife a daughter of his son Joje, and sent him to Almaligh. It is also stated that Arslan, the chief of the tribe of Kurligh, a dependent of Chungeez Khan, gave him his daughter, and the government of Kialigh.

*The march of Chungeez Khan towards Iran, to revenge the murder of his Ambassadors.*

It is related in different histories, that when Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah conquered Mawurunneher, the roads between Iran and Tooran were well guarded and safe; insomuch that it is stated as an example, if an old woman were to carry a dish full of gold all over the country, there were none hardy enough to molest her. As there were no cities in Moghoolistan where wearing apparel or cloths were made, the merchants of Khorazm Shah's country carried these articles to Chungeez Khan's camp, and obtained thereby great profit. On one occasion several merchants carried property to a large amount to Chungeez Khan's camp; and he sent for the chief of them, and inquired the prices of the articles they had brought. It happened that they fixed a price greatly exceeding the value of the goods; and Chungeez Khan, angry at their dishonesty, inquired of them if they supposed he had never seen such articles before, and ordered his treasurer to bring cloths of the same kind, and show them to the merchants. He next directed a list of the articles to be taken, and afterwards that

the goods should be plundered and the merchants imprisoned. Among the merchants was a man named Amud Khojundi; this man presented himself to Chungeez Khan, and, in order to soothe him, represented that they did not bring these goods for sale, but to make them a present to him. This pleased Chungeez Khan, who then paid them the value of the goods, as estimated by himself; (that is, for a silk garment he gave a balish of gold; and for two garments of cotton, called *vuzund paichi*, a balish of silver;—a balish is five hundred miscals;) and treated them with kindness and attention, providing them with tents and provisions, until they departed, when he made them presents, and desired Kurachar Noyan and his sons to send some honest Mussulmans with these merchants with articles of value, that they might trade and bring in return such goods as they required from Iran.* It is said five hundred Mussulman merchants, with musk and property of great value, accompanied these merchants to Iran. Three ambassadors also accompanied them with a letter from Chungeez Khan to the king of Khorezm, stating that merchants from Iran had arrived in

* Persia.

his camp, that he had treated them well, and that he had also in return sent merchants to Iran for the sale and purchase of goods; that he considered the king of Khorezm as his son; that, as the Almighty had divided the world between them, they ought to endeavour to do good by promoting friendly intercourse and commerce between nations, and assist each other in all good works, that they might deserve the praise and gratitude of mankind. These three ambassadors (whose names were, 1st. Mahummud Khorazm; 2d. Omar; and, 3d. Yousuf), and the merchants, when they arrived at Otrar, visited Oinal Jowk, the governor there on the part of Khorazm Shah, who was entitled Ghair Khan from his relationship with Toorkan Khatoon, the mother of Khorazm Shah.

It happened that one of Chungeez Khan's merchants, a man from Hindostan, knew him in former times, but, on this occasion, unfortunately omitted his title, and inadvertently called him Oinal Jowk. This gave him such offence, that he imprisoned the merchants and confiscated their property.

Among the acts of oppression committed by Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah, was the mur-

der of Shaikh Nujm-ud-deen Baghdadi, whom the sultan, one night when intoxicated, on pretence that he was too intimate with Sultana Khatoon, the mother of the sultan, ordered to be executed. He, however, the next day repented of his fault, and gave many presents of gold and jewels to the durveish of the *khanka** of Shaikh Nujm-ud-deen, that they might intercede with God to obtain pardon for his crime. The religious men, however, replied, that gold and silver could not pay the price of the shaikh's blood, and that the equivalent must be the head of that man who caused his death (meaning the sultan) and those of many thousands besides.

The kingdom of Mawurunneher to the river Fusakut, and Otrar, having devolved to Sultan Mahummud in the year 613, differences arose between him and the Khalif Ameer-el-Momenin Nasir Billah, from several causes, and among the rest, because the khalif had given precedence to the flag of the heretic, Hussun Mulhud, before that of the sultan, in a pilgrimage to Hejaz, and because the khalif had secretly endeavoured to excite the Ghoorians to attack Khorezm. Khorazm Shah, therefore, being much distressed at this, procured a futwa from the learned of his kingdom, that while

* Family.

any of the sons of Fatima were in existence it was not lawful for the khilafat to descend to the sons of Abbas; and, moreover, alleging as a crime that they, the sons of Abbas, had followed the customs and mode of life of the kings of Persia. Having selected these pretences, the sultan ordered the name of the khalif to be omitted in the *khotbeh* or prayers, and appointed a Syud, named Ala'l Moolk Turmuzi, khalif, and then marched with an army to dispossess the Abbassides of the khilafat. When he arrived at Damghan he received news that Atabeg Saud had left Sheeraz to attack the province of Irak. The sultan on this marched towards him, and, on their meeting, a battle was fought, and Atabeg was defeated and taken prisoner. The sultan intended to put him to death; but Atabeg was saved by Mullik Nozun, on condition that he should send a large proportion of the revenue of Fars to the sultan's treasury, and deliver up the forts of Istakhar and Ashkunoon: the son of Atabeg, Aboobukar, was also placed in confinement in the castle of Ashkunoon, and this agreement was fulfilled.

When the sultan marched from Rai to Hamudan, Atabeg Oozbuk, who had advanced from Tabriz to invade Irak, fled. The sultan, how-

ever, refused to allow his troops to follow him, saying that the capture of two kings in one year was an unlucky omen, and that he must be allowed to escape: the Oozbuk, therefore, escaped to Azurbijan. The sultan then marched from Hamudan to Asturabad; but his troops suffered greatly from frost and snow on the mountains on that road, and most of his horses died. and he was in consequence obliged to return to Hamudan. His military character was much injured by this, and his expedition to the Darul khilafut also was unfortunate. At this time messengers arrived from Oinal Jowk, to state that a number of persons with great wealth had arrived from the camp of Chungeez Khan, and that they were proceeding to Iran, apparently with a design to examine and report on the state of that country.

The sultan on hearing this, seduced by the hope of securing their wealth, and without making any inquiry into the circumstances of the case, gave orders that they should all (including the ambassadors of Chungeez Khan) be put to death; and this order was executed by Oinal Jowk, who took possession of their property. [Verses.] "For every drop of blood shed by this barbarous order, a river of blood flowed; and for every hair on

the heads of the victims of this treacherous act, thousands of heads were piled up in revenge. For every grain of silver obtained by this unholy deed, heaps of gold were scattered and wasted."

It happened that, previously, one of the merchants had escaped; and as soon as he heard of the murder of his companions, he returned to the camp of Chungcez Khan, and detailed to him the circumstances as they had occurred. Chungeez Khan, on hearing of the faithless reception, and cruel murder, of his vukeels and merchants, was nearly mad with grief and anger. He refused to eat or take rest, and went out alone to a hill near his camp, where he took off his cap, loosed his waist, and threw himself on the ground, humbling himself in grief before the Almighty (Tunkri). He remained in this state three days and three nights, when the inhabitants of Jubroot (a rank in heaven) lifted up the palms of their hands to say amen; and, it is said, he heard a voice from heaven, saying, he might be certain he would be allowed ample revenge, and that he should severely punish Mahummud Shah and his adherents for this barbarous act. Chungeez Khan, after this illumination, became more tranquil, and returned to his camp. He then

gave orders to assemble his army, and despatched his *towachees* in all directions to collect his troops; he also deputed an *eelchee** to Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah, to inform him that he might now reap that he had sowed, and that he (Mahummud Shah) should prepare to receive him, as he was about to pay him a visit. Chungeez Khan, however, with the caution of his character, before he marched to Iran, determined to quell all disturbances or rebellions in his own country. He accordingly despatched a body of troops, under Jubeh Noyan, to reduce Koshluk Khan, the son of Tabang Khan, chief of the Naimans, and Tokbughan, the son of Tokta Begi, king of the Mukreet tribe.

Koshluk Khan, during his reign over Khotun and Kashghur, had committed every species of violence and oppression; but his chief aim was to root out the Mussulman religion from those countries. Jubeh Noyan, in obedience to the orders of Chungeez, first marched with a large army to Kashghur; and Koshluk Khan, on hearing of his approach, fled to Budukshan. When Noyan arrived at Kashghur, he immediately issued a proclamation, granting the free exercise of religion to people of every persuasion; but he put to death

* Ambassador.

all he found of the Naiman tribe the servants of Koshluk Khan, and ordered out troops in every direction to pursue him. Koshluk Khan sought refuge in the hill country of Budukshan; where he hid himself in the deep recesses of the mountains, from which he could not escape; and the Moghools having demanded him from the hunters of that country, he was there seized, with his followers, and delivered up to the Moghools, who put him to death. The people of Budukshan also plundered all his jewels and treasure. The country of Khotun to Kashghur, and the river Fusakut or Sihoon, thus fell into the possession of Chungeez Khan. To oppose Tokbughan, the son of Tokta Begi, king of the Mukreet, who had separated from Koshluk Khan when he obtained possession of Kashghur and Khotun, and had proceeded to the Kham Kuchuk, Joje Ooglan, the son of Chungeez, was sent with a large force.

When the ambassadors of Chungeez Khan reached Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah, and he was apprized of the approach of Chungeez Khan, he left his son, Rokn-ud-deen in Irak, and Imadul Moolk to assist him in the collection of the revenue, &c., and marched towards Mawurunneher. At Nishapoor the sultan halted

a month, and next proceeded to Bokhara, where he staid from the 8th of Shaban to the 10th Shawal. This time (it being the spring season) he spent in drinking and debauchery. He next assembled all the troops he could collect of that and the neighbouring quarters, and proceeded to Samurkund, which he desired to make his capital.

At the time Sultan Osman rebelled against Goor Khan, and offered his submission to Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah, in whose name he read the *khotbeh*, and struck money; the sultan gave him his daughter, Khan Sooltan, to wife. After that period, however, Sultan Osman rebelled, and was put to death by Sultan Mahummud, who then made Samurkund his capital, and built a Jama musjid there. Sultan Mahummud, on his arrival at Samurkund, gave himself up to idleness and debauchery. At this time, news arrived of the movement of Tokbughan Mukreet, and he was induced by this intelligence to proceed to Jund. When he arrived at Jund, he was informed that Joje, with a great force, was in pursuit of Tokbughan; and he therefore returned to Samurkund, where he collected the remainder of his troops, and again advanced to Jund, and from that towards Joje. When he arrived in the country

between the two rivers Koobli and Kombeh, he fell in with a great number of dead bodies, and streams of blood freshly shed; and after some search a wounded man was found, who told him that the troops of Joje Ooghlan and those of Tokbughan, the son of Tokta Begi the Mukreet, had fought a battle there, and that the latter had been defeated. The sultan immediately pursued the army of Joje, and the next day fell in with him, and they prepared for battle. The troops of Chungeez Khan, however, declined to fight, stating that they were employed on a particular service, and were not authorized to offer any violence to Khorazm Shah. However, when they saw the sultan determined to attack them, they were obliged to form up to oppose him.

The troops of the Moghools on this occasion were not very numerous, they however were choice men, and in the first charge they nearly made the sultan a prisoner; but Julal-ud-deen, the son of Sultan Mahummud, seeing that they had beat the main body of his troops, made a desperate charge, and maintained the fight, with his division, with great constancy and vigour until night. At night, the Moghools retired towards the camp of Chungeez Khan, and on their arrival there, they

detailed the conduct of Khorazm Shah towards them, and Chungeez Khan, burning with rage, immediately ordered his army to assemble.

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*The commencement of the war between Chungeez Khan and Khorazm Shah.*

Khorazm Shah must have been aware a storm was impending, but when he heard of the approach of Chungeez Khan, and recollected the bravery of a handful of Moghool troops in their battle with him, he became greatly alarmed, and retired to Samurkund; the astrologers, also, told him that the signs of the heavens were so unfavourable, that he should for the present avoid every attempt to oppose his enemies, and this still more increased his anxiety.

It is related, that at that time Sultan Mahummud had an army at his command of 400,000 men of all arms; however, after the advance of the Moghools, he despatched Kurachi with ten thousand men to Otrar, to assist Ghair Khan; and he assigned thirty thousand men to the defence of Bokhara. He also left one hundred and ten thousand men to protect Samurkund. Among these troops were sixty thousand Turks, who were commanded by the bravest chiefs in the country;

and fifty thousand were Tachiks, each of them a Rustum in valour; he also appointed thirty thousand men to the defence of his different forts and castles. They also attempted to fill the ditch at Samurkund with water; but the sultan, on seeing it the next day, said, "If the troops that pursue me were each to throw his whip into it, they would fill it." Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah now moved to Nuksheb, and wherever he went he left instructions with the people to seek their safety in flight; and he also despatched his servants to Khorezm, to forward his mother, Turkan Khatoon, his wives and children, with his treasure, to Mazinderan. When his mother received this order, she left the guards belonging to the sultan's children, and a body of troops under the command of their chiefs, to defend Khorezm, and with the rest, and the wives and children of the sultan, proceeded to Mazinderan. The sultan now also consulted with his ministers how he should oppose Chungeez Khan. The most experienced of these were of opinion that nothing could save Mawurunneher, but that measures should be immediately taken to preserve Khorasan and Irak; that every man the sultan had detached to defend his cities should be summoned,

and the whole encamped on the banks of the Jihoon, that the Moghool army might be prevented from crossing the fords of that river. Some, however, were of opinion that it would be best to march towards Ghizni and Hindoostan. The sultan approved of the latter counsel, and moved towards Balkh. At this time the son of Sultan Mahummud, Sultan Rokn-ud-deen, who was in Irak, despatched Imad-ul-Moolk to his father with presents. Imad was a great favourite with the sultan, and from the love of his country, recommended that as the Moghools had taken possession of the country they then occupied, it was best the sultan should proceed towards Irak, where they might collect their forces, and then return. Sultan Julal-ud-deen, who was with his father, condemned this advice, and said, " if the sultan be determined to proceed to Irak, it is better policy that he should give me charge of a force, that I may go and seize the fords of the river Jihoon, to the end that if the Moghools obtain possession of the opposite bank, we may preserve this side." Sultan Mahummud, however, was so confounded at the invasion of the Moghools, that he paid no attention to the advice of his son, and replied, that he had determined not to attempt any decisive move-

ment for the present; and following the advice of Imad-ul-Moolk, marched from Balkh towards Irak. He also sent messengers to the Punjab, to give intelligence of the events which had occurred. At this time news arrived that the Moghools had taken Bokhara, and the sultan now gave himself and his kingdom up as lost. The chief part of his troops at this time were Toorkmans, of the tribe and family of his mother: these were called Kufkulians and Ooranians, and, in these circumstances, these men attempted the life of Khorazm Shah. The cause of this villainy was, that in the court of Sultan Mahummud, a certain Budruddeen had become disaffected, and deserted to Chungeez Khan; he had also written friendly letters to Chungeez Khan, who sent him answers in the same strain, which fell into the hands of one of the confidential servants of Khorazm Shah, and he the shah, in consequence, became suspicious of all his ameers; the ameers also in turn became apprehensive of him, and determined to assassinate him, and an attempt was made one night as above stated; but the sultan having changed his sleeping apartment, it failed. The Toorkmans, &c. concerned in this attempt, all fled to Chungeez Khan, and Sultan Mahummud became doubtful even of the

fidelity of those ameers who remained with him; he therefore despatched them to different stations, and retired to Nishapoor, where he arrived on the 12th Suffur 617 Hejri, or Yullan Eel Toorki; and again, from folly or despair, gave himself up to debauchery.

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*The advance of Chungeez Khan to Iran.*

It is related in the best histories extant, that Chungeez Khan marched with a well-appointed army towards Iran, in the year 615 Hejri (Toosh-kan Eel Toorki). On the route many chiefs with their followers joined him, as Arslan Khan, the chief of the Kurligh tribe, from Kialigh; also Yadakoot the chief of the tribe of Eikoor, from Paish Baligh; also Shuknak Tageen, with his tribe, from Almaligh. The Kirghiz or Kirkiz, however, refused to join him, and Joje was therefore sent to coerce them. Joje marched with a considerable force, and as the rivers were all frozen over, he easily crossed them, and entirely subdued their country, and then returned to his father. As Chungeez Khan advanced he despatched ambassadors to Sultan Mahummud, to apprize him he was coming to take satisfaction for the murder of his honest unoffending merchants and ambassadors.

Chungeez Khan, about this period, despatched Ooktai Khan, and Choghtai Khan, with a great force, to attack Ghair Khan at Otrar. These ameers and their troops swam their horses across the river Sihoon, and encamped before that town. When Ghair Khan and Kurachi Saheb, the chiefs in authority there, saw the extent of the camp of the besieging army, they gave up all hopes of success; they, however, prepared to defend the city. At this time, also, Chungeez Khan despatched Joje, and Yadakoot the chief of the Oighoor tribe, to Jund; and Alak Noyan, Sungtoor, and Bpokaee, with five thousand horse, to Fusakut; Chungeez Khan, with Tooli and the rest of his army, marched to Bokhara, which city is called also Koobbut-ul-Islam.

It is said that the name of this city (Bokhara) is derived from the word Bokhar, which, in the language of the Mughs or Parsees, signifies a school or university, and the idolaters of Oighoor and Khatai call their temples Bokhar. When Chungeez arrived at Zurnook, the people of that town came out to meet him, and their lives and fortunes were spared. The people of Noor also submitted, and paid the tribute demanded, and they also were spared. Chungeez Khan altered

the name of the town of Zurnook to Kutlugh Baligh, which signifies the fortunate city. He selected the young men of this town and took them on to Bokhara, where he arrived in the year 617 Hejri (or Yellan Eel Toorki), and encamped before the city. Kyook Khan, Hameed, Sooneh Khan, and Lushkur Khan, the chiefs who commanded in the city, with thirty thousand men, that night made an attack on the Moghools: but their picquets being aware of the sortie, the besieged were defeated and many slain, and in the morning, as the people of the city from the bad success of their night attack became dispirited, all the chief inhabitants and the learned came out to make peace with Chungeez Khan, and to obtain, by their submission, the safety of the people. Chungeez Khan also now entered the city to inspect it; when he arrived at the *musjidi jama*, or great mosque, seeing its size and grandeur, he entered it, and asked if this was the palace of the king? the people said, no;—he then asked whose it was? and they told him, the house of the Creator of the Universe. Chungeez Khan, on hearing this, immediately dismounted from his horse and went to the second step of the pulpit, where he sat down. He then addressed

his men and told them there was no grass procurable in the fields, and he therefore. desired them to empty the chests of books in the mosque, and fill them with barley and feed their horses in them, which they did, and gave their caps to the learned men who accompanied them, to hold; they then sat down and began to sing Moghool songs. After some time Chungeez Khan departed from the mosque to the Eedgah, where he sat down in the pulpit, and ordered that the people of the town should be assembled; he then told them that the displeasure of God had sent him among them to punish their wickedness; and an interpreter, being present, translated what Chungeez Khan said in the Moghool language, into the Persian language. After he had addressed them in this strain some time, he said, "What is shewn in the city requires no discussion; I want to know and possess what is concealed." The merchants and rich men on this, comprehending his object, consulted and agreed to pay ransom for their lives; a condition was, however, annexed, that they should not conceal any of Khorazm Shah's people amongst them, but that they should be driven out of the city. It is related that, notwithstanding this condition, and

that Chungeez Khan gave his *yurligh*, or orders, that the troops of Khorazm Shah should be expelled the city, and if any were harboured the inhabitants should be put to death; yet the people of the city concealed many of them in their houses. Some Tachiks of Bokhara, however, from malice disclosed this to Chungeez Khan, and orders were issued by him, in consequence, for a general massacre, and the whole of the inhabitants were murdered in cold blood—even animals were included in the general slaughter. The Moghools after this burned the town, and filled up the ditch of the castle, which they also took and set on fire,—after putting Kyook Khan and the whole of the garrison to the sword.*

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*The siege of Otrar.*

It has been before related, that Ooghtaie Khan and Chogtaie Khan had been ordered to attack Otrar, and that they had encamped before that place; they consequently attacked the town vigorously: but the garrison resisted five months, until it was reduced to great extremities. Kurachi, one of the officers of the garrison, at this time

* The word Tatar is applied to the Moghools in the Persian verses inserted here.

became desirous to surrender, but Ghair Khan, *alias* Oinul Jowk, remained stedfast in his faith to Khorazm Shah. One night, however, Kurachi secretly left the town by the Soofi-khaneh gate, with his troops, and surrendered to the Moghools; and the same night the Moghool troops entered by the gate he had quitted, and took the town; they, nevertheless, the next morning murdered Kurachi and all his men in cold blood; pretending that, after resistance, they could not receive them as prisoners; they then drove the whole of the inhabitants of Otrar into the fields, and murdered every soul of them.

Ghair Khan, however, with twenty thousand* men, still remained in the castle, which he defended with great spirit for a month, after which it was also taken and razed to the ground. The Moghools, however, spared some of the people who had sought refuge in it, they being good workmen at different trades. At that time Chungeez Khan had arrived at Samurkund. Ghair Khan was carried prisoner in chains to Kook Serai, and was executed there.

Joje Khan, as has been related, was sent with a force to Jund. When he arrived at Saḳbak,

* This appears an exaggeration.

Hussen Joje, an inhabitant of that city, was sent as an ambassador to demand the submission of the inhabitants; but they, being proud and insolent, killed him. When Joje Khan heard of this, he was greatly enraged, and immediately marched towards the city, which in two days he took, and destroyed most of the inhabitants; and having placed the son of Hussen Joje there as governor, he marched to Yoozkund, which city and Ooshnash were both taken by him.

When amcer Khutluk, the chief of Jund, heard of these events, he became so alarmed that he abandoned his city, and fled by the desert to Khorazm. Joje Khan on this despatched Jymoor in authority to Jund, that he might reduce the people to obedience. When Jymoor arrived at Jund, as there was no chief there at that time to restrain the people of the town, they made an assault on him to kill him. Jymoor, by fair words and professions, however, got clear of them, and returned to Joje Khan, to describe his reception; Joje, on hearing it, marched to Jund, and took the city by escalade without opposition. It is worthy remark, that none of the people were killed except those who insulted Jymoor; the city was, however, plundered for fourteen days,

during which the inhabitants were expelled—it was also razed to the ground. Ali Khwaja, who was the Ghujdowan* of Bokhara, was appointed governor. A force was next despatched to take possession of Yarcheen, and darogahs having been appointed to both these cities, Joje returned to join his father.

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## *Of the Expedition of Alak Noyaun to Fusakut and Khojund.*

As has been before mentioned, Alak Noyaun was ordered to proceed to Khojund and Fusakut, and when he arrived at the latter place, he found that the chief Aneeko Mullik, with a large force, had entered the town from Kultean, and was prepared to defend it,—the attack and defence, however, only lasted three days, for on the fourth the garrison asked for quarter; they were, however, with the inhabitants, their wives and children, taken out of the city and murdered, as usual, by the villainous Moghools, in cold blood: and after the plunder of the city the Moghools marched to Khojund. Mullik Timoor, who was famous for his bravery, was at that time chief of Khojund; he had built a fort in the river of Khojund, or Sihoon, where two branches of the river met, and this

* There appears to be some mistake in this word.

fort was garrisoned by one thousand chosen and trusty men; he also took his station in it, well prepared for the siege. As the engines of the Moghools did not reach the fort, the young men of Khojund were carried thither as artisans, and the Moghools called for aid from all the countries they had subdued, until fifty thousand workmen of their dependants and twenty thousand Moghools were assembled. The former were divided into tens and hundreds, and one Moghool was allotted to eighteen Tachiks; the Tachiks were employed in filling the river with earth. Mullik Timoor had made twelve decked boats, which were covered with wet blankets and a composition of earth and vinegar, to prevent their being injured by fire or arrows. These boats were every morning despatched, six on one side and six on the other, and having ports or windows, did great service during the siege; when, however, the garrison became distressed for provisions, he prepared eighty boats of the same kind for their escape, and leaving all their property, their wives and children, in the fort, they embarked, and sailed down the river; the Moghool army following and attacking them from the banks. When the boats arrived at Fusakut they

found a chain had been laid across the river, to prevent their passing; they, however, broke it on the first onset, and after passing Fusakut, landed at the first convenient place to retire to the desert, —the Moghools, however, still followed them, but were kept at bay by Mullik Timoor; but, after some days' pursuit, the greater part of Mullik Timoor's men were killed and wounded, and all their baggage taken; the Moghools still pursuing him, and his few followers at length being all killed or taken, he alone remained, with no other means of defence than three arrows. In this plight, he was attacked by three Moghools, one of whom he blinded with one of his arrows, and the two others having seen many examples of his bravery and strength, and being apprehensive of the same fate, at length quitted him and returned. Mullik Timoor after this went to Khorezm, and having collected a force returned to Kusb, near which place he joined Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah, and told him it was absurd to oppose the Moghools, as their numbers and courage precluded all chance of success; this still more increased the fears and apprehensions of the sultan.

When Alak Noyaun had conquered Khojund, he returned to join Chungeez Khan, and arrived in his camp after the destruction of Samurkund.

Chungeez Khan, hearing of the beauty, population, and strength of the city of Samurkund, and of the numerous garrison that defended it, immediately marched to subdue Mawurunneher, with a multitude of workmen from Bokhara and its vicinity; he, however, left detachments of troops to besiege the forts of Duboos and Siripul. Chungeez Khan, on his arrival at Samurkund, encamped at the Kodik Seraic, and spent two days in reconnoitring the walls of the city. On the third, however, the chiefs of the city, Imtiaz Khan, Shaikh Khan, Bula Khan, Alut Jan, &c. with a large force made a sortie, and a battle ensued, in which the troops of Mahummud Khorazm Shah displayed the greatest gallantry and devotion. The killed were numerous on both sides, but a number of Moghools were taken prisoners and carried into the city.

The next day Chungeez Khan ordered his troops to occupy the gates and ditch of the town, so as to prevent the horse from making another sortie. That day the fight was maintained from the walls with great spirit, but the garrison became alarmed

at the execution done by the engines of the Moghools, and they in consequence divided into two factions, one of which was for surrendering, and the other for defending the city.

At night, therefore, the religious men of the city assembled, and went out to make terms with Chungeez Khan, who received them with kindness, and gave them hopes of his favour, and permission to return to the city. Peace being in a manner made, at the time of prayers the gate of the Nimaz Gah, or place of prayer, was opened, and the Moghools allowed to enter, and they plundered the city all that day and night without intermission, and drove the whole of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, with the exception of the families of the religious men above-mentioned, into the fields, and then sacked the city, and killed all those persons they found concealed in it; the lives of the rest, amounting to more than fifty thousand, were spared. The garrison of the citadel still, however, remained untouched, and the next morning Aluti Jan, one of the chiefs of Sultan Mahummud, made a sortie with one thousand men, and attacked the Moghools, and gallantly fighting his way through the whole of the Moghool army, made his way to the sultan.

The next day the Moghools attacked the citadel of Samurkund, and between the hours of prayer took it, and put to the sword the whole of the garrison, with the chiefs of the army of Khorazm Shah, many of whom were Turks of the Kunkuli tribe; as Bursumas Khan, Toghaie Khan, Alaj Khan, &c. Of the inhabitants, about thirty thousand artificers were selected by the Moghools as slaves, and for the rest, 200,000 dinars were exacted as the price of their heads. This took place in the year Hejri 617, or Yeelan Eel Toorki.

While Chungeez Khan was besieging Samurkund he heard that Sultan Mahummud had crossed the Jihoon at the Turmuz ford, and that he had detached most of his army to guard his forts and passes.* Chungeez Khan immediately assembled his officers, and proposed to them that the sultan should be attacked whilst his army was weak, and before he could receive any accession to his force. It was accordingly settled at this consultation that three commanders of Tomans, Jubeh Noyaun, Sowidai Bahadoor, and Tokchar Noyaun, with

* The policy of Khorazm Shah, in thus dispersing his army among his cities and passes, can never be sufficiently condemned. If he with all his force was not able to contend with Chungeez, how could he expect his detachments and garrisons could arrest the overwhelming forces of the Moghools?

thirty thousand Moghools, should proceed to attack the sultan, and that they should take no rest until they had secured him, after which they were to return home by the route of Kupchak :* (this occurred in the year 617). And, to carry this plan into effect, these three accursed infidels marched, and destroyed every city they approached, with its inhabitants, and they also ravaged the countries they passed through so effectually, that no vestige of the population remained. In this way they passed the Jihoon to Balkh, and through the countries of Khorasan, Irak, Azurbijan, and Sheerwan; and then, returning by Durbund and the desert of Kupchak, they entered their own *yourut* (country), and rejoined the camp of Chungeez Khan. Their *yourish* (expedition) in detail is as follows: they marched first to Balkh and then to Herat, where the chief, Mullik Babuli, despatched an ambassador to them, and for this reason he was not molested. They then continued their pursuit of Khorazm Shah, and when their advance reached him, Tokchar Noyaun attacked his rear-guard,

* C'est de ce pays de Capsat que sont venues en Europe toutes les inondations des Huns, des Getes ou Gots, de Gegides, des Vandales ou Alains, et même des Suedois.—*Histoire Ghenghis Khan*, p. 42.

and, although the sultan took care to inform him he agreed to be subject and obedient to Chungeez Khan, he affected not to hear or understand him; the sultan, therefore, was obliged to prepare for battle. In the engagement which followed, Tokchur Noyaun was killed, and his troops retreated, and joined the other two ameers who were following in the rear. At the same time Jubeh Noyaun and Sowidai Bahadoor arrived at Zaweh, the inhabitants of which place shut their gates on them; but, as the Moghools were seeking Sultan Mahummud, they did not pay any attention to Zaweh, and passed on. The people of Zaweh, however, from extreme folly, no sooner saw them pass, than they threw their gates open, beat their *nagaras* (kettle-drums), and followed the Moghools, abusing and reviling them. This was too much to be borne, and the chiefs of the Moghools returned, and after a siege of three days took the town, and destroyed every living creature in it. The Moghools next marched towards Nishapoor, and it is remarkable, the author says, that they never appeared to halt, but their cavalry continued always rolling on like the waves of the sea.

When Sultan Mahummud heard that the Moghools had arrived near Nishapoor, and that they

did not molest any other chief, but continued solely occupied in pursuit of him, he was so struck with fear, that he now thought only of concealing himself; he accordingly sent his women to the fort of Kuroon, and sought a place of strength to retire to himself; while he was consulting, however, what he should do, the clouds of dust raised by the Moghool horse appeared near Nishapoor, and the sultan immediately fled towards Khorasan, leaving Fukhr-ul-Moolk, Abool Mali, Katib, Jami, Zeaul Moolk, &c. to defend Nishapoor. When the sultan arrived at Rai, he hearing the Moghools were in his vicinity, repented him of his journey to Irak and retired to Kazvin. His son, Sultan Zien-ud-deen, with thirty thousand men of the troops of Irak, was encamped at Kazvin, and when he heard of the approach of his father joined him, and the same day the sultan despatched his son, Sultan Giaus-ud-deen, with his mother and women, to the *duj* or fort of Kuroon, and to the care of Taj-ud-deen Toghan; he also sent a messenger to Nussr-ud-deen Huzaurusp, who was a dependent of the former kings of Khorezm.

When Jubeh Noyaun and Sowidai Bahadoor arrived at Nishapoor, they seized every one they met and put him to the torture, to compel him to declare

where Sultan Mahummud was. At this time the ambassador of Mujdul Moolk Kafi, Fureed-ud-deen, and Zeaul Moolk Rowzuni, the chief persons of Khorasan, arrived; they requested that an ambassador might be sent to them by Chungeez Khan, and despatched three persons in charge of presents, tendering their submission. Mujdul Moolk also sent a message that he was an old man and of no value, and that if they conquered the sultan he would be their slave. Noyaun, in reply, wrote to them a letter in the Oighoor character, stating that God had given Chungeez Khan the country from the east to the west; that whoever opposed him would be destroyed, and whoever obeyed him would be exalted: he then took *kulavuz* or tribute, and departed towards Irak in pursuit of Khorazm Shah. Jubeh proceeded to Mazindaran, and Sowidai to Toos, both destroying all who opposed them, particularly at Amul, where all the inhabitants were massacred.

Jubeh Noyaun now moved to the fort of Ellal, in which were the mother and wives of Khorazm Shah, where he was joined by many of their troops, and on the road destroyed the city of Rai, murdering all the inhabitants thereof, men, women, and children.

During this period Sultan Mahummud was seeking an asylum; and Mullik Nusr-ud-deen Huzarusp arrived from Kurdistan, and was received with great distinction. On being asked his advice in these difficulties, he recommended Sultan Mahummud to retire to a hill-fort between Loor and Pars,* called Boong, or Sook, where he said he could raise one hundred thousand foot, if necessary, to defend the passes and oppose the Moghools. Sultan Mahummud, however, saw that his object in this advice, was merely to reduce or keep in check the Atabeg of Pars; the sultan, therefore, moved to Kazvin, where he heard of the capture of Rai, by Noyaun. The sultan, with sorrow, now retired towards the fort of Kuroon Duj, but on the road most of his troops deserted him; the Toorkmans also met and attacked him and wounded his horse, but when they recognized him they allowed him to pass on with his followers.

The sultan on his route passed by Kuroon Duj; he, however, did not halt there, but pursued his way to Gélan. The Moghools, who pursued him on their arrival at Kuroon Duj, halted and immediately besieged it; but hearing the sultan

* The provinces of Looristan and Fars.

was not there, they left a party to continue the siege, and one division moved off in pursuit of him. The sultan, on his arrival at Gélan, only halted there seven days; the chief of Gélan, Tolghook, however, pressed him to stay, but he was too much afraid of the Moghools to remain, and fled to Asterabad. On his arrival at Asterabad he lost all his treasure, but still continuing his route, he marched to a fort depending on Amal, and thence proceeded to the Caspian Sea, and secreted himself in one of the islands of Tusloon; but the place of his abode becoming known, he moved to the island of Abgoon. About the time of his departure a body of Moghools sent by Jubeh Noyaun from Rai, arrived to search for him, but as they did not find him they returned to Kuroon Duj, in which castle were some of the wives and children of Sultan Mahummud. The garrison of this fort defended it well, and not a few Moghools fell before the place; at last, however, it was taken by assault, and levelled with the ground, and the treasure, wives and children, of Mahummud Shah in it, fell into the hands of the Moghools.—[*The manuscript is defective here two or three lines.*]—The Moghools next proceeded to besiege the fort of Eelal, which contained all the remainder of the

wives of Sultan Mahummud, and, by the command of the Almighty Avenger of blood, as long as Turkan Khatoon (the mother of Sultan Mahummud) remained in the fort no rain fell, a circumstance which had never happened before;—the castle being provided with a number of reservoirs, which in other times were always full,—the water, however, now failed, and Nasir-ud-deen, the wuzeer, and Tur Khan Khatoon were obliged to descend and surrender themselves and their wealth to the Moghools.* The treasure taken in gold and jewels is said to have been immense. The whole of the prisoners were sent to Chungeez Khan, who, on their arrival at Samurkund, ordered that the wuzeer Nasir-ud-deen and all the male children of Sultan Mahummud, however young, should be put to death.

The unfortunate Sultan Mahummud, when he heard of the capture of his mother, wives, and children, was so smitten with grief that he became distracted, and his heart bursting with anguish, he died:—*Koran*, "we belong to God, and to God we must return." It is related that the few servants who remained with the poor king were unable to

* The author says, as soon as they descended the rain fell in great quantities.

procure a cloth to bury him in, and they therefore interred him in the clothes he had on when he died. This event occurred in 617 Hejri, at the island of Abgoon. Sultan Mahummud reigned twenty-one years, by the account of the author of the Tarikhi Gozeedeh.

Sultan Mahummud had seven sons; of these, sultans Julal-ud-deen, Ghiaus-ud-deen, and Rokn-ud-deen, are the most celebrated by historians.

When Chungeez Khan had taken Samurkund, and reduced the whole of Mawurunneher, he despatched his sons, Joje, Chughtaie, and Ooktaie to root out of Khorezm all the connexions and servants of Sultan Mahummud. These princes, with an immense army, accordingly took the road to Bokhara, and thence to Khorezm. Khorezm was at that time under charge of Khumurtgeen, one of the relations of Sultan Mahummud's mother. The original name of Khorezm is Jurjania; but the people of that part call it Orgunj. It is related that, at the time that Kurmutgeen was chief of Khorezm, several other chiefs of Sultan Mahummud's were also there; as Kankuli Hajib, Pehlwan Ali, &c. The nobles and learned of the city were also very numerous, and the inhabitants without number. It happened, however,

that none of the princes were there, that they might take the conduct of affairs on them; and the people, therefore, gave the name of sultan to Khumurtgeen. He and they were, however, very remiss in their preparations to oppose the Moghools; for before they were completed, of a sudden, a party of horse appeared at the gate of the city, and began to drive off the cattle. The people foolishly supposed these were the whole of the Moghool force, not thinking of the army which followed them; and, accordingly, all the horse and foot in the town poured out to attack them, and pursued them to a garden called Khorm Bagh, about a fursung from the city, when the Booroonghar becoming the *munkulaie*, or advanced guard, of the Moghools, charged them in front and rear at the same time. The fight was, however, steadily maintained on both sides until the sun went down, when the brave Moghools followed them even into the gate of the city; but, as night approached, they with their usual caution retired.

The next morning, the Turks advanced towards the city; and a man named Feridoon Oodi, who was an old soldier of Sultan Mahummud Khorezm Shah's, with five hundred chosen men, was stationed at the gate they approached. The Mo-

ghools stood the whole of that day before the town; and the next day, Joje Khan, Chughtaie Khan, and Ooktaie Khan arrived with an immense army; and, after sending a messenger to require the city to surrender, they and their troops, like the harbingers of death, surrounded it on every side. After these preliminaries they next began to prepare their engines for the siege, and as stones were not to be found, they sharpened stakes and trees in place of them. As soon as they were ready, they commenced their attack, which was supported without intermission for seven months.

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*The march of Chungeez to the city of Turmuz.*

Chungeez Khan, after taking Mawurunneher and despatching his sons to Khorezm, halted at Samurkund during the spring, and then moved on to Nukhsheb, and having fattened his horses in the meadows and pastures of the river Khooshgar, at the end of the summer advanced towards Turmuz, called also the city of Men,* to which place he despatched a messenger, requiring the people to submit to him. They, however, refused; and

* مدينة آلرجال

Chungeez Khan marched to Turmuz, and encamped at a place called Dubdubeh, and commenced the siege of that place. The people of Turmuz left no means untried to oppose the Moghools; but, after a siege of ten days, Chungeez Khan ordered a general assault, and the town was taken, and the walls and bastions thrown into the river Jihoon. It is related that the total destruction of the city and fort was effected by the Moghools in ten days.*

The Moghools, after taking the city, slaughtered the whole of the inhabitants, men, women, and children;† and then marched to Lungurut and Samana, which they treated in the same manner.

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*Chungeez Khan crosses the Jihoon, and despatches his son Tooli to Men.*

At the expiration of the winter season, or Zi Huj, Hejri 617, Chungeez Khan crossed the ford of Turmuz to Balkh; and the chiefs and people there advanced to meet him with presents, and

* The author states that Turmuz was a virgin city, having never been taken, and that Alexander the Great besieged it six years without effect, and was at last obliged to make some compact with the inhabitants, and retire.

† The Moghools are said to have opened the bodies of the slain, conceiving they might have swallowed jewels or pearls.

offered their submission. Chungeez Khan, however, declined receiving the latter, not placing dependence in them; as at this period Sultan Julal-ud-din, the son of Sultan Mahummud, was creating disturbances in that part of the country. He, therefore, ordered the whole of the inhabitants to quit the city, and then murdered the males, great and small, at his leisure. He, however, reserved the women and female children. Some few Tachiks were also spared; and they, it is said, reported to Chungeez Khan that the chief people of the city, before they went to meet him, secreted the servants and soldiers of Sultan Mahummud in their houses, and that they were only in outward appearance obedient. For this reason he ordered part of the walls or dykes of the lake Gholaman Kushmushum to be thrown down by the troops of Hulaku Khan, and that the water that was contained in it should be allowed to flow into the city of Balkh. It is said that, in consequence, it remained six months under water; and at this day the marks of the water are shown on the walls of the musjid of Huzrut Khwaja Kabulakhbur. The whole of the servants of Sultan Mahummud concealed in the city were, therefore, drowned. At this time intelligence was received

by Chungeez Khan than Sultan Rokn-ud-deen, the son of Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah, had left Isfahan, and had advanced, by the road of Rai, to the fort of Feeroze Koh, in Khorasan. For this reason Hulaku Khan, the son of Tooli Khan, was detached with a large army, by the route of Pusso Koh and Jokhcheran, to attack that fort.

It is related in different histories, that Sultan Rokn-ud-deen Ghoor Sanja, the son of Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah, when his father retired to the island of Abgoon proceeded to Kirman, and having taken possession of the treasure of Mullik Zowzun, marched thence to Isfahan, the inhabitants of which city opposed him, and an affray ensued, in which many were killed on both sides. Sultan Rokn-ud-deen being thus compelled to retire from Isfahan, turned his steps towards the fort of Feeroze Koh, where he remained a short time. When news arrived that Hulaku Khan was approaching by the road of Pussa Koh, Jokhcheran, Walishun, &c. with a large army, Sultan Rokn-ud-deen fortified himself in Feeroze Koh, and defended it most gallantly for six months.

It is related, that when Hulako left his grandfather to proceed by the road of Pusso Koh to

Feeroze Koh, from the rugged nature of the country and roughness of the roads his horses were almost all lamed, and he was obliged to leave them behind; a detachment was, however, left to take care of them, with orders not to quit the place until Hulako returned. After the fort of Feeroze Koh was taken, Tooli Khan arrived in Khorasan, and Hulako went by the road of Chisht and Obeh, and Shafilan, to meet him, and thence by Khorasan to join his father, and the men and lame horses were forgotten. These people being unable to deviate from their orders, in time connected themselves with the Hazaras in that neighbourhood, and their posterity increasing, their place of residence was called Moori Sutur Gae—*moori*, signifying a horse in the Moghool language, and *sutur gae*, lame.

When Hulako's army conquered the troops of Sultan Rokn-ud-deen, the son of Sultan Mahummud, and took him prisoner, the sultan was carried to Tooli Khan in Khorasan; and although every method was tried to make him kneel and do homage to Tooli Khan, the chief of the army, they all failed, for the sultan knew he should certainly be put to death, and was determined not to do his enemy so much honour. As he

expected, he was slain with all his adherents, in the beginning of the year 619 Hejri, agreeing with Kowi Eel Toorki.

When Chungeez Khan had taken Balkh, he despatched Tooli Khan and Toghachar Noyaun Goor Kan, to reduce the province of Khorasan; to give them a respectable force, he selected every tenth man of his army to proceed with them, and his historians state that this tenth of his army amounted to eighty thousand men. When the troops arrived in Khorasan, they besieged a fort on a mountain, called the Silver Mountain, and employed their engines and every effort to take it: but the fort being very strong, it took them eight months to reduce it.

We left Joje, Chughtaie, and Ooktaie Khan, besieging Khorezm, which city, from the contention that arose between Joje and Chughtaie, held out seven months. Chungeez Khan was informed of this misunderstanding, and that when one attacked the city the other withdrew his aid, and that, in consequence, Khorezm was not yet taken, and he therefore despatched letters and a vukeel to his army at Khorezm, ordering them to obey his youngest son Ooktaie, and Ooktaie only, on pain of death. When his vu-

keel and letters arrived, the whole of the army repaired to Ooktaie Khan and offered him their obedience, and Ooktaie Khan visited his brethren, and making known his father's orders by fair words and promises, reconciled them. After this was effected, they commenced a fresh attack on Khorezm, and as the ditch was full of water, Ooktaie ordered his troops and followers to fill it up with earth; this being done, ladders were planted against the walls, and the standards of the Moghools soon waved on their crest, and they entered the city; the different mahls and quarters of the city were, however, shut up, and the fight was maintained by the inhabitants for several days, as every house stood a siege. The number of killed in these battles was immense. At last, when the city was subdued, the Moghools separated the artizans, women, and children from the others, and drove the rest out of the city, where they were divided among the troops, and massacred without remorse; it is said that every Moghool is supposed to have slain twenty-four men.

At the time Chungeez Khan despatched an army to Khorezm, he also sent a messenger to Shaikh Nujm-ud-deen, to inform him that as his

troops were about to attack Khorezm, and it was likely the city would be taken, he recommended the Shaikh to leave the city with his family and dependents, that they might receive no injury. The Shaikh in reply said, that he had lived seventy years in Khorezm, and that it would be most unworthy in him to quit his countrymen in time of distress; that as he had passed many happy days among them, it would be unmanly to refuse to participate in their misfortunes. When the city was taken, the Shaikh was put to death among those driven out of the city; this occurred in the year 618 Hejri.* It is said that Mulana Roomi has alluded to the Shaikh's death in his works.

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*The remainder of the expedition of Tooli Khan to Khorasan.*

When Tooli Khan marched to Khorasan, Toghachar Goor Kan with ten thousand men proceeded to Nishapoor. Mujdul Moolk Kafi, Omr Raji, and other chiefs being there, they made every pre-

* It is said that, when the shaikh was slain, he seized the spear-head of the Moghool appointed to put him to death, and held it so firmly that no one could remove it; and it was cut off the spear, and remained in his hand after his death.

paration to oppose the Moghools, and among the rest they placed three thousand engines for shooting arrows,* and three hundred engines for throwing stones† on the walls. On Wednesday, in the month of Rumzan, the Moghools arrived and the siege began, and was maintained without intermission for three days; and on the Friday of that week, Toghachar Goor Kan was killed by an arrow shot from the bastion Karakosh.

It is related by Ameer Khojundi, that he was the younger brother of Kurachar Noyaun, and the son-in-law of Chungeez Khan.

After Toghachar Goor Kan was killed, the Moghool chief Noorkar Noyaun divided his army, and half their force marched in the direction of Subzwar; the remainder continued the siege, and after three days' hard fighting, Nishapoor was taken in the middle of the day, and it is said that seventy thousand men were killed on the occasion of its capture.

The half of this army that had remained then proceeded to Toos, and taking several cities on the road, massacred all the inhabitants.

Tooli Khan after this marched to Men, and on his route, collected from the towns which had

* *Teerchirkeh.* † *Ghiradeh* and *manjunick.*

submitted to him, as Sirkhosh, Abewurd, &c., seventy thousand archers. When the Moghools arrived near Men, after destroying certain forts and castles on the road, four hundred Moghool horse who preceded the army, advanced up to the gates of the city. The same morning twelve thousand Turks of the Suljook tribe, who had separated from their horde, also advanced to the gates of the city for plunder, and as the Turks and Moghools did not recognize each other, they fought, and the Toorkmans being defeated, the Moghools pursued them to their tents and killed a great number, and those that escaped the Moghools, threw themselves into the Men rood, or river, and were all drowned, and their cattle and sheep fell into the hands of the Moghools.

The next day, which was the 1st of Mohurrum 618, Tooli Khan, with five hundred horse, arrived at the Feroze gate of Men, and encamped there after examining the defences of the city, and six days were spent by him in the same manner.

Mookhbir ul Moolk the chief of Men, had separated from Sultan Mahummud at one of the islands in the Caspian sea, and had assumed the government of the city, and being the son of a woman of the zenana of Sultan Mahummud, who

had been consigned to his nominal father when she was with child, he consequently considered himself a very great man.

On the seventh day, the Moghools being all assembled, they encamped round the gates of Men and commenced their attack. The garrison made some vigorous sallies, but without effect; the Moghools surrounded the city so closely, that it became impossible any one should escape.

The next night, also, the Moghools kept strict watch that no one should escape; and as Mokhbir ul Moolk saw there was no hope of defending the city, and no resource but submission, he despatched one of the chiefs of Men, named Jumal-ud-deen, to Tooli Khan, with presents of great value, to beg quarter; and having received a flattering answer, he next proceeded to Tooli Khan himself.

On his arrival, Tooli Khan required him to give a statement of the condition of the city and the wealth it contained, and Mokbir ul Moolk having answered his inquiries, by naming two hundred of the richest inhabitants, the Moghools took possession of the city, and destroyed the defences, and the whole of the people were expelled, and, with the exception of four hundred artizans, and a few boys and girls made slaves, the remaining

population, men, women, and children, were put to the sword. It is related that Azuddin Nisabi, with other writers, were employed sixteen days in counting the dead bodies.* When the Moghools had finished their bloody work, Tooli Khan made Ameer Zeauddeen Ali (a religious man, who had been spared, from the sanctity of his life), governor of the city, and Barmas darogah, and leaving a number of strangers with them, marched towards Nishapoor. After the Moghools had departed, all those persons who had secreted themselves in holes and corners came out, and about five thousand people assembled at Men. At this time a body of Moghools, who were following the army, arrived, and demanded their share of the unfortunate people of Men: those people, therefore, who had escaped before, were now slain.

About this time also news arrived that Puhlwan Aboobukir Dewan and Shums-ud-deen Mahummud had caused some disturbance at Sirkhus; Ameer Zea-ud-deen, therefore, with a detachment, marched thither; and Barmas, with some artisans of Men, encamped outside the town, being about

* The author says, three hundred of the inhabitants of Men fell to the share of each Moghool.

to proceed to Bokhara. The remainder of the people, conceiving he was about to flee from the city from fear of Mahummud Khorazm Shah, rebelled; and Barmas sent men into the town, and put to death the ringleaders, and then proceeded to Bokhara.

Zea-ud-deen, after this, returned to Men, and rebuilt the walls of the town, and a number of people assembled round him. At this time Kostgeen, a servant of Sultan Mahummud Shah, arrived with a large force, and commenced the siege of Men. Ameer Zea-ud-deen, finding he could not defend the city, retired with the Moghools to Maraghah. Kostgeen, therefore, took possession of Men, and began to rebuild it: the people of the city, however, sent a letter to Zea-ud-deen, inviting him to return; and he did so, and encamped at the gate of Men. Kostgeen, however, hearing of his arrival, despatched a party to seize him; and knowing his safety depended on his destruction, put him to death. A few days after, a party of two hundred horse proceeding to Keeko, a detachment moved on to Nuksheb, and again informed Toormai and Kubai, ameers of Chungeez, of what had happened at Men; and in a few days five thousand men were despatched to

Men, under two chiefs named Toormai and Akmulik, who took the city, and put to death all those who remained in it. Akmulik was left in charge with a detachment, and Toormai returned to Nuksheb.

Tooli Khan in the mean time marched with his army and engines towards Nishapoor, and notwitstanding the city is built of stone, all the stones in the neighbourhood were collected, to be employed in battering it; and a harvest of stones was showered on the city, the tenth part of which did not take effect. The people of the city, seeing the Moghools a different people from what they expected to find them, and that they had several thousand engines casting arrows continually on the walls, and three hundred battering engines, besides naphtha and other implements of attack, began to despair of success in opposing the Moghools, and they despatched the kazi, Rokn-ud-deen Ali, the son of Ibrahim Moghunni, to Tooli Khan, to offer their submission and tribute. Tooli Khan, however, refused to receive either; and he returned, and on Tuesday, the 12th Suffer, the siege re-commenced, and continued till Friday, when the walls of the town were broken down in many places, and the

water in the ditch drawn off. The siege, however, continued with great vigour, but the garrison still defended themselves with such courage that the Moghools could only establish themselves at the foot of the wall, and a sortie was made from the Patan gate. That day until night, the Moghools succeeded in clearing the walls of their defenders; and on the night of Saturday, the Moghools obtained possession of the walls, and entered the town, where they commenced to plunder and murder the inhabitants. The chief object, however, of their search was Mokhbir ul Moolk, who was at last found in a mine, and in order that they might sooner kill him he gave them every abusive term he could apply to them: they therefore put him to death, and the whole of the inhabitants were driven into the fields and then slaughtered, in revenge for the death of Toghachar Goor Kan, the son-in-law of Chungeez Khan; the city was destroyed, and its site ploughed up, and it is said not even a cat or a dog was left alive, and moreover that the daughters of Chungeez Khan, who were in the Moghool camp, with their servants, entered the city and killed all the people they could lay hands on, in revenge for the death of their brother. Some few artisans, about forty,

were however spared, and sent to Turkistan. The fortifications and all the respectable buildings were levelled with the ground, and the ground sown with barley. It is stated in the histories of Khorasan, that the killed at Nishapoor were so numerous that it took twelve days to count them.

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*The expedition of Tooli Khan to Herat.*

Tooli Khan, after this exploit marched to Herat, where on his arrival he encamped in a meadow near the town, and despatched a vukeel, named Zumboor, to direct that the mullik ameers, kazies, &c. of the city should come out to make their submission to him, that they might not be destroyed. At that time Mullik Shums-ud-deen Mahommud Jorjani was governor of Herat, on the part of Sultan Julal-ud-deen, the son of Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah; as soon as he heard of the arrival of Tooli Khan, he began to prepare on all sides for his reception.

It is related, that at that period there were near 100,000 fighting men at Herat and in its vicinity.

When the ambassador of Tooli Khan arrived, therefore, the mullik put him to death, and said he hoped that day would never arrive when he should obey the commands of an infidel. Tooli

Khan, on hearing of this barbarous action, immediately surrounded the city, and ordered every man taken to be put to death. In the seven days' siege that followed, the Moghools made many attacks, and lost seventeen hundred men of rank and respectability; and Shums-ud-deen, the governor of the city, was also killed by an arrow from the Moghool assailants. The people of the city, however, now divided; the kazies and great men being desirous to surrender. It happened at this time, the eighth day, that Tooli Khan, having drawn up his troops opposite the Feerozabad gate, advanced to the ditch with a few men, and called out to the garrison that he was the son of Chungeez Khan, and that, if they wanted to preserve their lives and those of their families, they must surrender immediately; that they should only pay half the revenue they paid to Sultan Julal-ud-deen; and he also took an oath that these terms should be observed.

The people of the city, on hearing Tooli Khan's propositions, immediately surrendered, and opened their gates; and Ameer Az-ud-deen Hervi, the chief of the cloth-weavers, first visited Tooli Khan, with a present of fine cloths, and after him all the chiefs and people in the city. Tooli Khan re-

ceived them with kindness. However, twelve hundred men, who were the servants of Sultan Julal-ud-deen, were put to death; but no injury was offered to the other people of the city. Mullik Aboubuker Mursufi was appointed governor of Herat, with a Moghool named Mongtaie, as police-officer; and Tooli, after collecting his spoil, marched towards his father's camp.

Mullik Aboubuker and Mongtaie governed Herat for some time to the satisfaction of all parties; but, as the destruction of this city was decreed by fate, after a short period intelligence was received there that Sultan Julal-ud-deen had arrived at Purwan, a town between Bamian and Ghizni, and that he had defeated the troops of Chungeez Khan and dispersed them. When this news arrived in Khorasan, there was a governor (*foujdar*), and a learned man or news-writer, on the part of Chungeez Khan, in each town. These were immediately murdered by the inhabitants, from a foolish belief that Chungeez Khan could not oppose Julal-ud-deen in the field. The people of Herat, also, having combined and rebelled, murdered Aboubuker and the Moghool foujdar Moongtaie, with all their followers; and they then made Mullik Mobariz-ud-deen Subzwari, who had

just arrived from Feeroze Koh, their governor, and placed the government of the province in the hands of Khwajeh Fukhr-ud-deen Iraki, an experienced man: they also unanimously agreed to defend themselves against Chungeez Khan. When this intelligence reached Chungeez Khan he was much displeased, and severely reproached Tooli Khan for having spared the lives of the inhabitants of Herat; and then despatched Eeljudaie Noyaun, who is also called Eelchukdaie, with eighty thousand Moghools, to that city, and ordered him to spare no living creature in it. Eeljudaie marched in the month of Shuwal 618, and on reaching Herat encamped on the river there, where he ordered his men to prepare for the siege in one month. He was also joined here by fifty thousand men, horse and foot, from different parts of Khorasan.

In the city, Mullik Mobariz-ud-deen and Kwaja Fukhr-ud-deen, with other ameers, also prepared for the siege, and all agreed to die in defence of the place. Eelchukdaie, in about a month when he had completed his arrangements, surrounded the city with detachments of thirty thousand men each, threatening them with severe punishment

if they did not do their duty, and promising them rewards if they did, and the siege commenced; the garrison and people of the town, who knew their lives would not be spared, fought with desperation, and the troops of the Moghools with their engines and naphtha, burned and destroyed all the buildings and defences of the town. In this way the siege continued for seven months, until, in the beginning of 619 Hejri, Eelchukdaie Noyaun made a great effort to take the city, and repeated his assaults day after day until from the force of his engines, upwards of one hundred feet of the wall gave way and at once fell down, and four hundred Moghools posted and entrenched themselves in the breach. The people of the city, however, in this state, defended themselves against the Moghools for three days; but at length, from the numbers in the city and total want of provisions they became divided into two parties; and on a Friday, in the month of Jumadi-ul Avul 619 Hejri, the Moghools entered the city by a ruined bastion, and Eelchukdaie ordered all the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, to be put to the sword; the Moghools afterwards destroyed the houses and defences, and filled up

the ditch. It is related, that the Moghools were employed seven days in the massacre of the people, and the destruction of their habitations.

Eelchukdaie Noyaun, on the eighth day, departed from Herat and marched towards Kashghur, not leaving a vestige of the city; the spoil taken was sent to Chungeez Khan; on his arrival at Oobeh he detached one thousand horse to Herat, that they might put to death any of the inhabitants who might have hidden themselves or escaped.

It is related that, except Molana, Shurf-uddeen Khatib Chugrutan, and fifteen other persons, not a soul was left alive in Herat. That after some time, twenty-four men of the Bulook tribe joined them, and that for fifteen years they were the only inhabitants of this once beautiful and populous city.

Thus, in the short period of three months, Men, Nishapoor, Herat, Toos, Subzwar, Jajurum, Nisa, Abyoor, Surkush, Kaf, and many other cities of Khorasan, having passed beneath the hoofs of the Moghool horse were trodden to dust, even to the borders of Sewistan.

Tooli Khan having destroyed the cities of Kho-

rasan as above detailed,* returned towards Talikan and Budukhshan, where he joined his father, agreeably to his order.

About this time, also, Tooli Khan with the troops of Chungeez Khan, took the castle of Talikan, the people of which were treated according to the Moghool custom.

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*Of Sultan Julal-ud-deen.*

When Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah died, Sultan Julal-ud-deen and his younger brothers returned from the island of Tas Goon in the Caspian Sea with a few adherents, Sultan Julal-ud-deen desired to distinguish himself in the field, but at the same time to avoid the fate of his father and the reproach that attended his memory; his object, therefore, was to establish his authority in Khorezm, for as yet the troops of the Moghools had not reached that country, and ninety thousand men of the Kunkuli, or his mother's tribe, were stationed there. When, however, the sultan arrived at Khorezm, he found that only a part of the men he had depended on were his friends, and

* بکند و بکست و برفت وببرد
نماندہ کسي ني بزرگ و نہ خورد

that a great portion were the reverse; he was, therefore, afraid to trust himself with them. At this time intelligence came that the Moghools had arrived in Irak; he, in consequence, despatched a messenger to his brethren, Arzlak Sultan, Go Khan, Khumarutgeen, Oghul Sahib, and Mullik Timour (whose adherents altogether amounted to ninety thousand men), to inform them of the arrival of the Moghools, and he himself proceeded by Nissa towards Shadmagh.

On his march, however, at Oostawa, he fell in with a division of the Moghool army, and a battle with them ensued, and was bravely maintained until night separated the combatants, when Sultan Julal-ud-deen, apparently having had the worst of it, proceeded to Shadmagh.

At this time Arzlak Sultan and his brethren received intimation of the advance of the Moghools, and as they could do nothing by themselves, they marched to join the sultan. On their march, however, they fell in with the same Moghool army which had fought with the sultan at Oostawa, by which they were entirely defeated and dispersed, the Moghools pursuing them.

When Sultan Julal-ud-deen arrived at Shadmagh he halted three days to collect his troops and bag-

gage. On the third night, or the 11th Zilluj 617, he was forced, by the arrival of the Moghools, to depart, and he fled by the road of Perowan to Ghuzni, to the government of which his father had before appointed him. He had no sooner left Shadmagh than the Moghools arrived there, and finding he was gone followed him, but after five days' journey gave up the pursuit.

On the arrival of Sultan Julal-ud-deen at Ghuzni, the soldiers of his father, Sultan Mahummud, who had been dispersed, immediately flocked to his standard; and as the city and country of Herat had been destroyed by Tooli Khan, the Ghoorians also joined Sultan Julal-ud-deen ; forty thousand men also of the Kubkuli tribe also joined him from Khorezm.

In the spring, therefore, Sultan Julal-ud-deen left Ghuzni, and moved towards the town of Bazan ; and when he arrived there, he was informed that Begchuk and Tumkoor, with a large army of Moghools, were besieging the castle of Walian, and that it was on the point of being reduced. The brave sultan, therefore, left his baggage, and made a forced march towards his enemies ; and on meeting them immediately attacked and destroyed their advanced guard, con-

sisting of nine thousand men. As the sultan's force was considerable, he next forded the river of Walian, and fell upon the main body of the Moghools besieging that fort. These also were defeated; and on the approach of night fled, leaving an immense booty in the hands of the sultan and his troops. The sultan then returned to Bazan.

When Chungeez Khan heard of this exploit he was in Talikan, and, to check the sultan's career, immediately despatched Kykoor Noyaun, with thirty thousand men, to oppose him, and prepared to follow them himself. Kykoor Noyaun with his troops, soon reached Bazan, where Sultan Julal-ud-deen was encamped, and ready to meet him. On their arrival, the armies furiously attacked each other immediately. The battle continued the whole day, and the sultan is said to have conducted himself most gallantly, but at night victory remained doubtful. Kykoor's army, however, had suffered much from the troops of the sultan, and he found himself obliged to have recourse to stratagem. He, therefore, ordered each of his soldiers to make a figure of a man with wood and *numud*, or blankets, and place them in array in the rear of his camp, and the next day when the armies were drawn up to renew the fight, the troops of the sultan

seeing these figures of men in the rear of the Moghools concluded another army had joined that of Kykoor, and became alarmed, and desirous to retreat. Sultan Julal-ud-deen did all in his power to prevent their retreating and to encourage them, and dismounting from his horse led them on again to meet the Moghools; and as soon as they were aware of the artifice which had been put in practice by them, they charged the Moghools, and gave them so terrible a defeat that none escaped, the two Noyauns and their domestic servants, who rejoined Chungeez Khan, excepted. The spoil taken was immense. On hearing of this disaster, Chungeez Khan immediately marched from Talikan, in Budukshan, to oppose the sultan himself.

In the mean time a quarrel had arisen in the camp of Sultan Julal-ud-deen, between Syfe-ud-deen Aghrak, one of the chief ameers of Khorezm, and Mallik Hazara, about a horse taken among the spoil, and Mullik Hazara struck the head of Syfe-ud-deen's horse with his whip, but as the sultan did not interfere, Syfe-ud-deen being discontented, at night quitted his camp with thirty thousand men, and retired to the mountains of Sunkran, and the Kubkuli Toorkmans and the

Khiljees also deserted his camp. The sultan, therefore, was extremely weakened by these defections when Chungeez Khan advanced to attack him. Chungeez Khan, on his march, was first delayed a month by the resistance of the people of Indurab in Budukshan; and after taking this town he advanced to the fort of Bamian, and in the attack of this place Mamgan or Mamusgan, the son of Chughtaie Khan, a young man greatly beloved by Chungeez Khan, was killed by an arrow from the walls. Chungeez Khan, much afflicted at the death of his grandson, when the fort was taken, ordered the whole of the inhabitants, of all descriptions, man and woman, little and great, to be put to the sword. The fort of Bamian was also destroyed, and Chungeez Khan gave it the name of Mao or Bud Maligh, *i. e.* 'the Evil City', and to this day it has not been re-peopled. This occurred in the year 618, or Eet Eel of the Turks.

### *The march of Chungeez Khan to attack Sultan Julal-ud-deen.*

After the defeat of Kykoor Noyaun and his army, and the destruction of Khorezm, Joje Khan, the eldest and ablest son of Chungeez

Khan, was despatched to the desert of Kupchak, and Chughtaie and Ooktaie Khans, his second and third sons, were sent with a large army to the banks of the Jihoon, where, after ravaging the country of Khorezm and massacreing the inhabitants, they returned to join their father; and on their route the cities which gave up the followers of Khorazm Shah were saved, but those which did not were utterly destroyed by them. In this way they conducted their march until they arrived at Bamian, where Chungeez Khan was encamped, and having made the customary homage to their father, they presented him the most valuable of their spoil.

Previous to their arrival, Chungeez Khan had given orders that Chughtaie Khan should not be apprized of the death of his son, Mamusgan, and on their meeting after some days, he first severely reproached Chughtaie with the dissensions that had occurred between him and his brethren at Khorezm, which had delayed the taking of that city. Chughtaie in great fear made an humble apology for his fault, and Chungeez Khan then changed his tone to one more kind and friendly, and clothed him with a dress of honour, and disclosed the death of his son, but directed him not to make any show of mourning or grief for

him. This order Chughtaie strictly obeyed, and Chungeez Khan and his army, immediately after, proceeded by forced marches to Ghuzni, by the route of Kabul, to attack Sultan Julal-ud-deen.

On their arrival at Ghuzni they found Sultan Julal-ud-deen had left that city fifteen days before, and had retired towards Hindostan. Chungeez Khan, therefore, left Yulwaj Noyaun as governor in Ghuzni, and without any delay followed him, and continued his pursuit without intermission, until one morning at break of day, the army of Sultan Julal-ud-deen was descried near a ford on the banks of a river,* and the Moghools immediately formed for battle and spread round his camp, so that they formed an arc, and the river the chord, Sultan Julal-ud-deen being enclosed in the centre. The sultan was completely entrapped, on this occasion, having an immense army in his rear and an unfordable river in his front; he therefore prepared for battle, or, as the author says, he spurred the horse of courage into the field of slaughter, and covered the earth with the dead bodies of the infidel Moghools.

The troops of Chungeez Khan first charged the right wing of the sultan's army, commanded by

* The river Sindh or Indus.

Sultan Khan Mullik, and entirely defeated it; he being slain with most of his troops they next attacked the left, which also fell into confusion; there remained, therefore, only the main body, which consisted of about seven thousand men under the sultan. These fought desperately from morning to mid-day, the sultan moving, as occasion required, from the right to the left, and repeatedly charging the main body of Chungeez Khan's army, killing great numbers of the Moghools. The sultan's actions on this day were the admiration of both armies, and even Rustum or Isfendiar would not have been ashamed to serve under so brave a captain: but, as the troops of Chungeez Khan were numerous beyond calculation, and increased by the arrival of fresh troops every hour, and as in proportion to his loss the space occupied by the sultan and the number of his troops was continually diminishing, he was at last in danger of being made prisoner by the Moghools, when Akhas Mullik, the son of Khan Sultan, seized the bridle of his horse and compelled him to retire from the field.

The unfortunate sultan, heart-broken, and with his eyes full of tears, took leave of his wives and children, and having mounted a fresh and strong

horse, again charged the Moghools, and fought his way through them to the river, where he threw off his armour and all his ensigns of royalty, and plunged with his horse from a bank near twenty feet high into the stream, to the opposite bank of which his horse, by the favour of the Almighty, swam in safety. Not so his followers, as they were almost all drowned or killed by the arrows of the Moghools. Chungeez Khan is said to have been so struck with the sultan's gallant bearing, that he ordered that no one should draw a bow against him while he was in the river.

It is said, that from the number of men slain in the river, this day, the water to the distance of an arrow's flight became as red as blood.

When Sultan Julal-ud-deen attained the opposite bank of the river he moved slowly along it, until he came opposite his late encampment, where his feelings were agonized by seeing his tents plundered and his family seized by the Moghools.

It happened that Chungeez Khan was standing on the bank of the river, and the sultan, when he arrived opposite to him dismounted from his horse, and after having taken off the saddle and bridle, spread his cloak and bow and arrows in the sun to dry, and having placed his *chutr* or canopy on his spear, sat down alone under its shade.

Before the evening prayer the sultan was joined by seven men of his army, who had escaped by swimming across the river, and in the evening with these seven men he struck into the Chool, or desert of Churk.

Chungeez Khan was all this time observing the motions of the sultan, and on his departure he seized the collar of his garment with the hand of astonishment, and broke out into expressions of applause and admiration, and turning to his sons desired them to take an example from that brave man; the whole of the troops of the sultan were, however, put to the sword, and all his male children, however young, were also destroyed, and as the sultan had ordered a great part of his treasure to be thrown into the Sindh, or Indus, Chungeez Khan caused it to be searched for and brought out by divers.

Chungeez Khan halted at this river many days. This event occurred in the year 618 Hejri; or Yound Eel Toorki.

*Chungeez Khan despatches his ameers Doormun Bukhshi and Bala Noyaun, in pursuit of Sultan Julal-ud-deen to the countries of Hind and Sindh.*

After Sultan Julal-ud-deen had sustained this defeat and loss, as above described, about fifty of

his servants joined him, one and two at a time, and at night they left the Indus, and struck into the wilds and forests, and no one knew where they had gone. Chungeez Khan, however, under the notion that they had retired towards Hindoostan, the next day despatched Doormun Bukhshi and Bala Noyaun, who were of the chief officers of rank in his army, with a large force towards Hindostan, and gave them orders to put all the servants of Sultan Julal-ud-deen they might find to death; these chiefs therefore crossed the Sindh, and proceeded towards Hindoostan, and from Mooltan and Lahore to the sea-side; wherever they discovered the soldiers of Khorezm concealed they slew all without exception, and destroyed all their cities, but spared those who delivered them up, plundering them notwithstanding of all their goods. In this expedition they put to death all the males they met, but seized their wives, families, and wealth, which they brought back with them; they, however, could not discover the retreat of Sultan Julal-ud-deen. It is said that they continued their pursuit to Mulkapoor and the sea-side, and returning thence joined Chungeez Khan near Balkh.

*What befel Sultan Julal-ud-deen after his defeat, and his return towards Irak.*

It is related, that Sultan Julal-ud-deen after leaving the river Sindh, retired with his fifty followers, armed with staves only, towards Thutta and Bukur, where he made a night attack on a large body of Hindoos, and other infidels, who were causing some disturbance in that country, and divided their horses and arms among his followers; and his army increasing, he remained two years there, making war on the infidels and taking possession of many large cities of that country; but at last, desirous to regain his dominions in Irak, he marched in that direction by the route of Kech and Mukran, and, in the beginning of the year 621, he arrived in Kirman, where Borak Hajeb agreed to pay him tribute, and gave him his daughter in marriage, and his marriage was consummated in the city of Kirman. After two days, the sultan proceeded on a hunting expedition, but Borak Hajeb remained behind on pretence he had the gout; the sultan, not knowing it was a mere pretence, despatched one of his servants to Borak, to tell him he intended to march to Irak, and requested as he was a man of talent that he would join him, that they might have a consulta-

tion together on the subject. Borak replied, that he advised the sultan, by all means, to proceed to Irak, as he could not support his troops any longer, or again admit him into Kirman, he then expelled all the sultan's servants from Kirman and shut the gates. Sultan Julal-ud-deen being unable to revenge this perfidious conduct, marched towards Irak by the route of Sheeraz, and Atabuk Saad, the son of Zungi, who was at that time king of Fars, sent one of his sons with presents to meet him and gave him one of his female relations in marriage. The sultan proceeded next to Isfahan and Rai, the government of which territories, his brother Sultan Ghaias-ud-deen, was compelled to give up to him.

Sultan Julal-ud-deen, after making some regulations for the benefit of his army and the protection of his subjects, marched towards Baghdad to obtain aid from the Kaliph. Nasir, the kaliph, however, from his old hatred of the kings of Khorezm, despatched Koorshtimour with twenty thousand men to oppose his approach to Baghdad. The sultan being made aware of his object, when they met gave him battle; and although his troops were few, totally defeated him, and then marched to Tabreez. Atabik Ourung, the son of Jehan Pehlwan, who was the governor of that

place, left his wife Mulkia (a lady of the Suljeook family), to defend the city and fled. The sultan, in the year 622 Hejri, therefore besieged Tabreez; during the siege, it happened that Mulkia by some accident saw the sultan and fell in love with him, and having apprized him that her husband had divorced her, she was married to him by Kazi Uzuddeen Kazvini. Ourung, on hearing of the infidelity of his wife, died of grief.

The sultan after this, conducted two expeditions into Gurjestan and destroyed many of the infidels of that country. While the sultan was residing at Teflis, news arrived that Borak Hajeb had determined to attack the province of Irak; the sultan immediately marched and in seventeen days arrived on the frontier of Kirman; and Borak Hajeb, hearing of his arrival, made his submission and many valuable presents, and begged the sultan's forgiveness; the sultan, therefore, returned to Isfahan where he remained for some time. At that period, he was informed Mullik Ashruf Shah, had sent a certain Haji Ali to Ikhlat who had offered some insult to his women; and that Mulkia, one of his wives, had left Tabreez, to live with Haji, at Ikhlat. The sultan, on hearing this, marched to Ikhlat, to take revenge for this insult, and hav-

ing plundered the country was about to lay siege to the town, when he heard of the arrival of the Moghools in Irak; he, therefore, returned to oppose them. On his falling in with the Moghools a battle was fought, in which he was defeated and obliged to flee to Isfahan, where he punished those of his army who had behaved ill in the battle, and promoted all the brave men to high rank. In the beginning of the year 625,—or Ood Eel of the Turks, the sultan again led an army to Gurjestan and destroyed a great number of the infidels of that country. He then marched to Ikhlat, which city he took in a very few days, and caused a general slaughter of the inhabitants, from sunrise until the evening, after which he pardoned those who survived. He also took the wife of Haji Ali into his harem in place of Mulkia, in revenge of the seduction of that lady; the fame of the sultan was much increased by this action. The sultan was still at Ikhlat, when he heard that the kings of Room (Turkey in Asia), and Syria, had united to attack him, he therefore, although he was unwell, marched to oppose them, and met a division of six thousand men of the Syrian army in the desert of Moos,

of whom it is said not one escaped. The troops of Room afterwards advanced, and a battle with them also followed; the sultan, although he was sick, left his litter and mounted his horse, but being too weak to sit on his saddle, his servants requested him to dismount and take a little rest, and he accordingly did so. The chiefs of his army, however, from this, concluded that he intended to flee from the field of battle, and all turned their backs on the enemy and fled; the sultan was then obliged also to retire towards Ikhlat. The army of Room, however, being apprehensive the king was leading them into an ambush by this movement, did not therefore advance beyond the town of Koosh Kuddum. When the sultan arrived at Ikhlat, he was informed that Ooktaie Khan had despatched Churmagoon with a large force, beyond the river Amooya or Amoo towards Irak: he in consequence marched towards Azurbijan, and deputed one of his chiefs to obtain intelligence of the Moghools. This person, however, went to Tabreez only, and returned without any correct information, but reported that there were no Moghools either in Irak or Azurbijan. The sultan pleased at this false intelligence,

gave himself up to feasting and pleasure, as did all his servants.* After a few days, spent in constant drinking and debauchery, (that is in the beginning of the year 628 Hejri), Looee Eel Toorki, Churmagoon with an immense force of Toorks and Tartars arrived. Azur Khan, who was one of the confidential servants of Sultan Julal-ud-deen, being aware of their arrival, went to the bed-side of the sultan who was asleep, and awakened him, and made him acquainted with the circumstance: the sultan being intoxicated had some cold water thrown on his head, mounted his horse and fled, leaving Azur Khan to make head against the Moghools. Azur Khan kept his ground with great difficulty, until the sultan had left a considerable distance between him and his enemies, when he himself retreated. The Moghools taking Azur Khan for the sultan, followed him to Rai, but after they found out their mistake they pursued the sultan, and massacred every follower of his they met: at last, they fell in with the sultan himself, and put him and his children and all his

* A poet of that time has said:

" O king, what cans't thou expect from so much wine.
From so much debauchery what cans't thou expect.
The king drunk, his country ravaged and his enemies before and behind.
From these things it is evident what thou must expect.

followers to death. There is some difference in the accounts of historians respecting the end of sultan Julal-ud-deen, some say that the sultan escaped from the Moghools and fled to the mountains, where his horse tiring, and he himself being much fatigued, he dismounted and fell asleep, and that the people of the hills, seduced by the splendour of his garments, and the value of his horse, put him to death while asleep. Others again say he escaped, and assuming the dress of a soofi (a religious order), passed the rest of his days in travelling and in privacy, prayer, and penitence. This occurred in the year 628 or Taosh Kan Eel Toorki.

### *The return of Chungeez Khan to Turkistan.*

Histories relate, that after Chungeez Khan had destroyed the family and connexions of Mahummud Shah of Khorezm, and that his son had fled to Hindoostan, his anger became appeased, and he called to mind the message he had received from heaven, on his commencing his expedition to Persia, and mentioned it to Kurachur Noyaun. At that time intelligence arrived that the tribe of Tungut,* or the people of the East, from the long absence of

* Tungut lies north-east from Thibet, according to Strahlenberg.

Chungeez Khan, had rebelled, and he in consequence determined that a part of his chiefs and troops, should pursue the sultan to Mukran and Hindoostan, and the rest return to Ghuzni, and thence to Tooran, the reason for this was, if the sultan remained in existence, and any delay in his pursuit occurred, he would gain strength, and it was best therefore to put an end to him and his exertions at once, and then, when the winter arrived, the whole of the Moghool troops might return to Tooran.

In conformity with this plan, Chughtaie Khan was sent with a large force towards Surat and the borders of Hindoostan and Mukran; and Ooktaie Khan was despatched with a force from the Indus to Ghuzni. Ooktaie Khan took Ghuzni, and notwithstanding the people offered their submission, their conduct in aiding Sultan Julal could not be forgiven; and they were, with the exception of the trades-people, all massacred, and the city was razed to the ground. Ooktaie, after destroying the towns of Sindh, proceeded, by the route of Gurmseer and Herat, to Mawurunneher. Chughtaie Khan, after plundering the countries of Kech and Mukran, halted for the winter at Lanjoor, a country on the banks of the Indus. The governor of that country, Salar Ahmud, sub-

mitted, and supplied all the provisions and forage he could for the support of the troops. However, the air of the country did not agree with the Moghools, and they almost all fell sick. At this time the Hindu prisoners, of whom the Moghools had taken great numbers, were ordered, each man, to clean four hundred maunds of rice in a certain period; and as they failed in executing this order in seven days, they were all barbarously massacred, by the orders of Chughtaie Khan. Chughtaie, on his arrival, also despatched *eelchees*, or ambassadors, to the countries of Kech, Kutch, Mukran, and the port of Surat, and received their submission, and troops were detached to reduce those who refused to obey the summons. When the Moghool troops recovered their health, and no tidings of Sultan Julal were heard in that neighbourhood, they prepared to return towards Tooran.

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*The return of Chungeez Khan to Tooran.*

In the spring season, therefore, after the sun had discomfited the icy troops of winter, and was returning to his might; and the king of flowers, the rose, with his many coloured array appeared to kiss the ground from whence he sprung; Chungeez Khan marched with his victorious army on his

return to Tooran, by the road he came, and halted at the city of Boklan, that the followers and baggage he had left there might rejoin him. He passed the summer in the pleasant meadows of that city, and here appointed *darogahs*, or governors, to all the cities of Eeraun, to keep them in subjection. In autumn he departed from Boklan, and having crossed the Jihoon, encamped at Samurkund, from which place he despatched a messenger to his favourite son, Joje Khan, to recall him from the Desert of Kupchak; and in the mean time ordered a *komoor gheh*, or general hunting excursion to collect game from a distance to a certain point, and during the winter, Chughtaie and Ooktaie Khans took up their quarters at Bokhara, and amused themselves in hunting and field-sports.*

When the spring arrived, Chungeez Khan departed from Samurkund, and directed that Sultan Khatoon, the mother of Sultan Mahummud Khorazm Shah, and his wives, should be carried in advance of his army, and that they should bewail the loss of their sultan and his kingdom, which it is said they did the whole of the way.

* وشلا مشي

On the march of Chungeez Khan to his own country, on the banks of the Sihoon, he was joined by his sons, Chughtaie Khan and Ooktaie Khan; and after they had crossed the Sihoon, and arrived at the Kullan Yazi, or Desert, Joje Khan arrived with a large force there from the Steppe or Desert of Kupchak. Sahib Kiran Chungeez Khan with his sons, ameers and troops, formed here a hunting circle, and when the circle closed in to the town of Oofaizuk, he himself joined the hunting party and killed great quantities of game, he then gave leave to all his officers and soldiers to kill as much as they pleased, and what game was left alive was marked with his letter and let go. Joje Khan having arrived at this place, performed the usual nine genuflexions to his father and offered him many valuable presents; as, for instance, ten thousand Irghmak horses, of which two thousand were all of one colour. After making these presents Joje Khan was exalted above the heads of his brethren in the affections of Chungeez Khan. Chungeez halted for the winter at this town; and as all his family were present, he ordered a general council, or *kooriltaie*, to assemble, and several of the chiefs of the Oighoors were put to

death. Joje Khan was then with great honour and distinction permitted to depart to the Desert of Kupchak; and Chungeez Khan returned to his capital, Khan Baligh,* in the year 621 Hejri, agreeable to Sujkan Eel of the Toorks.

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*Conclusion of the expedition of Jubeh Noyaun and Sowidai Buhadoor to Iran, in pursuit of Sultan Mahummud.*

It is related by historians, that Jubeh Noyaun and Sowidaie Bahadoor, who were detached on an expedition to Iran, after taking the fort of Kuroon Duj, in which the mother and wives of Sultan Mahummud had sought refuge, marched towards Koom. After the capture of that city, Jubeh Noyaun proceeded to Hamdan and Sowidaie to Kazveen. The chief of Hamdan, Ala-uddeen Humdani, immediately submitted, made large presents, and received a Moghool governor. Intelligence arrived at this time that a body of the troops of Sultan Mahummud had assembled at Chash, under Beg Togeen and Kookh Booka Khan, and the Moghools immediately marched against them. The troops of Mahummud Khorezm Shah, however, did not wait their arrival, but dispersed, and freed from the fear of a siege plundered and

* Another name for Pekin, I believe.

ravaged the surrounding country. The Moghools, therefore, as the winter season had arrived, marched to Moghan, and remained there during the winter. Jumal-ud-deen, Ooviah, and other chiefs, however, in the meantime, raised a disturbance in Irak, and murdered the Moghool governor of Hamdan, and confined Ala-ud-ḍeen in the castle of Kirbeet, because he had surrendered to the Moghools. As soon, therefore, as the spring arrived, Jubeh Noyaun marched to Irak, to revenge the death of his governor; and notwithstanding Jumal-ud-deen Ooviah offered his submission, it was refused; and the whole of Azurbijan Murgheh and Nukcheban, with the exception of Tubreez, was destroyed and laid waste. The Moghools then ordered Atabuk Aurung to submit to their authority, and marched to Iran, where they destroyed the cities of Beelkan Gunja and Burda. They then marched to Shirwan, and demanded from the chief, Shumakhi Ajurkhi, liberty to proceed, by the route of Durbund and the desert of Kupchak, to join Chungeez Khan.

Shumakhi sent ten men of the Ajurkhi tribe to confer with the Moghools, and the latter, to frighten them into obedience and to make them show the road by which they intended to proceed, on their arrival put one of them to death:—the

rest of these men, therefore, terrified at the fate of their companion, acted as guides through the Durbund passes; however, as soon as they got through them they were attacked by the Alanians* and Kupchak Tartars. Sowedaie Bahadoor, in these circumstances, despatched a messenger to the Kupchak Tartars, to say, they and the Moghools were brothers, being of the same race, and that the Alans were the enemies of both, and requested them, on the score of relationship, to separate from them; he also sent them presents. The Tartars of Kupchak believing in these professions left the Alans, who were so much weakened by their defection as to be unable to resist, and they were consequently nearly all destroyed. As soon as this was effected, Sowedaie, without any regard for his treaty, or the ties of consanguinity, immediately attacked the Kupchak Tartars, and almost exterminated them; those who escaped, however, sought refuge with the tribe of Aroos† (the Russians), and having been joined by a large force of that nation, they returned and gave battle

* That the Alans, or Alains, who invaded the Roman Empire, after the death of Augustus, were Tartars, there is no doubt.—See Histoire Généalogique, p. 310. The tribe, it is supposed, still exists in the neighbourhood of the Caspian.

† The Russians are considered a tribe of Tartars; they are callèd Roos and Aroos.

to the Moghools. The Moghools in this battle, to deceive the Russians and Kupchakians, affected to retreat; but after dividing and fatiguing their enemies by a pursuit of several days, they turned round, suddenly, and gained a complete victory over their opponents; Sowedaie, after this, joined Chungeez Khan, and presented him the spoil they had taken.

After the winter was past, Chungeez Khan received intelligence of the rebellion of Shidurkoon, the chief of Ghasheen and of the tribe of Tungut; and, also, that he was in great force: he accordingly assembled an army, and marched to attack him. Shidurkoon was not backward in meeting him and a bloody battle ensued, in which the Tungut Tartars were defeated, and Shidurkoon fled and sought refuge with a people, called the Irtakians. Kasheen or Ghasheen was, however, taken by Chungeez Khan, with many other cities, after the manner in which he had conquered Khorasan, and the Tongut country was plundered and laid waste.*

When the spring arrived, Chungeez Khan de-

* There is a tradition among the Moghools, that when a hundred thousand men are killed, one of the dead stands upright to denote that number; and their writers assert that in this battle three men were found standing in this manner, the author modestly adds, العلم عند الله.

termined to proceed to the countries of Khorche and Tektash, or Tukyas; when he arrived at Khorche the chief of that city readily submitted to his authority and made him many valuable presents. At this time, also, Shidurkoon, who had fled to Artakia, despatched a messenger with presents of immense value to Chungeez Khan, and requested his forgiveness; and stated, that if he were assured of pardon, he would come and make his submission in person. Chungeez Khan having given the requisite assurances, the messenger departed.

*The advice and testament of Chungeez Khan to his children and Kurachar Noyaun.*

The authors of historical relations write, that immediately after Chungeez Khan had dismissed the vukeel of the Tungut chief, upon whom he conferred great honours, he fell sick, and his malady increasing continually, and feeling that his death was approaching, he ordered that all his sons, brothers, and Kurachar Noyaun should be assembled; and, on their meeting, addressed them to the following effect:—that his disease was fatal, and his time had arrived to depart from this world; that he required they should state to him, whom

they intended or wished should succeed him? Joje Khan, his eldest son, had died in the desert of Kupchak, six months previous to this period.

Chughtaie, Ooktaie, and Tooli, his three sons, were present, and, kneeling, in reply, said, they considered themselves his slaves, and were obedient to his orders. Chungeez Khan then said, that he had perfect confidence in the prudence and abilities of Kurachar Noyaun, and that in the possession of a clear and sound judgment he excelled all his family; that he insisted, if they respected his (Chungeez Khan's) memory, they should, on no occasion, deviate in any particular from his advice. He then ordered, that the treaty, or code of regulations made between Kabul Khan and Kacholi Bahadoor, which was known by the name of the Al Tumghaie of Toomna Khan, and which had been signed by all his predecessors, should be brought from the treasury. After it was brought he read it to his children, and said, that he, and Kurachar, and their forefathers, had strictly conformed to it, and that he now constituted and appointed Ooktaie Khan to succeed him, and resigned the kingdom and throne to him; that they should also conform to the treaty, and give a written engagement to the effect that

they would all obey him, and attend his kooriltaie whenever they were summoned; his sons, accordingly, signed the agreement, which was placed in the Al Tumghaie of Chungeez Khan. The cities of Mawurunneher and those in its neighbourhood had been assigned to Chughtaie Khan formerly, but because there was an enmity of old subsisting between Iran and Tooraun, and moreover Sultan Julal-ud-deen and his brethren were still living, Chungeez Khan, for these reasons, committed Chughtaie Khan to the care of Kurachar Noyaun, and requested him to continue the same protection and attention to his interests in the regulation of his army and kingdom he had ever shown during his, Chungeez Khan's, life; Chungeez Khan also requested Kurachar Noyaun to adopt him as his son, which he did, and both parties signed a contract or agreement to that effect. The treaty of their forefathers Chungeez Khan gave to Chughtaie Khan; the contract of his sons he gave to Ooktaie Khan. He next addressed himself to the descendants of the Noyauns, and then to all his family indiscriminately, exhorting them to preserve concord and brotherly love to each other,—to keep his death a secret,—and he lastly enjoined them to put

Shidurkoon to death whenever they might lay hold on him, that their authority might be securely established. Chungeez Khan then closed his eyes, and soon after breathed his last;* his death, however, was studiously concealed by all his family, who, although immersed in grief, preserved smiling countenances to their dependants; this event occurred on the 4th Rumzan, 624 Hejri, agreeing with the Tunkoor Eel of the Turks, which was the year of his birth, the year of his accession to the throne, and the year of his death. It is related by the best historians, that Chungeez Khan was seventy-three years old when he died; that he was forty-nine when he ascended the throne; and that he reigned twenty-nine years. His son, Joje Khan, as has been stated, died about six months previous to his death, but there were present with him at the time of his death his three sons, Chughtaie Ooktaie and Tooli, with Kurachar Noyaun and all his family, with the exception of a few persons employed on different duties.

* بس پادشاه و سپاه درشت
که چنکیزخان بهر شناهي بکُشت
کسي‌را زابناي ادم نماند
ولی اخر الامر اوهم نماند

The family of Chungeez Khan observed his directions to keep his death secret so punctually, that until the arrival of Shidurkoon to make his submission, no appearance whatever of mourning or sorrow was manifested in his court.

When Shidurkoon left the city of Artakia, in the hope the assurances which had been given him by Chungeez Khan would be observed, the ameers and Noyauns who accompanied him treated him with every respect and attention and pretended to escort him to meet Chungeez Khan; when, however, they arrived at a small distance from the camp of the Moghools a body of troops which had been kept ready to put him and his adherents to death, arrived and massacred the whole of them, sending them, as the historian, with his usual liberality, says, to offer their homage to Chungeez Khan in the infernal regions; the Moghools after this immediately despatched a body of troops and plundered the city of Artakia and carried off the inhabitants to Moghoolistan as slaves.

On the arrival of Chungeez Khan's family in Moghoolistan they buried the body of Chungeez Khan at the foot of a favourite tree, under the shade of which he was accustomed to sit when out hunting,

and which he had directed should be his place of burial; he also directed that a mausoleum of magnet or loadstone might be made, and that his body should be placed in it in a coffin of steel.

It is related, that when his children had constructed the mausoleum and placed the coffin therein, as he directed, the latter became suddenly attracted on all sides, and remained suspended in the air. His family then caused the vicinity to be forbidden (*koork*), or laid waste, and now the mausoleum is in the midst of a thick forest through which there is only one narrow path. It is said that some *kafirs* (infidels) have taken up their abode in this place, and that a devil at times enters the coffin, and gives responses to such questions as are proposed to him; these the hearers look upon as oracles, and the kafirs who are the attendants or priests there, and who worship this coffin, conform to these pretended oracles, and increase infidelity by their promulgation; the infidels consider this tomb as the house of God. There is no other road than that described to this mausoleum, from the thickness of the forest surrounding it.

Some modern historians say that Chungeez Khan was born when the sun was in the sign *Libra, and as that sign* is esteemed influential on

the atmosphere, for that reason the learned in the religion of Mani (the Manicheans) directed that the body of Chungeez Khan should be suspended in the air on a cross.* The sons of Chungeez Khan, however, refused to offer such an indignity to the body of their father; and, therefore, to avoid such an exposure, the Manicheans formed the mausoleum of loadstone as above described. The sons of Chungeez Khan and the Noyauns were much pleased at the ingenuity of the undertaking, it being such as was never before attempted.

After the arrangement of the mausoleum had been completed, and the body of Chungeez deposited therein, the sons and family of Chungeez Khan, commenced their period of mourning: and after the usual offerings to the soul of the deceased, without any settlement being made as to the sovereignty or future distribution of the empire, they each returned to his proper place of residence. As Chungeez Khan before his death had resigned the sovereignty to his third son, Ooktaie Khan, of course an account of this prince will take precedence of those of his elder brethren.

* Strahlenberg says, that some tribes of Tartars expose the bodies of their dead, in the manner here described.

## *The names of the Padshahs, or Khans, who have reigned in Aligh Yurut.*

The kings of the Moghools who reigned in Aligh Yurut, otherwise called Kulooran, Ardooealigh, and Karakorum are twenty-one persons, of whom the first was Ooktaie Khan, or Qaan, the son of Chungeez Khan. It has been stated, that the sons and relations of Chungeez Khan after observing the usual period of mourning, retired each to the government or possessions allotted to him in the reign of Chungeez Khan, and after making arrangements for the regulation and safety of their possessions, a work which employed them two years, in the spring of the third they all assembled at Ardoo e Baligh to form a kooriltaie. The sons of Joje Khan, Manvi, Sheiban, Chompae, Tunghoob, Boorkeh, Burukcha, Toomooghul, Awurdeh, and Shuknak also arrived there from the Desert of Kupchak. From the eastward came the brothers of Chungeez Khan, Ootgeen, Rookai, Talgooti Noyaun, and Yusukai Noyaun (the sons of Yusukai Bahadoor). Chughtaie Khan also arrived from Paish Baligh with Kurachar Noyaun, the son of Sooghoo Chichun from his encampment, and Aligh Noyaun *alias* Prince Tooli,

with his younger brothers and ameers, and chiefs from every part. Encampments for each of these chiefs were assigned agreeably to their rank, and a grand feast was prepared, at which the testament of Chungeez Khan and the future arrangements of the empire were discussed. The written declarations given by Chungeez Khan to his sons were also read to the troops, and Ooktaie Khan was elected sovereign.

The ameers, therefore requested Ooktaie Khan to take his seat on the throne. Ooktaie Khan, however, to the surprise of all, refused, and said in apology, that there were senior brethren to him who were better able to assume the supreme direction of the empire, and that, during their life-time, he did not consider himself justified in ascending the throne ; that if it should accord with the sentiments of the chiefs, there were his uncles, Ootgeen, and Tulkooti Bahadoor, or Chughtaie Khan his elder brother, any of whom might be selected and constituted king, and under whom he would be happy to serve. After a discussion carried on in a succession of banquets which lasted for forty days, during which Ooktaie Khan did not decline from his original objections, on the forty-first day the whole of the princes, ladies Noyauns, and

ameers came forward, and said, that the orders of Chungeez Khan must be observed; that he had selected Ooktaie Khan to reign in his stead, and that his will should and must be obeyed; then, according to the custom of the Moghools, they raised their cups of wine to their heads, and loosened their girdles, and Chughtaie Khan taking Ooktaie Khan's right hand, and Ootgeen Bahadoor his left, agreeably to the directions of the astrologers convened for the occasion, they seated him on the throne, and each prince and ameer hailed him king, by bending the knee nine times before him;* Toolí Khan was appointed his cup-bearer.

Ooktaie Khan ascended the throne two years after the death of his father, that is, in the year of the Hejri 626, agreeing with Oodi Eel Toorki, and received from his brethren and ameers the title of *Qaan*, or the rightful and legitimate king. Notwithstanding he was the son of Chungeez Khan, he was a wise and liberal prince, and the greatest king in his time. He was kind to all, and a great friend to the Mussulmans, and although not a Mahummuddan himself, he appeared, like his father, to prefer their faith to any other. It is related that on one occasion an

* The Chinese homage.

infidel, who was not a Moghool, came to him and said, that Chungeez Khan had appeared to him in a dream, and had desired him to go to Ooktaie Khan and tell him that until he destroyed the wicked Mahummuddans, he should not be satisfied with him. A number of Ooktaie Khan's ameers also joined the fellow in inciting him to a massacre of the Mussulmans. It is related that Ooktaie Khan, after some consideration, said, "I cannot believe this man's story, for this reason, that my father was acquainted with no other language than that of the Moghools, and this man does not understand the Moghool tongue. His story is, therefore, a mere fabrication, and he deserves to be put to death:" and he was put to death accordingly. It is said that it was from a sense of his justice, truth, and worth, that his father appointed him his successor. The word *ooktaie* in the Moghool language signifies ascent or exaltation. The record of his expenses states that he bestowed, in gifts, sixty millions of Moghool tomans. The toman of the Moghools is ten thousand common tomans, and is called in the Turkish language *sipan*. The toman which is estimated at fifty ordinary tomans, is called the *kuzulbash* or *ghuzulbash* toman.

Historians say, that the disturbances which oc-

curred after the death of Chungeez Khan, were repressed by Ooktaie Khan without difficulty. Ooktaie Khan had armies, under able generals, in the countries of Kupchak, Sookseen, Bulgharia, China, Khita, and Khotun. Among these was an army of three tomans under Churmagoon, sent to oppose Sultan Julal-ud-deen, the son of Sultan Mahummud Khorazm. Ooktaie Khan is reported, when Churmagoon departed, to have said to one of the officers named Taimas, proceeding with him, that the death of Sultan Julal-ud-deen would be by his hand, which, in the event, actually was the case.

Sultan Julal-ud-deen, at that time, returned from Hindoostan, and had proceeded to Azurbijan, by the route of Keich, Mukran, Kirman, and Sheeraz; and had wrested Tubreez from Sultan Atabuk (Zungi), as has been before related.

When Churmagoon arrived at Isfahan, he despatched Taimas with a body of troops in advance, and Sultan Julal-ud-deen met them in the field, but was defeated, and subsequently disappeared in the environs of Diarbukir and Kurdistan; after his arrival in those parts he was never more heard of. He had two valiant brothers, both kings; one named Ghiaus, and the

other Zein-ud-deen: one met his death at Kirman, and the other was killed by the Moghools at Ferozekoh; the whole of the children of Kho-rezm Shah, were thus destroyed. It is said, Sultan Julal was murdered by the Kurds for his robes, and some say he became a durveish; but others relate he was killed in battle, and that he fell by the hand of Taimas, but God alone knows the truth.

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*The march of Ooktaie Khan, Chughtaie Khan, and Tooli Khan to Khutaie, and the conquest of that country; also the death of Tooli Khan on his return thence.*

Ooktaie Khan kept his army continually employed against the insubordinate districts of his realm; and soon after his accession to the throne, himself, with his brothers Chughtaie and Tooli, with a large army, marched to Khutaie* and conquered many of its cities. It is related, that Altai Khan, king of Khutaie, was so much terrified at the invasion of the Moghools, that he fled, no one knew whither; and some say that he raised a funeral pyre, and was burnt on it with his wife and family, by his own directions. Ooktaie Khan,

* China.

after the conquest of Khutaie, left Aziz Bulwaj in charge of that country and returned to his own capital. On his route back, in the year Hejri 627, or Pars Eel of the Turks, Tooli Khan, the fourth son of Chungeez Khan, and who was known by the name of Baligh Noyaun departed this life; it is said, that Tooli Khan excelled his brethren in bravery, and in the management and discipline of his troops. He was commander-in-chief in his father's time, and had charge of the treasury, military equipments, and encampments or stations of the army; but, notwithstanding his manifold occupations, he found time to study mathematics, in which he became a proficient. Chungeez Khan, in his lifetime, gave him the government of a country next to that of Ooktaie Khan. It is said, that Tooli Khan left twenty sons;—Mango Khan, Koblaie Khan, Areek Noka Khan, and Hulako Khan, were born of the same mother. Mooka, Toochick, Shookur, and Muriltaie, were of different mothers.

When Ooktaie Khan returned to his own country he caused a palace to be built at Karakorum, which is called by the Turks, Koorshi. It is related, that he despatched Batuie, the son of Joje Khan, Mango, the son of Tooli Khan, Tool Khan,

Boozri and Paidar, the sons of Chughtaie Khan, and his own son Kyrook, with a large army, to conquer the countries of Russia,* Circassia, Mugus or Mukus,† Bulgharia, and the Bashkir territories; and that these princes after many bloody battles, in seven years subdued them all.

In the year 633 Hejri, agreeing with Suchi eel Toorki, Ameer Arghoon, of the tribe of Awirat, was appointed bukhshi and tupukchi, and despatched to Khorasan as governor, to enquire into the state of the district of Kurkur; and as the district of Bulookat of the dependencies of Herat was also waste and deserted, Ameer Azuddeen Hervi, the chief of the cloth-weavers, who had been sent to Turkistan with one hundred of his workmen, by Tooli Khan, was commissioned to repeople that fertile district, and a darogah, named Kureek, was appointed to proceed with him. Ameer Azuddeen, with the darogah and the prisoners from Herat, in the year 636 Hejri, agreeing with Tunkooz eel Toorki, arrived at that city and rebuilt and repeopled its districts.

In the month of Jumadiel Avul 639 Hejri,

* The Circassians are derived from the Moghools, or Tartars. Histoire Généalogique, p. 446.

† Moskwa or Moscow.

agreeing with Pars eel Toorki, Ooktaie Khan died of excessive indulgence in wine and women;* he reigned fourteen years, and his actions are fully described in many historical works.

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## *Of Kyook Khan, the son of Ooktaie, the son of Chungeez.*

In the most respectable histories, the second king of the Aligh Yoorut, of Chungeez, was Kyook, the son of Ooktaie Khan. It is related that Noora Kusan Khatoon, the mother of Kyook Khan, at the death of Ooktaie Khan, as her son was absent, took charge of the kingdom and troops on his behalf; and when Kyook Khan returned to his father's capital, a general *kooriltaie* was assembled, and all the princes of the Boozunjur family attended it except Batwi, the son of Joje, who sent his brethren from Kupchak, but, on pretence of lameness, did not attend himself. The fact was, he was not favourable to the pretensions of Kyook Khan, for this reason—that Ooktaie Khan had bequeathed his sovereignty to his grandson, Shiramoon, the son of Kojwi; but Shiramoon was a child, and the mother of Kyook

* اومان

Noora Kusan, and the other princes, had confederated in Kyook's favour, in the month of Rubbi-el-Avul, 641 Hejri, Eet eel Toorki, Kyook Khan was placed on the throne.

Kyook Khan, it is said, like his father, was a very liberal prince. He remained for the winter at his capital; but in the spring he marched with an immense army towards Iran, and despatched messengers to Khitaie and the desert of Kupchak, to collect all the princes and their contingent armies. When, however, he arrived at or near Samurkund, death suddenly seized him; and Batwi, the son of Joje, and the other princes who had advanced to join him, returned to their respective governments. Kyook reigned one year.

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### *Mango Khan, the son of Tooli Khan.*

The third king of the Moghools was Mango, the son of Tooli Khan; he ascended the throne three years after the decease of Kyook Khan. When Kyook died at Samurkund the empire fell into great disorder, the princes being all disaffected, and each aiming to accomplish his own aggrandizement. Mango Khan, therefore, with his brethren repaired to Batwi, the son of Joje Khan

to obtain his protection, as he was the chief among the grandsons of Chungeez Khan. Batwi immediately seated Mango Khan on the throne, and made the nine customary genuflexions, and assisted as his cup-bearer. He also appointed his brother Boorkah, the son of Joje Khan, to accompany Mango Khan, and establish him in the sovereignty of Aligh Yoorut; but the other princes were not favourable to Mango's claims, he not being the son or descendant of Ooktaie Khan, and they all made excuses and declined to attend his kooriltaie or court, and for this cause his formal accession was delayed four years. Boorkah wrote an account of this dispute to Batwi, who then ordered him to place Mango on the throne, whether his brethren attended or not. Boorkah Ooghul, therefore, in the month of Rubbi-el-avul, 645 Hejri, or Toshkan eel Toorki, placed him on the throne in the desert* of Karakorum, and performed the usual ceremonies of his inauguration; this occurred in Achonch Ai, or the spring of the Turkish year.

The princes who were adverse to the accession of Mango, were Yusu Munkaie, the son of Chughtaie Khan, Shiramoon, the son of Kojwi, the son

* Plains.

of Ooktaie Khan, and Batwi Ooghul, the son of Kyook, the son of Ooktaie Khan. When Mango Khan was established on the throne, the malice of his enemies which had been before concealed became evident, but Mango wisely excused the princes, and only punished the chief instigator of the mischief, an ameer named Kudak (one of the chief servants of Kyook Khan), with a few others of less note.

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*The march of Hulako to Persia.*

Mango Khan, after this exertion of his authority, appointed his younger brother Hulako Ooghul, to the command of the troops assembled to reduce to order the kingdom of Persia. This force consisted of one-fifth of all the able-bodied Moghools subject to his authority, and amounted to 120,000 men. Among the chiefs of this army were Baesa Ooghul, the son of Tooli Khan; and on the part of Batwi Khan, Bulghaie, the son of Suknak, the son of Joje Khan; also Tooma Ooghul, the son of Joje Khan; these, with their forces, and on the part of Juchkabegi, Toghaie Timour with a large body of Toorks and Noyauns all left their homes to accompany Hulako to Iran,

and having conquered that country, they selected Azurbijan as the seat of their government, as is related by Atamullik, the brother of Shums-ud-deen Jooini, in his history called the Jehan Kusha, a compendium of which will be inserted in its proper place.

In the reign of Mango Khan, Yadikoot, the chief of the Oighoor tribe, formed a project to murder the Mussulmans of Paish Baligh while they were at prayer; it happened that one of the infidels became a Mussulman and disclosed the secret, and Mango Khan when he heard of it, despatched a body of troops who seized the conspirators, and Yadikoot was put to death for this offence. In his time the religion of Islam was much respected. Mango Khan, after appointing his younger brother, Areek Toka, as his lieutenant, to the charge of Aligh Yoorut, accompanied by his brother, Koblai Khan, and an army of six hundred thousand men marched to attack the country of Tuknas, otherwise called Macheen, and conquered the whole of it. The air of that climate, however, disagreed with him, and he fell sick and died in the year 658 Hejri, Peelan eel Toorki. Mango reigned fourteen years; he left one son named Shirki.

## *The fourth king of the Moghools, Koblai Khan the son of Tooli Khan.*

It is related by historians that when Koblai Khan (who had for some reason quitted the country of Tuknas or Tungnas, and had arrived at Chungdoo, the capital of Khutaie, on his return to Moghulistan) heard of the death of his brother Mango, he immediately assumed the sovereignty in Chungdoo; this happened in the year 658 (Peelan eel Toorki), his brother Areek Noka, however, who had been left in charge of Karakorum by Mango Khan, when he marched to Tungnas or Macheen, also assumed the sovereignty at the capital, and several battles were fought between the brothers; at length, however, Areek Noka being defeated and abandoned by his partisans, submitted himself to his brother; and Koblai or Kowilai Khan, after consulting with his ameers, shut up his brother Areek Noka, in a square enclosure formed of thorns or thorny bushes, of the acacia or babool tree, and placed a guard over him. Areek Noka, or Boka, lived in this enclosure a year, after which he died.

Kaidoo Tuburkeh, the grandson of Ooktaie Khan, next rebelled against Kowilai or Kublai Khan, and fought many battles with him and

Kaidoo, accompanied by Arlaut Aghak, the chief of the ameers of Ooktaie Khan, and other tribes and people left Aligh Yuroot, and went to reside with the aloos of Jooras, who were the shepherds of Chungeez Khan, and lived in the vicinity of the tribes or-aloos of Chughtaie Khan. Koblai Khan despatched troops against him several times, but Kaidoo always succeeded in defeating them. Koblai Khan, in consequence of the enmity subsisting between him and the people of China and Macheen, also despatched an army of 800,000 men from Chungdoo to Tungnas, and again conquered that country: he also built a city and palace near Chungdoo, the ancient capital of Khutaie, or Northern China. The reason was, Kowilai Khan did not like to reside in the city of Altan Khan, the Chinese king, and he therefore laid the foundations of another city and palace near it, which he called Koorshi.* This city was fortified by four walls within each other, the distance between each being more than an arrow-shot. The first or outer line of fortifications was called *Kirias*; the second was assigned to the officers of the army; the third was the station of the Khan's guards, and the fourth enclosure that of the palace. This city was called by the

* The Tartar city of Pekin.

Moghools Khan Baligh; of the remains of this city also is a large river or canal from the river Zeitoun, which cuts off forty days' journey from the ports of Hindoostan; this is brought through Khan Baligh; the breadth is said to be so considerable that it cannot be passed but in boats. Many merchants live, and carry on their trade wholly upon it; and the whole extent is navigable for large vessels. Some say it is four fursungs in breadth, and some say the city is four fursungs broad, the truth of this God knows. Kowilai Khan reigned thirty-five years, and died in the year 693 Hejri, or Yellan eel, his age being seventy-three years.

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*The fifth king of the Moghools was Timour Khan, the son of Jumakum, the son of Kowilai, the son of Tooli, the son of Chungeez Khan.*

After the death of Kowilai Khan, Timour his grandson ascended the throne; his people called him Ooljaitoo Khan. This prince reigned twelve years in Aligh Yoorut, and conducted the duties of his station with the greatest prudence and justice. At his death his cousin Ayud, the son of Moklai, the son of Kowilai Khan, the son of Tooli, ascended the throne.

He became a Mussulman, and in his time most of the Moghool tribes were converted to Mahummudanism; at his death he was succeeded by Keelai Khan, the son of Birlai, the son of Chukmeem, and the seventh king of the Moghools.

Keelai Khan was a prince of great good qualities, but of the Christian religion; he was succeeded by the eighth king Koshbilai, the son of Jinsing, the son of Toorma, the son of Chumikum, the son of Kowilai Khan.

Koshbulai was succeeded by his son, Toktai Kaan, the ninth king of the Moghools.

The tenth king was named Burrae or Burae Kaan, the son of Tooluk. Burrae Kaan, during his reign, was called by the Moghools Pulkotu or Peelkotu Kaan.

Anushirwan, the son of Dara, was the eleventh king of the Moghools; in his time (from his bad disposition and bad management) the affairs of the Moghools fell into great disorder; he was succeeded by Wuku Timour, the twelfth Kaan.

This prince was also called Tooktimoor. Tooktimoor was succeeded by Yusoor Dar Kaan, the thirteenth king of the Moghools.

The fourteenth was named Eenkeh Khan, the son of Yusoordar.

Fifteenth, Alung Kaan.

Sixteenth, Tooran Timoor Kaan.

Sevènteenth Ak Timoor Kaan, the son of Nubeea or Boneea, the son of Kurak Ooghul, the son of Ooktaie, the son of Chungeez.

Eighteenth Eelchee Timoor Khan.

It is related that Eelchee Timoor before his accession to the throne, was the servant of that great and victorious prince, Sahib Kiran, ameer Timoor* Goorkan, and that at the death of the Sahib Kiraniakbur, he immediately went to Aligh Yoorut and seated himself on the throne of Chungeez Khan.

Nineteenth, Tabuzi Khan.

This prince is said to have been descended from Areek Boka, the son of Tooli Khan, the son of Chungeez. It is said he succeeded Eelchee Timour Khan, and that in the time of the Sahib Kiran Timoor Goorkan, he fled from the princes of Aligh Yoorut and sought service with him, and that he was converted to the Mussulman faith; he also assumed the sovereignty of Aligh Yoorut after the death of Ameer Timoor; after reigning a short time, he was assassinated by the ameers of the Awirat or Eeraut tribes.

* Tamerlane.

Previous to the accession of Tabuzi Kaan, the Tungot Tartars had seized the capital of Khutai from Eelchee Timoor Kaan, and only the original chief cities of the Moghools, Kulooraun and Karakorum, remained to them.

Twentieth, Oordai Khan, the son of Mullik Timoor Khan; this king was descended from Areek Boka, the son of Tooli Khan. In his time, the ameers of the tribe of Eeraut, who were able but treacherous men, and the assassins of Tabuzi Kaan, raised the standard of rebellion against him.

Twenty-first, Oodaie, the son of Ak Timoor, the son of Boneea, the son of Kurak Ooghul, the son of Ooktaie Khan. In his time, the chiefs of Eeraut became so powerful, that they seized and retained possession of the capitals of the kings of the Moghools, Kulooran and Karakorum. (العلم عندالله)

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*A list of the kings of Kupchak, of the descendants of Chungeez Khan.*

Historians state, that the number of kings of Kupchak of the seed of Chungeez Khan to the present time is thirty-nine, beginning with Joje Khan, the son of Chungeez.

*An abridged history of Joje Khan, the son of Chungeez Khan, and the first King of Kupchak.*

It is related, that, on a time, during the absence of Chungeez Khan from his capital, and when no persons remained in his encampment except a few of the relations of his chief wife, (Boorut Koocheen, the daughter of the king of Kunkurat and the mother of his eldest children;) the tribe of Mukreet taking advantage of his absence, suddenly attacked, and took the whole of his camp and people, killing those who resisted, and marching off the rest prisoners. At that time Boorut Koocheen was six months gone with child of Joje Khan. As the Mukreet, however, were carrying off this lady, their spoil and prisoners, Oong Khan, the chief of the Kirayut tribe, who had adopted Chungeez Khan as his son, waylaid them with a numerous body of troops, and rescued Boorut Koocheen and her dependants and followers, and sent them safe back to Chungeez Khan. On the road, returning, Boorut Koocheen was delivered of a son, who, after he was born, by the advice of experienced persons, was wrapped up in *khumeer*, or dough, to prevent his receiving injury from the journey. When he was brought in this fashion to Chungeez Khan, he gave the

persons who brought him with such care, the title of *nairoon bayureen*, or faithful servants, and called his son *Joje*, which word signifies a guest or stranger. From these circumstances, Joje was always reproached by his brethren with illegitimacy, and many false stories were made up and reported to his disadvantage to Chungeez Khan; these are stated at length in the histories of the Chughtayan race, but the generality of impartial writers agree that Boorut Koocheen remained in the hands of the tribes of Mukreet and Kirayut from the time of her capture until she was returned to Chungeez Khan, not quite four months; but the falsehood of these imputations is best proved by the extreme love manifested towards Joje by Chungeez Khan, (which he never would have shown had he not been his own son,) particularly in affairs of state; and we are assured that Chungeez Khan loved him above all his children. From this circumstance, his other brothers Ooghtaie and Chughtaie hated him, and raised the reports to which we have alluded. Chungeez Khan, however, would never hear any thing that tended to the disparagement of Joje, and, when the intelligence of his death arrived, none of the ameers had the hardihood to inform Chungeez

Khan of his loss; at length, however, they all assembled, and it was determined that Alugh Jirje, or Georgi, who was one of Chungeez Khan's companions, and a chief of rank, should tell him while he was performing the duties of *bejur*,* and accordingly on that occasion, Georgi said to him in Turkish.†

The substance of what Jirje, or Georgi, said to Chungeez Khan, in the Turkish language, is thus translated:—‡"Oh, king, the sea is defiled or troubled, and who can purify or compose it? Oh! my king, a great commander has fallen from his throne, and who has power to raise him up and restore him?"—In answer to this Chungeez Khan replied that, "If the sea was troubled, his son Joje was the only person who could still it; and that

* I am not aware of the meaning of this term.

† It will be recollected, that in a former part of this history, the author says Chungeez Khan understood no other language than the Moghul. This, however, the original words of which are given in the history, is called Toorki or Turkish; the Toorki and Moghul are therefore the same according to our author, with some difference of dialect, and I think no one will put the knowledge of Pallas and Klaproth on the subject in competition with his.

‡ تينكير باشتن بولغا ندي كيم
توند و رور خانم تيرك توبتن چغلدي
كيم نورغوزو راخانم .&c

if a great commander had fallen from his throne, Joje alone could raise him up and re-establish him." When, however, Alugh Georgi repeated what he had said, with tears flowing from his eyes, Chungeez Khan said, "Why are thy eyes filled with tears, art thou grieved, and what is the cause of thy sorrow? Thou makest me sorrowful with thee. Surely Joje is not dead?" As Chungeez Khan had issued orders that if any one spoke of the death of Joje he should be punished, Georgi *replied, "I have no power to disclose the cause of my grief: thou hast said it; thy orders be with thyself, oh, king! thy penetration has disclosed my secret."* It is reported Chungeez Khan then said: "Like the wild ass pursued by hunters and separated from its young, so am I; and like a fool who seeks friendship among his enemies, and abandons his friends, so am I, separated from my brave and worthy children." The ameers of Chungeez Khan, who were all assembled, as soon as this conversation ended, took each his station, and performed the mourning ceremonies for the death of Joje Khan; six months after receiving this melancholy intelligence, Chungeez himself departed this life.

In the most faithful histories it is related, that

Joje, after the conquest of Khorezm, by the orders of his father, diverged to the desert of Kupchak, and that the countries of Khorezm, Kupchak, from the frontier of Kyalik to Sukseen, Jirj, or Juzur, Bulgharia, Alan, Bashkur, Aroos, and Circassia, with all the territories in that quarter covered by the hoofs of the Tartarian horse, were assigned to Joje Khan, and in those countries he fixed his abode, and reigned there in a manner independent.

Joje Khan, as has been related, died before his father: of his descendants thirty-nine reigned as sovereigns of the desert of Kupchak.

First, Batwi Khan (the son of Joje Khan, the son of Chungeez Khan), after the death of his father, assumed the sovereignty of Kupchak by the orders of Chungeez; the countries of Alan, Aroos, Roos, Bulgharia, Circassia, Korum, and Arwak, which were all in the possession of his father Joje, taking advantage of his demise, and that of Chungeez Khan, rebelled; but with the assistance of his uncle, Ooktaie Khan, Batwi reduced them all to obedience. An abstract of these events is as follows:—When Ooktaie Khan ascended the throne of Aligh Yoorut, he was informed that the people of Kupchak and the other dependencies of Batwi Khan

had rebelled against him. Ooktaie therefore despatched his son, Kyook Khan, Mango, the son of Tooli Khan, and Boolka, Noori, and Paidar, the sons of Chughtaie Khan, with an immense army to reduce all the countries subject to Joje Khan, and place them under the authority of his son Batwi. After many desperate battles they were all again subdued, and as the city of Mugus* was surrounded by a forest so thick that the wind could scarcely penetrate it, the princes cut it down, and made a road round the city that would admit of four carriages abreast; they then closely besieged the city, and, on taking it, massacred the whole of the inhabitants; the right ears of the slain, amounting to seventy-two thousand, were cut off and sent to Ooktaie Khan. On the arrival of the spring, when the princes had finished their warfare with the people of Roos, Kupchak, and Alan, they proceeded to the conquest of Kulah and Bashkur; the people of these countries, from their vicinity to the cities of Frengistan or Europe, being all Christians. Batwi Khan with the princes and an immense army proceeded on this expedition. The people he was about to attack, however, proud of their institutions, and relying on their

* Intended for Moskwa or Moscow.

strength, as soon as they heard of the movement of Batwi Khan, prepared to receive him; and, it is said, assembled in all near four hundred thousand horse to arrest his progress.

Batwi Khan appointed his brother Shuknak, the son of Joje, to command the advanced guard, consisting of ten thousand horse, and sent him off in front to reconnoitre the number and situation of the enemy: Shuknak returned in seven days, and reported they were twice the number of the Moghool army. When the armies approached near each other, Batwi Khan ordered all the Mussulmans in his army to assemble and repeat their prayers, and he himself ascended a hillock, and remained there without speaking to any one, in deep meditation and prayer, a day and a night.

The battle between the Moghools and Christians was fought the next day. It is said that a great river flowed between the armies, and that the night before, Shuknak, the son of Joje Khan, was despatched with a considerable force to cross it and take a position on the opposite side. Next morning, as soon as it was day, Batwi in person led the first onset, and repeated his charges without intermission; the Christians, however, being brave and numerous, did not give way until the

part of the army which had crossed the river attacked them in the rear, and Shuknak with his troops charged to their very tents, the cords of which they cut with their swords; this charge, being unforeseen by the Christians, defeated them, and Batwi Khan had nothing more left to do than to pursue and cut up the fugitives, which he did effectually. These countries, therefore, being subdued, Batwi, by the orders of Ooktaie Khan, marched to the desert of Kupchak, and was again seated on the throne of that country. Batwi, after this expedition, built the city of Seraie. It is said that Batwi was not of any religion, and that except the worship of one God, he followed no persuasion or sect; he was, however, a great friend to the Mussulmans, and he was moreover just and liberal; he died in the year 654 Hejri, or Looe eel Toorki.

### *The second king of Kupchak, Boorkeh Khan, the son of Joje Khan.*

It is stated by historians that when Batwi died, his brother, Boorkeh, succeeded him; some say he was a Mussulman, and in some histories it is related that his mother was of the Mussulman faith, and that he refused to take the breast of any

female, except that of a Mussulman woman who brought him up. When he grew up to manhood he was ordered to various parts by his brother, and on one occasion went to the Kobutool Islam Bokhara, where he fell in with a certain religious man, and by him was finally converted to Mahummudanism; the shaikh who converted him is said to have been Huzrut Syfe-ud-deen Bakhoorzeen, who was one of the disciples of Shaikh Nujum-ud-din Kobria. Boorkeh remained some time receiving instructions from this saint, until by his orders he returned to Kupchak by the route of Chaje Turkhan. On his march with a few troops near the river Edul, he fell in with the army of Hulako Khan, the son of Tooli Khan, and a terrible battle ensued between them; from the efficacy, however, of the prayers and instruction of his saint-like preceptor, Hulako, who was marching to invade Kupchak, was defeated and obliged to retreat and give up his intention. He therefore retired to Azurbijan, and falling sick on the road died at Tubreez; the supposition that he was killed in the battle is unfounded.

Boorkeh Khan, victorious and enlightened, returned to Kupchak, and by the decree of the Most High ascended the throne of that country, and sum-

moned his subjects to adopt the Mussulman creed. He reigned eight years, that is, from 654, or Looe eel, to 662 Hejri, or Suchkan eel Toorki, at which period he was seized with a disease called *kolunj*, or dropsy, and died.

He was succeeded by Sayin Khan,* third king of Kupchak.

In the most respectable histories his descent from Joje Khan and his actions are detailed at length, but as this is merely an abridgment of the Shajrat ul Atrak we shall only say, there is nothing found concerning him in that work; we, however, can state that he was a prince of great good qualities, and very liberal.

The fourth king, Moonga Timoor, the son of Toghan, the son of Batwi. It is related, that when Sayin Khan died in the city of Seraie, or as it is called Seraie Huk, Moonga Timoor Khan, the son of Toghan, the son of Batwi Khan, succeeded him. This Moonga was called also Kilik Khan, and is reported to have been a just, able, and liberal prince; in fact he is said to have been the redresser of wrongs and the terror of the tyrants and oppressors of his time.

The fifth king of Kupchak. On the death of

* Sayin signifies beautiful.

Moonga Timoor, Bussoo Munga Khan (who is also called Toka Begi), his brother, ascended the t hrone.

Sixth king; Toktaie Khan, the son of Moonga Timoor Kilik, the son of Toghan, the son of Batwi Khan, succeeded his uncle in the sovereignty of Kupchak.

The seventh king; Ourung, the son of Toghrul, the son of Kilik, the son of Toghan, &c.

On the demise of Toktaie Khan, Huzrut Sultan Mahummud Ourung Khan, the son of Toghrul, &c., who was chief of the Ooloos of Ourung, by the command of the Most High ,ascended the throne in the year of the Hejri 712, Oota eel Toorki. It is said that for eight years he remained with his tribe in the country of Orfa, depending on the territory of Kupchak, the air of that district agreeing best with him, and the country abounding with game; at the expiration of eight years, in the year 720 Hejri, Akook eel Toorki, he was converted to the Mahummudan faith by Huzrut Kootoobul Owlia Zungi Ata; the Syud changed the name Ourung Khan, given him by his parents, to Sultan Mahummud Ourung Khan; most of his tribe were also converted with him. The account of these conversions will be

found in the Mukamaut of Syud Ata. Syud Ata, after the accession of this prince and his tribe to the true faith, by the inspiration or direction of the Most High, caused them to remove towards Mawurunneher, and those who refused to obey Syud Ata, and remained unconverted, were denominated *Kilmak*, which signifies stationary; and those who accompanied Syud Ata and the Sultan to Mawurunneher were called after their king Ourung ;—when they arrived in Toorkistan the Turks there, from their common descent and consanguinity, also entered the tribe of Ourung; —the whole of those who accompanied Syud Ata and their chief Ourung, from Oorfa or Arka, are the disciples of that saint; and this is their distinguishing mark, that those who are not his disciples came before or after him to Toorkistan. Sultan Mahummud Ourung reigned thirty-eight years, and died in the year 750 Hejri, Pars eel Toorki.

The eighth king, Jani Beg, the son of Sultan Mahummud Ourung, the son of Toghrul, the son of Toktai, the son of Toghan, the son of Batwi, the son of Joje.—On the death of Mahummud Ourung, his son Jani Beg ascended the throne, and after making arrangements for the govern-

ment and regulation of his tribe, he marched with a large army by the route of Durbund to Tubreez. At that time no king of the seed of Chungeez Khan reigned in Iran: Ashruf, the son of Timoor Tash, the son of Choban Suldooz, of the race of the Suldooz chiefs, was king of Tubreez; he was extremely avaricious and a great tyrant.

When Jani Beg arrived at Tubreez, Mullik Ashruf was unequal to oppose him and his ooloos, and therefore retired towards Nukhchewan: he was, however, pursued by the Ourungians and taken prisoner by them; and Jani Beg, being a Mussulman and a just prince, put him to death, in retaliation for the cruelties he had committed, and freed the people from his tyranny. Jani Beg kept his army in such order, that although it was very numerous, no instance of violence or oppression occurred while he remained at Tubreez; he, however, seized all the treasures of Ashruf. One of the poets of the day wittily said, "Did you see what that ass Ashruf did? He took the load of oppression on his own shoulders, and left the gold to Jani Beg."* On the Friday following his entrance into Tubreez, Jani Beg attended the public prayers at

* دیدي که چه کرد اشرف خر
او مظلمي برد وجاتي بیک زر

the mosque of Alishah. Jani Beg after this subdued Azurbijan, and as he ruled with justice and was the patron of literature, Molna Sad-ud-deen Tuftazani, in the year 756, dedicated the abridgment of the Tulkhees to him. It is said, that Jani Beg was a righteous man and a great encourager of learning; when he had completed the subjection of Tubreez he appointed his son Pirowi Beg Sultan to the government of that country, and returned to the desert of Kupchak, to Seraie his capital, where he died; he was succeeded by his son Pirowi Beg, the ninth khan, or king of Kupchak.

When Jani Beg died, his son Pirowi Beg was established on the throne of Tubreez; he, however, on hearing of his father's death, returned to Kupchak, where he assumed the sovereignty and reigned until his death, when he was succeeded by the tenth khan, Keeladi or Keeldi Beg Khan; he was a just and upright man.

The eleventh, or Nowroze Khan; this prince ascended the throne by falsely pretending he was one of the descendants of Jani Beg.

The twelfth, or Churkus Khan; this prince was also taken by the ameers of Kupchak (for political purposes), to be of the descendants of Jani Beg;

he was succeeded by Khidr Khan, the thirteenth sovereign of Kupchak.

The fourteenth khan, Murdo Khan, the son of Khidr Khan.

The fifteenth, Bazarchi Khan.

The sixteenth, Tokaie Khan, the son of Shahi.

The seventeenth khan, Togluk Timoor, the nephew of Tokaie Khan; this prince, during his reign, conducted two expeditions to the conquest of Mawurunneher; he was at length carried off himself by the chupuwuls of death, and was succeeded by his brother, Moraud Khwajeh, the eighteenth khan.

The nineteenth khan, Kutluk Khwajeh, the son of Shahi, and the brother of Tokan Khan.

The twentieth khan, Aroos, or Ooroos Khan.

The twenty-first, Toktai Bae, or Bè, the son of Ooroos Khan; he was a mild and just prince.

The twenty-second khan, Timoor Tuluk, the son of Ooroos Khan.

Twenty-third khan, Toktumish.

It is related, that on the death of Timoor Tuluk Khan, Toktumish Khan was raised to the throne of his forefathers by the aid of the Sahib Kiran Ameer Timoor Goorkan. During the first part of his reign Ameer Timoor Goorkan continued his fast friend,

but latterly, from the advice of interested persons, their friendship was converted to enmity and hostility, and several battles were fought between them. Toktumish in all these was defeated, particularly in the last engagement, in which however the troops of Toktumish made a stand in the field for several days. It is reported of this battle, that on every onset the right wing of the Sahib Kiran Ameer Timoor's army defeated the left wing of the army of Toktumish, and the right wing of Toktumish's army defeated the left wing of Ameer Timoor. After this had occurred, several days following, Toktumish consulted with his ameers, and altered the disposition of his army; as the whole of his left wing was broken and dispirited, he ordered Yughli Bai Bahadoor Behreeni, who was the chief of the tribe of Bahreen (whose ancestors had been the chiefs of that tribe from the time of Aghooz Khan), and belonged to the right wing, to take his post with his tribe in the left wing the next day, and accordingly the next morning Yughli Bai Bahadoor Behreeni, with the whole of his ooloos and eel or tribe, took his station on the left. As the left wing of Toktumish was, however, dispirited, and afraid of the right wing of Ameer Timoor's

army, at the first charge they were broken and dispersed, and Timoor's general commanding the right wing, Ameer Osman (who was the fifth in descent from Kurachar Noyan), pursued them with such vigour that of the left wing of Toktumish, only Yughli Bai Bahadoor and his tribe remained. It is related, that on that day Yughli Bai had taken leave of his children and family, and that he took his station on horseback, with a spear in his hand, under the *togh* (the tail of the mountain cow) or standard, and that he directed his horse's legs should be secured by a chain. Osman, in the pursuit, charged up to the division of Yughli Bai Bahadoor, and a terrible struggle ensued between them, and many were killed and wounded on both sides. The two chiefs at length engaged in single combat, but as Yughli Bai's horse was embarrassed by the chain he fell down: the two chiefs having fast hold of each other at the time, and being heavy with their armour, they fell together to the ground. It happened, however, that Ameer Osman fell uppermost, and, therefore, having the advantage, he succeeded in cutting off the head of Yughli Bai. On seeing this, a shout burst from both armies, and the whole of the combatants turned their sole exertions to the possession of the

head of Yughli Bai, the one side to retake and the other to retain it; and in this struggle the slain fell in heaps; the army of Ameer Timoor, however, suffered the least, while the loss of their opponents was incalculable. The body of Yughli Bai Bahadoor it is said was, after the battle, found covered by the bodies of seven hundred young men of his tribe, all clad in black armour, and each with a *kitas* (tail of the mountain cow) suspended from his horse's neck. Their loss may be estimated from this circumstance. From that day the tribe of Bahreen, in the koor, assemblies, or durbars of the Ourung kings, have always taken their station (*Ooroon*) to the left, which is called by the Moghools *Joonghar*, and by the Turks *Syool-ghool*. Otherwise, before this period, they took their station to the right, with their brethren, the tribes of Kunkurat, Neiman, Jullair, Ooleshun, &c. (The right is called by the Moghools *Oonghar*, and by the Turks *Oonkool*.) This battle is the cause, at this time, of the diminution of their number, for they were originally twice the number of the tribes of Kunkurat and Neiman. In the Chughtayan histories it is related, that after the death of Yughli Bai Bahareeni, Huzrut Sahib Kiran Timoor added the title of Bahadoor to

Meer Osman's name, and also called him Nihung Giri, or the Seizer of the Crocodile. It is said that after this battle Toktumish had no power to make any further opposition to Ameer Timoor, and some say that his defeat was caused by the treachery of his ameers, who were in league with Ameer Timoor.

The twenty-fourth king of Kupchak was Timoor Kutlo, the son of Timoor Beg Oghlan.

On the death of Toktumish Khan, Timoor Kutlo Khan, the son of Timour Beg, who had been in the service of Ameer Timoor, was seated on the throne; he was succeeded by the twenty-fifth khan, Shadi Beg, a wise and good prince; on his death he was succeeded by his son, Poulaud or Foulad Khan.

The twenty-seventh khan, Timoor Khan, the son of Timoor Kutlo Khan, the son of Timoor Beg Oghlan.

Twenty-eighth, Julal-ud-deen, the son of Toktumish Khan.

Twenty-ninth, Kureem Purdi Khan, the son of Toktumish Khan.

It is related in the histories of the Turks, that on the death of Julal-ud-deen, his brother Kurreem Purdi Khan, ascended the throne.

Thirtieth, Kyook Khan, the son of Toktumish.

Thirty-first, Chugur or Jugreh Khan, the son of Toktumish.

Thirty-second, Jubur Purdi or Perovi Khan, the son of Toktumish.

Thirty-third, Syud Ahmud Khan.

Thirty-fourth, Durveish Khan, the son of Ilahi Ooghlan.

Thirty-fifth, Mahummud Khan. The period from the first of the sons of Joje to the accession of this prince was two hundred and ten years, that is from the year 621, or Suchun eel, to the year 831 Hejri, or Oot eel Toorki.

Thirty-sixth, Dowlut Purdi, the son of Tashtimoor.

Thirty-seventh, Borak Khan, the son of Kurchook.

Thirty-eighth khan, Ghiaus-ud-deen, the son of Shadi Beg Khan.

Thirty-ninth, Mahummud Khan, the son of Timoor Khan, the son of Timoor Kutlo Khan, the son of Timoor Beg Ooghlan. From the period of Joje Khan, to the accession of Mahummud Khan, the son of Timour Khan, two hundred and forty years had elapsed; this is the period of a *kirani owsut* or medium kurun, estimated by the move-

ments of the heavenly bodies; but God only knows the truth of this.

*A history of the children and descendants of the great Chungeez Khan, who established their authority in Persia,—Sixteen persons.*

Historians relate that when Mango Khan, the son of Tooli Khan, the son of Chungeez Khan, ascended the throne of Karakorum and Kulooran, the Aligh Yurut of Chungeez; he despatched Taicho Noyaun with a great force to take possession of Persia. After Taicho had conquered that country, he received certain complaints against the Caliph Mostasum Billah, and the infidel tribe of the Ismaelites,* which he forwarded to Mango Khan, who despatched against them his brother Hulako Khan, and the fifth part of the army of Chungeez Khan residing at Aligh Yurut.

*The reign of Hulako Khan, also called Eel Khan, the son of Tooli Khan, and the first king of Persia of his race.*

It is related, that when Mungo Khan appointed his younger brother Hulako to the government of Persia, he ordered every ten families to furnish two men† towards the formation of an army for

* The sect of the Shias. † Or the men of two families.

his brother. On this occasion also, Mungo Khan and his brethren each gave an entertainment to Hulako, who quitted them with much sorrow and reluctance.

On the 2d Rubbiel-avul 651 Hejri, Hulako took leave of Mungo Khan and joined his army, where he prepared for his expedition to Persia. It is related, that one thousand (nuftundauzan)* fire-

* From the testimony of Sir George Staunton, and De Guignes, fils, the discovery of gunpowder is to be ascribed originally to the Chinese.

The opinion entertained by some, that it proceeded from the West to the East, is, therefore, gratuitous. There is little doubt but that the articles employed in the composition of gunpowder were used in China for fireworks as early as the second or third century of the Christian era, and the نفط, or naptha, so often mentioned by the early Mahummedan historians, appears to me to have been nothing more than some combustible matter similar to gunpowder, or the Greek fire,—as, for instance, where could Chungeez Khan have found sufficient stores of naptha, or petroleum, for the sieges of such large cities as Balkh, Bokhara, and Samurkand, some of which, the author of this book says, were taken from the destructive effects of this fire.

I believe the Greek fire is allowed to have been borrowed from the Arabians, or Indians, who no doubt derived their knowledge of it from the Chinese.

As I have before stated, naphtha, or combustibles under that name, were used by the Moghools in and about 617 Hejri, at the sieges of Balkh, Bokhara, &c. The fire was thrown into these cities by engines, denominated munjuniki and ghirada, and the nuftundauzan, therefore, may be more correctly translated, fire-workers.

workers and engineers (munjuniki), accompanied his army.

On the 24th of Shaban of the same year he commenced his march, leaving his eldest son Tumgha Oghul, in charge of his affairs and possessions. On his arrival at Samurkund, in 653 Hejri, he encamped in the Field of Roses, and Musood Beg gave him an entertainment which lasted forty days; at this place, his brother Yasa Oghul died.

In the month of Zi Huj of the same year he marched to Kish, where he was met by Arghoon Agha Awirat from Toos, and Mullik. Shums-ud-deen Kirayut, from Herat with presents.

In Showal of the year 653-4, Hulako passed the Jihoon on a bridge of boats, and remained for the winter at Surghan Kishlu Munshi; he then marched thence to Kuhistan, Dartoon, and the dependencies of that country, which were occupied by the Mulahideh, or Ismaelites, and ordered an indiscriminate slaughter of that people; he next marched to Irak, and by the last day of Showal 654 Hejri, the government of the Mulahideh was abolished. The prince Khorezm Shah, who was residing in the castle of Maimoon Duj, of Durbund, was also taken prisoner, and despatched

to Mango Khan; he was, however, from some change of policy, recalled to deliver up some other forts, and murdered on the road returning.

It is related, that when the fort of Maimoon Duj of Durbund was besieged, and one day before the prince Khorezm Shah was taken, Nusur-ud-deen Toosi* who resided in that fort, for some reasons which are detailed in other histories, let himself down from the walls and gave himself up to Eel Khan or Hulako, and was received by him with every mark of favour. The next day the fort was taken and Khorezm Shah made prisoner.

After the capture of these forts, Hulako marched towards Baghdad, where he conquered the Caliph Motasim Billah, the last of the Abbassides, and made him and his four sons prisoners, and in 656 Hejri put them all to death; he also slaughtered all the inhabitants of Baghdad. It is said hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children, were destroyed in this massacre.

In the month of Rumzan 657 Hejri, Hulako marched towards Syria, and on the road appointed his son, Bishmoot, to superintend the siege of the

* The astronomer.

city of Myafarikeen, and marched himself to Nisibin. After the capture and destruction of that city, he next marched to Aleppo or Haleb, in which place he left not a man alive. When the people of Damascus heard of Hulako's arrival at Aleppo, they despatched messengers to him, and offered their submission. Hulako, to try whether they were sincere, despatched Kunooka Noyaun to Damascus, where he was received with every demonstration of respect. At this period, intelligence arrived of the death of Mango Khan, the son of Tooli Khan; and Hulako, on hearing it, became exceedingly distressed in his mind, and, having committed the charge of Syria to Kunooka Noyaun, prepared to return to his own country.

A short time after this Syfe-ud-din Furdooz, who was king of Egypt, marched with an army to Balbek, to attack Kunooka Noyaun, and after a short struggle Kunooka was made prisoner, and with many of his Moghools put to death.

Hulako, on hearing of this disaster, immediately prepared to revenge the injury done him, but was prevented by the rebellion of certain of his relations. Prince Bishmoot, the son of Hulako, who had been appointed to the siege of Myafarikeen after a siege of two years took that place, and

having made prisoner the chief, Mullik Kamil, despatched him to Hulako, by whom he was put to death with every circumstance of cruelty; Bishmoot after this marched to Mardin, where Mullik Saeed, the chief of that country, made his submission. Bishmoot, however, put him to death, and appointed his son, Mullik Muzuffur, chief in his place.

Bishmoot from this place returned to his father.

Hulako Khan in the latter part of his life entertained a great opinion of the talents of his eldest son, Bukai or Abukai Khan, and, therefore, resigned the charge of the countries of Irak, Mazinderan and Khorasan into his hands; he also committed the countries of Diarbekir and Diari Rubeeah to the charge of Boodun Noyaun; the cities of Room, or Romelia were given to Moeen-ud-din Purwaneh. Syfe-ud-din Tubukchi, who was his vuzeer, was put to death, and Shums-ud-deen Mahummud Joini was substituted in his place; the government of Sheerauz being given to his brother, Alauddin Ata Mullik, the author of the history called Jehan Kusha. In the time of Hulako all public commands and notifications were given in the name of Mango Khan, who was the king of Aligh Yoorut, but the collections were wholly intrusted to Ameer Arghoon Aka, of the tribe of Awirat,

who was also governor of Persia. Hulako made Tubreez his capital, but in the winter resided at Bazankushlak, a particular account of which will be found in the Jehan Kusha. The death of Hulako the son of Tooli Khan, occurred in the night of the 19th of Rubbiel-Akhur, 663 Hejri, or eet eel Toorki, at the village of Jufikur, depending on Tubreez, and he was buried in a fort on an isolated hill to the north of Tubreez; his age was forty-eight solar years, and he reigned between eight and nine years; he had eleven sons,—Abukai, Tumgha Ooghul, Bishmoot, Mungo Timoor, Tyubeen Ooghul, Nekodar Ooghul, Sukuneh, Turughaie, Tuboochin, &c.

Abukai Khan was the eldest son of Hulako, and by command of his uncle, Kowilai or Kuhlai Khan, the son of Tooli Khan, he ascended the throne in the month of Rumzan, 663 Hejri. Hulako Khan was fond of architecture, and erected many temples and fine palaces; he was also a great patron of learning. Of his works in aid of science, may be mentioned the astronomical observatory at Maragheh, near Tubreez, which was built by his orders by the celebrated Nussur-ud-deen Toosi, and the astronomical tables*

* Zeej.

formed from that observatory are to this day called the Tables of Eel Khan; a description of this observatory will be found in many histories.

*The reign of Abukai Khan, the son of Hulako.*

Abukai Khan was seated on the throne of his father in 663 Hejri in the village of Khifan Kum; his vuzeer was named Osooghchak; at the time of his accession Burkeh Khan, the son of Joje, reigned in Kupchak, and Boorak Khan, the son of Sookur, the son of Kamkar, the son of Chughtaie, was king of the Aloos, or tribe of Chughtaie.

When Abukai was established on the throne of Persia, he presented the iron durbund* of Shirwan to Bishmoot, his brother, and despatched his brother, Tyubeen Ooghul to Khorasan; he also committed the charge of Persia, as viceroy, to Sooghchak, and appointed Khwajeh Shums-ud-deen Mahummud Joini to the vuzarut, and Khwajeh Alauddin Ata Mullik to the government of the Darul Islam Baghdad. Shums-ud-deen was a very able vuzeer and both just and liberal; he was also very zealous in support of his religion.

In the time of Abukai, the son of Hulako, therefore, the learned and religious were protected, and received every encouragement.

* This term is applied to the fortifications, I suppose.

Khwajeh Alauddin Ata Mullik, used every endeavour to restore the city of Baghdad to its former splendour, and in a great measure succeeded in repeopling and rebuilding that place. Khwajeh Bahauddin Mahummud, on the contrary, committed many acts of oppression and violence in Isfahan, and executed many persons, both good and bad; and notwithstanding his father, Shums-ud-deen Mahummud, wrote to him reprobating his conduct, and forbidding the shedding of so much blood, it was of no avail: however, the maledictions of the oppressed at last seized him, and he was cut off in his youth. It is related that in the commencement of the reign of Abukai, Boorkeh Khan, the son of Joje Khan, despatched prince Booka with an army by the road of the Durbund of Shirwan to Azurbijan. Bishmoot, the son of Hulako, was appointed by his brother to oppose this invasion, and on the 20th Suffur 664, a battle was fought between these princes, and the troops of Kupchak were defeated. When Boorkeh Khan heard of this event, he assembled three hundred thousand men, and advanced himself to conquer Persia, by the route of Durbund to the river Kurd.

Abukai Khan also assembled a great army,

and encamped on the this side of the river; after remaining in this situation a few days, Boorkeh Khan marched to Teflis to cross the bridge there, and while on the march died suddenly: on his death his troops dispersed and returned to their homes.

In the year 666 Hejri, Borak Khan the son of Sookur Khan, the son of Kamkar, the son of Chughtaie, who was the sovereign of the tribes of Chughtaie Khan, despatched Musood Beg Bulloche, who came from Bokhara, from the camp of Chughtaie, to Abukai Khan, with messages of friendship, but in reality that he should examine into the strength and quality of his army, and the state of the intervening roads. When Musood Beg arrived near the camp of Abukai Khan, the vuzeer Khwajeh Shums-ud-deen went out to meet him, and on his approach, to show him civility and respect, dismounted from his horse and proceeded to embrace him on foot; the Bulloche, however, from pride would not dismount, but received the embrace of the Khwajeh on his horse; the vuzeer was much vexed at this mark of disrespect, but could not conveniently demand satisfaction for the insult or take notice of it. When Musood Beg was introduced to Abukai Khan, at Tubreez, he also made another display

of his vanity, and in declaring the purposes of his mission, which he did in very elegant language, took his seat above all the other ameers; but, after two or three days, seeing he was held in dislike and suspicion, he demanded his dismissal, and mounting a swift horse, returned as fast as he was able to Mawurunneher. After the departure of Musood Beg, it was reported to Abukai Khan that his mission was one of deceit, and that he brought a secret message from the tribe of Chughtaie to Tokzur Sookur, the son of Kamkar, the son of Chughtaie, who was in Georgia, ordering or inciting him to join them, in an attack on Abukai Khan. Abukai Khan, therefore, despatched his servants to pursue and bring him back, but without success, as Musood Beg, when he arrived at Azurbijan had placed relays of horses on the road, and had, therefore, posted the whole of the way, returning. When Musood Beg returned to Borak Khan, he made his report of what he had seen and heard, and Borak Khan collected his horses, and assembled an army to invade Persia. Abukai Khan, in the mean time, being aware of his intentions, despatched an army under Ameer Shiramoon, to attack Tokzur, the son of Chughtaie Khan, then in Gurjistan or

Georgia, and this force, in the month of Showaul 667 Hejri, attacked Tokzur Ooghul when he was unprepared for such an event, and took him prisoner, and from this cause arose a war between the Ameers of the Chughtaie tribe and Abukai Khan. In the same year (667), Borak Khan, with a force estimated at one hundred thousand horse, marched to attack Abukai Khan, and having crossed the Jihoon, or Oxus, advanced towards Persia, ravaging the provinces of Khorasan and Azurbijan. Abukai Khan also marched towards Khorasan, with a large army to oppose him, and in the month of Zi Huj 668 Hejri, the armies met at a village six farsangs from Herat; a battle ensued, in which the army of Borak Khan was totally defeated, and all his baggage taken by Abukai Khan; Abukai left his brother Tyubeen Ooghul in charge of Khorasan, and then returned to Azurbijan. It is well known that after this period Abukai Khan was engaged in warfare with the kings of Egypt, and therefore it may not be amiss to preface an account of these events, by an abridgment of the history of the kings of that country, trusting it may prove agreeable to the learned.

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*An Account of the Kings of Egypt.*

As has been before related, in the year 665 Hejri, Sullah-ud-din Yoosuf, the son of Ayoob, who was one of the servants of Noor-ud-din Muhmood, the King of Syria, obtained the chief authority in the country of Egypt, and on the first Friday of the month of Mohurrum 666 Hejri, or Ood eel Toorki, he caused the name of Adhid Alwi to be discontinued in the Khotbeh, and substituted in its place the name of Mustukzae Abassi, and assumed the government of Egypt. After the death of Sullah-ud-din Yusuf, his children in their turns occupied the throne of Egypt to the time Mullik Salih (who was also one of his descendants) established himself as king. When Mullik Salih died, one of his slaves, named Kodur, assumed the kingly authority, and the title of Mullik Muzuffur; and in the reign of Hulako, Kunooka Noyaun, his viceroy at Damascus was slain by this man. Some time after that event, Bundookdar Agur, one of the mamlooks or slaves of Mullik Salih, attacked Mullik Muzuffur, and having made him prisoner, and put him to death, obtained the dominion of Egypt.

It is related that Bundookdar, after his acces-

sion, accompanied by two or three of his most confidential servants, proceeded as a spy to Room, and after examining the state of that country, returned to Egypt; that he then despatched an ambassador to Abukai Khan, with a message purporting that he had made a journey to Room for his amusement, and that he had left his ring in pledge with a certain cook or confectioner there, for provisions supplied to him, and begged Abukai would return it. Abukai Khan was surprised at his rashness, but despatched a messenger to Moeen-ud-din Purwaneh, that he might return friendly letters to Bundookdar in reply. In the mean time, however, the king of Egypt marched to Room, and Purwaneh, from fear of him, abandoned the country. Bundookdar had remained but a short time at Room, when he died. After his decease, his son, Mullik Saeed, succeeded him; but Mullik Saeed reigned only two years, and was succeeded by Syfe-ud-deen Kulladun, or Kullawun, generally known by the name of Alfi.

On the 20th of the month of Zi Huj 673, Ameer Arghoon Aka, who had held the government of Persia thirty years, died at Toos; and in Zi Huj 679, Abukai Khan, the son of Hulako, despatched his brother Mango Timoor Oghul with a large force

to Syria and Egypt. Alfi immediately displayed his standard to oppose him, and the two armies met at the city of Hams. In the battle fought there, victory remained with the banners of Islam, and the infidel Moghools were defeated with great loss by the Egyptians. This battle was fought in the month of Rujub 680, and Mango Timoor, the son of Hulako, immediately after retired to Baghdad. Some say, that Mango Timoor was killed in this battle. At that time Abukai Khan was also at Baghdad, and very desirous to march to Syria, to revenge his brother's defeat; however, some reasons of state prevented him, and he marched to Hamadan.

It is related, that in the latter years of the reign of Abukai Khan, Mujeed-ul-moolk Yuzdi, with the assistance of certain Moghool ameers, obtained the office of dewaun, or vuzeer, and that Abukai Khan became estranged from his former dewaun, Shums-ud-deen Muhummud; he was, therefore, not consulted in state matters, and his brother, Alauddin Ata Mullik, the governor of Baghdad and the author of the history called the Jehan Kusha, at the instigation of Mujeed-ul-moolk Yuzdi, was accused of mismanagement, and his trial was pending, when, on Thursday the 20th of Zi Huj 680, Abukai

Khan died at Hamadan of excessive indulgence in wine, at an entertainmeut given by his vuzeer, Shums-ud-din. Abukai reigned seven years and three months; some histories state seventeen years. His dominion extended from Turkey or Room, to Diarbeker, Diar Rubeeah, Georgia, Shirwan, Shumakhi, and to Syria, and from parts of the kingdom of Persia, that is to say, from Shiraz, Ispahan, Istakhar, Yezd, Seistan, Mazinderaun and Khorasan, to the banks of the Jihoon, or Oxus.

*The third khan, Nikodar, the son of Hulako, who was styled Ahmud Khan.*

It is related that Sultan Ahmud, before his conversion to the Mahummudan faith, was called Nikodar Ooghul, and that after the death of his brother, having consulted with his chiefs and ameers, it was determined that Arghoon, the son of Abukai Khan, who had received charge of the province of Khorasan during the life-time of his father, and who commanded a large army there, and was therefore an object of dread, should be summoned, by a fictitious order, to attend his father; and by such an order he did attend, and some consultation took place regarding the succession. Arghoon Khan, who was ignorant of the death of Mango

Timoor, his great-uncle, was of opinion he, Mango Timoor should succeed his father. Nikodur Oghul however, having assumed the office of Mango Timoor, Arghoon was reluctantly compelled to submit. On the 13th Rubbiel-Avul, 681 Hejri, Nikodur Ooghul ascended the throne in the town of Alatak, and reigned with justice over the country of Persia, particularly Azurbijan and Irak. This prince was the first person of his family who became a Mussulman; when he was converted he took the title of Sultan Ahmud Khan. Sultan Ahmud continued the vuzarut, as before, of Khwajeh Shums-ud-deen Mahummud; he also received Alauddin Mullik Ata into his favour, and gave up Mujeed-ul-moolk Yezdi (for some offence against the Mahummudan law) into his hands to be put to death. Khwajeh Ata Mullik also died on the 4th Zi Huj 681.

As at that time by the righteous endeavours of Khwajeh Shums-ud-deen and Sultan Ahmud Khan, the Mussulman religion began to acquire great strength, several of the princes who were infidels, commenced to entertain and display great malice towards the sultan and his faith; among these, Arghoon Khan, the son of Abukai Khan, retired to Khorasan and raised the standard of rebellion,

and in the month of Suffur 683 Hejri, advanced to Damghan. Sultan Ahmud on hearing this, despatched Ali Ibnak, otherwise called Alinak, to Khorasan, to oppose him. Alinak, on his arrival there, took and plundered Damghan and put the inhabitants of that city to death; and shortly after the armies met in the plains of Fuhwacheh, and a battle followed, in which prince Arghoon was defeated. After this event, Sultan Ahmud Khan himself marched to Khorasan, and Alinak hearing of his movement, renewed his pursuit of Prince Arghoon, who sought refuge in the fort of Kilat; about that time Sultan Ahmud and his army arrived at Khojan, and despatched orders to Alinak (who was his son-in-law), to prevail on Prince Arghoon to quit the castle of Kilat, and then bring him to his presence. Alinak therefore entered the fort of Kilat, and by assurances of safety persuaded Arghoon to proceed to Sultan Ahmud's camp at Khojan. Alinak, in secret, however, used every means to prevail on the sultan to put him to death, but Sultan Ahmud did not attend to his suggestions, but placed him in confinement in a khirgah, and appointed Oorook, the brother of Meer Yoogha, with four other persons selected by Alinak, to keep him in

custody. Alinak modestly gave those men orders to put Arghoon to death seven days after he departed, and then went to amuse himself at the camp at Purmahro, in Irak. After he departed, the independent horse of the Sultan Ameer Yoogha Jungshanuk, of Khutaie, and a number of other ameers who were offended at the sultan's conversion to Islamism, assisted by the friends of prince Arghoon released him in the night from prison, and in concert fell upon Alinak, who was slain, with many servants of Sultan Ahmud. The next day, Ameer Yoogha despatched a camel messenger to the tribe of Kara Oubash, to desire them to seize the passes by which the Kooltulli troops under Sultan Ahmud Khan were about to advance, and after a few days Arghoon also proceeded to oppose the sultan. The sultan heard of the release of Arghoon and the events which followed it, in the vicinity of Isferain, and being without the means to oppose Arghoon, sought refuge with his mother Kowuti Khatoon, who resided in the Sorab of Herat. When the sultan arrived at Kazvin, he fell in with Teelai Timoor, one of the chief ameers of Arghoon, whom he seized and put to death with his sons; and from Kazvin, continued his flight without halting until he arrived at Herat. In his flight, almost all his servants abandoned him.

Two or three days after the arrival of Sultan Ahmud at the Sorab of Herat, the tribe of Kara Oubash attacked his camp and plundered it, and soon after Prince Arghoon also arrived in that vicinity. In these circumstances Bookai and Shunkoor, the chief servants of his mother, to seek favour with Arghoon, treacherously seized Sultan Ahmud, and carried him to Arghoon, pretending they were originally his servants. For this reason some historians have stated, that when Sultan Ahmud arrived at Herat he was recognized and seized by the troops of Arghoon Khan, and that by Arghoon's orders he was put to death. The facts are, however, that when Bookai and Shunkoor carried Sultan Ahmud to Arghoon, he delivered the Sultan over to the sons of Kunkur Bai, whose father had been slain by Sultan Ahmud, and they, in retaliation, broke his back, and, at the same time, broke the hearts of the people of Islam. Sultan Ahmud reigned two years and about three months.

### *The fourth khan, Arghoon, the son of Abukai Khan, &c.*

Arghoon Khan ascended the throne in succession to his uncle on the 7th Jemadi-il-Akhir 683-4, and committed the management of his affairs to Ameer Yoogha. Khwajeh Shums-ud-deen,

on the death of Sultan Ahmud, fled to Ispahan, and gave out that he was proceeding to Hindoostan by sea. At this time, however, a letter of invitation and encouragement arrived from Arghoon to him, and by the advice of some of his friends, and relying on the protection of God, he returned to the camp of Arghoon Khan, and in the month of Rujub of the same year he was presented to Arghoon Khan in durbar. Ameer Yoogha, however, who saw his confidence and dreaded his abilities, accused him, before Arghoon Khan, of having poisoned Abukai Khan; and Arghoon, at the suggestion of his enemies, put him to death. One of the poets of that day said, on his death, "On the departure of Shums (the sun) from the heavens it rained blood." "The moon scarred her sweet face, and Venus tore her hair."* "Night clothed herself in mourning for him," and "the morning sighed deeply and tore her veil."†

It is reported, that when the executioner went

* Alluding to the Oriental custom of tearing the face and hair on occasions of mourning.

† از رفتن شمس از فلک خون بچکید
مه روي بکند و زهره کیسو بدرید
شب جامه سیه کرد دران ماتم و صبح
برزد نفس سرد و گریبان بدرید

to put Shams-ud-deen Mahummud to death, he bathed, and sought an omen in the koran, and that these words presented themselves to him.* "Of a truth, upon those who say, our Lord is God, and are firm in their profession and belief; angels shall descend, that they may not entertain fear, and they shall be blessed with glad tidings of the heavens, which have been promised to you."

After the death of Shums-ud-deen, the power of Yoogha became exceedingly great, until, for some crimes, which are detailed in other histories, he was put to death. In 686 Hejri, agreeing with Akook eel Toork, Saud-ud-dowlah, who was a jew and a physician, became the companion of Arghoon, and greatly in favour with him; at length he became so powerful that he deprived the other ameers of all authority. In his time the infidel Jews were promoted to high rank, and they insolently reproached and insulted those of the white or pure religion† and Arghoon Khan, at the instigation of that unbeliever, ordered that no Mussulmans should be employed in the duties of the state; they were also prohibited from

* قوله تعلي

† Millut i Beizaie.

attending his court. That worthless king and his vile vuzeer, moreover, determined that the Kauba at Mecca, should also become an idol temple, and that the worship of the true God should be superseded by the worship of images of wood and stone. About that period, Ameer Bookai and Ameer Toorktai arrived with a great army from Kupchak to invade Persia, and Arghoon Khan despatched Ameer Togachar and divers of his chiefs to Karabaugh to oppose them. Ameer Choban Suldooz was also sent afterwards with a large force to reinforce them. In the month of Rubbiel Akhir 688 Hejri, Tungooz-eel, the contending armies met, and a battle ensued, in which Choban Saldooz obtained great fame and the Jojivi or Kupchak army was defeated. After this victory the Jew Saud-ud-dowlah, persuaded Arghoon Khan to establish the worship of idols * in his dominions, when, unexpectedly, the prayers of the Mussulmans were accepted, and a miracle saved and established the religion of Mahummud; the account of which is as follows. Towards the end of the year 689 Hejri, a fatal disease attacked Arghoon Khan, which confined him to his bed, and his ameers became greatly alarmed for his

* A strange mistake of the author's.

safety; in particular the Jew Saud-ud-dowlah, who was afraid of the consequences of his bad actions, and endeavoured by a specious adherence to justice and mercy, to avoid them; in one day therefore he despatched seventy letters to different quarters, to forbid any show of partiality or interference with the people on the score of religion; and by that means, freed the professors of Islam from persecution and reproach. As the arrow of the prayer of the persecuted and oppressed, had reached the butt of acceptance, this pretended moderation and liberality was of no avail; the disease of Arghoon Khan increased every day, and as Ameer Togachar and other chiefs, had long entertained a rooted aversion to the Jew Saud-ud-dowlah, on the last day of Suffur 690 Hejri, they seized him and put him to death.

Arghoon Khan was informed of the assassination of Saud-ud-dowla, when he was in the agonies of death, and immediately after expired. Arghoon died on the 3d Rubbiel-Avul of the same year. The religion of Mahummud by his death, became flourishing as a garden by the breezes and showers of spring; and the hearts of its enemies were broiled on the fire of grief and despair. Arghoon died in Karabaugh, a town of Persia, and was

buried on the mountain of Zobeer, near the burying place of Kyde, one of the prophets, in a tomb made for the purpose, and the environs were made *koorook* or sacred; the place is still known by the name of the *Tuffuruk* of Arghoon. Arghoon reigned seven years.

*The fifth khan, Gunjatoo Khan, the son of Abukai, the son of Hulako, &c.*

Gunjatoo Khan during the life-time of Arghoon Khan, resided in the country of Room, or Asia Minor; as soon, however, as he heard of his death, being invited also by his chiefs, he proceeded to the camp of Arghoon, where he arrived in the month of Rujub 690 Hejri. On his arrival, some of the ameers joined Alinak, and others willingly, and some unwillingly, admitted and recognized his authority: Gunjatoo Khan about that period, being informed that some disturbances had arisen in Room, despatched a large army under Mango Timoor, the son of Lukaie Noyaun, one of his chief ameers, towards Persia, and returned himself to quell a rebellion in Room, where he remained during the winter; and having accomplished his object, returned to Tubreez in the month of Jemadi-il-akhir 691 Hejri.

He now commenced to arrange for the esta-

blishment of his authority, and appointed Kyoorka his ameer-ul-omra, and confided the vuzarut to Suddur-ud-deen Khalid Zunjani. About the time of the death of Arghoon, a certain Atabuk Afrasiab, had raised a rebellion in Looristan, and had taken possession of Isfahan; Ameer Mango Timoor, the son of Lukaie Noyaun, who had marched from Tubreez to Persia with a large army by the command of Gunjatoo Khan, when he departed to Room, entered Persia, and expelled this rebel from Isfahan, of which he in turn took possession. Gunjatoo Khan was a very liberal prince, so much so that the revenue of his kingdom could scarcely supply his expenses, he was also addicted to all kinds of the vilest debauchery. In the year 693 Hejri, the use of *jad*, or stamped paper, was introduced into Persia, but subsequently abolished. It is related in the histories of those times, that stamped paper to serve as current money was introduced in commercial transactions into Persia, by the advice of Az-ud-deen Muzzuffur; these notes which were called *jad* in Persia, were long slips of paper stamped on both sides with the arms or seal of the prince, and on both sides also, the profession of faith or the names of two witnesses, and between these the words in

the Khutaie language and character, "Nokta aburnucheen noor Cheen," the name of the Kaan of Khutaie, and called by the Moghools the king of kings; by the introduction of these *jad* or bank-notes, however, the resort of merchants to Persia was interrupted or abandoned, and the sale and purchase of all merchandize entirely stopped. The ameers therefore assembled and represented these circumstances to Gunjatoo Khan, and he ordered his stamped-paper regulations to be abolished.*

* Respecting the paper-money issued by the Chinese and Moghool kings, see Marco Polo, 353-4, De Guignes, and Marsden, 677.

The principal motives assigned for the revolt of the Moghool chiefs against Gunjatoo Khan was, his having attempted to establish in his dominions this system of paper-money.

In China the introduction of paper to pass as money had been attempted several times before, but apparently without success. According to Marco Polo, who saw that current in the reign of Ooktaie Khan, the paper was made of the inner rind of the mulberry-tree, and was cut into small oblong pieces, like that issued by Gunjatoo Khan. These notes were signed by officers specially appointed, and sealed with the Emperor's seal; the amount for which the notes passed was payable in bullion at the treasury; counterfeiting this paper was made a capital offence. According, also, to Père Gaubil, paper-money had already been current under the Grand Khan Ooktaie, who himself only imitated what had been practised by the dynasty that preceded the Yuen, or the family of Chungeez Khan.

C'est cette année (1234) qu'on fit la monnoie de papier; les billets s'appelloient tchao—le sceau du pon-tchin-se, ou trésorier

It is said that Gunjatoo Khan was much addicted to wine and women, and that he sometimes seduced the daughters of his chiefs, and for that reason Ameer Togachar, Ameer Toladai, and others, being discontented at his irregularities, agreed to raise to the throne Baidoo, the son of Turaghai, who was the governor of Baghdad. Baidoo accordingly rebelled, and the ameers of Gunjatoo, who were in that part of the country, and who were also offended at Gunjatoo's conduct, all joined him. When prince Baidoo became powerful by the accession of the ameers, he put the chief of Baghdad, Mahummud Shukurchee, to death, and made preparations openly to depose Gunjatoo Khan. Gunjatoo, however, soon became aware of this defection, and seized Ameer Kuchookmal, Ameer Toladai, and others, whom he knew to be inimical to him, and confined them in the fort of Tubreez. After this became known, Ameer Togachar secretly despatched a messenger to Baghdad, to invite Baidoo, without loss of

général de la province étoit emprient dessus, et il y'en avoit de tout valeur; cette monnoie avoit déjà couru sous les princes de Kin.

By Du Halde we are informed also, that its establishment was attempted by the first prince of the dynasty that succeeded the Moghools.

time, to the camp of Gunjatoo Khan, to depose him, and promised to arrange all parties in his favour when he arrived. Baidoo, therefore, marched from Baghdad with a large army towards Azurbijan, and Gunjatoo also prepared to oppose him. Gunjatoo Khan first despatched Ameer Akyooka and Ameer Togachar with a body of troops in advance; and on the 10th Jemadi-il-Avul 694 Hejri, he himself marched to meet his enemy. In the mean time, however, the ameers who were imprisoned in the castle of Tubreez, were released by the friends of Baidoo, and escaped to Persia.

During this time also the two ameers despatched in advance by Gunjatoo Khan quarrelled, and Ameer Akyooka was obliged to quit the advanced force, and return alone: he rejoined Gunjatoo Khan at the village of Tamar Khatoon, near Tubreez. He there disclosed the melancholy state of Gunjatoo Khan's affairs, apprizing him of the defection of Togachar and his force, and of the rapid advance of Baidoo with an immense army. Gunjatoo Khan, alarmed and dispirited at this general treachery and defection, immediately marched towards Persia, and on his arrival at the castle of Chowghan, the ameers, who had escaped from prison, to Persia, in

in concert with others, who resided there, fell upon him unexpectedly, and having made him prisoner, put him to death. This occurred in the year 694 Hejri. In justice to this prince, it may be stated in his favour, that he was the most generous of all the descendants of Hulako Khan, and that during his reign he never caused the execution of an innocent man, or permitted the punishment of the guilty, otherwise than was prescribed by the law. In the history called the Ulusi Arba, or of the Four Tribes, it is related that Gunjatoo was originally called Unkatoo, which, in the Moghul language, signifies astonishing or wonderful. And it is said that Gunjatoo Khan had reigned three years and seven months, when on Wednesday the 6th of Jemadi-il-Avul, 694 Hejri, he was put to death. He was buried by the orders of Baidoo Khan, at Karabaugh.

*The sixth khan, Baidoo Khan, the son of Turaghai, the son of Hulako, the son of Tooli Khan, &c.*

When Baidoo Khan heard of the death of Gunjatoo Khan, he immediately proceeded to Tubreez, and ordered some of the ameers, whom he suspected of disaffection, to be put to death; and on the 8th of Jumadi-il-Avul 694, he ascended the throne in the town of Oojan. He then constituted Togachar, his ameer ul-omra, being mainly in-

debted to him for his exaltation to the throne, and appointed Jumal-ud-deen Dusunjurwani, his vuzeer.

When the death of Gunjatoo Khan, and the succession of Baidoo Khan became known, Prince Ghazan, the son of Arghoon Khan, the son of Abukai Khan, who had remained governor of Khorasan from the time of his father's reign to that period, assembled an army, and marched to oppose Baidoo Khan. Baidoo also prepared to repel his invasion, and the contending armies having met, a great battle was fought between them, but it appears with no decided effect, as the chiefs on both sides made an agreement, that the princes should meet in front of both armies, each attended by ten horsemen; and having accordingly met and dismounted, they, after some conversation, finally settled, that the countries of Irak Arabia, Diarbukur, Azurbijan, Iran, Armenia, Georgia, and Room, should be considered the share of Baidoo Khan; and that Prince Ghazan should possess the countries of Irak Ajum, Fars, Khorasan, Khoristan, and Looristan. A treaty was made to this effect, and Prince Ghazan returned towards Awindkoh, where on his arrival he became dissatisfied, and ashamed of the treaty, and re-

turned thence to Khorasan, determined to try his fortune in battle once more: in consequence of his resolution he now took counsel of Ameer Nowroze Ghazi, the commander of his forces.—This chief was the son of Ameer Arghoon Agha Awirat, who, in the time of the sons or grandsons of Chungeez Khan, was thirty years governor of Khorasan. Ameer Nowroze, after the death of his father, entered the service of Arghoon Khan, the son of Abukai Khan, and when Ameer Booka, although a very worthy and powerful man, was put to death on some pretence by Arghoon Khan, Ameer Nowroze fled to the east country, where, as he was a Mussulman, he drew the sword of the faith, and put to death multitudes of the infidels of that part of the country; for a long time also he made war on Prince Ghazan, but in the year 694 he made peace with him, and was received into his service, and made sipahsalar, or commander in chief of his forces. But to return to our narrative. Prince Ghazun repenting of his treaty with Baidoo Khan, determined to try to recover from him the provinces of Irak Arabia and Azurbijan; and, therefore, consulted with Ameer Nowroze on the best mode of attaining his object. Ameer Nowroze Ghazi in

reply to his questions said, I will engage to place you on the throne of the Khans, and that Baidoo Khan shall be deposed; but, on this condition only, that you abjure idolatry, and adopt the religion of the last prophet Mahummud, who is the extirpator of all other religions. God in his great goodness opened the heart of Prince Ghazan to conviction, and he immediately accepted these terms; and in the town of Feeroze Koh, which is situated between Oobeh and Gurjistan, he repeated the Kulima, or the profession of faith in the unity of God; and it is said, that on that very day some thousands of infidels were converted from vice and folly to the knowledge of the grace of God: the house of Islam, which in that country had previously become weak and ruinous, by the conversion of Prince Ghazan, was propped and supported. In commemoration of this event, Nowroze Agha raised a pillar of white marble on the spot, which is on the road between Oobeh and Gurjistan, or Georgia; and this stone is to this day called Meer Nowroze's pillar.

After prince Ghazan had become a Mussulman, he raised an army and marched to Azurbijan and encamped at Rai, whence he despatched an eloquent ambassador to Baidoo Khan, to demand

the murderers of his uncle Gunjatoo Khan. The ambassador, however, returned without accomplishing his mission, and Ghazan Khan then, openly aided by Ameer Nowroze, commenced to make war on Baidoo. Baidoo Khan also was not backward in preparing to oppose him, and their armies soon approached each other; *kurauwuls* or advance parties (which are called *yuzuk* in Persian) having met, a battle between them ensued, and those of Baidoo were defeated. Ghazan, notwithstanding their success, still made as if he were desirous of peace, and sent messengers twice to Baidoo, to state in a friendly manner, that the battle between the light troops had been fought without his knowledge, and that the request for the surrender of the murderers of Gunjatoo Khan was not made from motives of enmity, but from a desire that justice should be done; that it was imperative on kings to punish the ingratitude of servants who had treacherously murdered their lord and master, however long their punishment might be delayed, that their example might deter others from the like treason; that Gunjatoo Khan was his uncle, but that he was also Baidoo's cousin. Baidoo also returned an answer in a friendly style, and it was agreed that the two princes should meet

in friendship,* and that they should settle their differences without the intervention of any other person. On the appointed day, therefore, the two kings accompanied by their troops approached each other, and each, followed by a few horse, met in the centre of their armies, and after the usual compliments and salutations, Prince Ghazan demanded he should possess the country of Anjo Fars, and Irak, which had formerly belonged to Arghoon Khan. Baidoo Khan very liberally granted his request, and the princes then agreed to meet at an entertainment the next day, and after that return to their respective countries. Baidoo Khan and his ameers made this engagement, with an intention to put Ghazan to death next day at the entertainment, during a display of fireworks. When the two kings returned to their tents, Ghazan began to suspect that he was in danger, and being aware of the treachery of the infidels, he immediately marched towards Khorasan. The next day, when Baidoo learned his departure, he was extremely grieved at it; and Prince Ghazan also, in apology, despatched a messenger to him to say, that he had placed the utmost confidence in his elder brother, Baidoo

* *Aghawai*,—as brothers.

Khan, but that as he was aware his, Baidoo's, ameers entertained treacherous designs, he had been obliged to quit him, without leave, and return to Khorasan. Baidoo Khan, on his part, openly made many professions of kindness and friendship, and gave an order that Mullik Islaum Jumal-ud-deen should deliver up the province of Anjo Fars to Prince Ghazan, with the exception of the revenues realized. The servants of Prince Ghazan having carried this order to Fars, Jumal-ud-deen produced another order forbidding the surrender of the province, and the servants of Prince Ghazan were obliged to return. About this time Ameer Nowroze went to Baidoo Khan as an ambassador, but, in reality, to enquire into the state of the provinces of Azurbijan and Irak Arabia, and to see how the ameers of that part of the country were affected towards Baidoo; he, accordingly, on his arrival there, entered into a secret agreement with Ameer Togachar, that they should in concert depose Baidoo Khan and raise Prince Ghazan to the throne. Baidoo Khan detained Ameer Nowroze several days, but the latter having sworn that, if he were released, he would proceed to Khorasan and deliver up Ghazan to Baidoo, he was at length allowed

to depart. After Nowroze had arrived in Khorasan, as a mode of fulfilling his engagement to Baidoo, he sent him a large copper vessel, which in Persian is called a *kazan*;* Baidoo and his ameers were astonished at his deceit, and were afterwards much ashamed of their folly in dismissing Nowroze. About this time, Ghazan Khan's intention being to march towards Azurbijan, Khwajeh Sud-dur-ud-deen Zunjani joined him in Subzwar, and disclosed the sentiments of regard entertained towards him by the ameers of Baidoo Khan. On the 1st Zikad 694, Ghazan Khan, with a well-appointed army, commenced his march, and appointed Meer Nowroze with Suddur Jehan, Khwajeh Ahmud Khalidi, and others, to command the advanced-guard of his troops, which is called by the Moghools *buroonghar*, and after despatching them, marched towards Azurbijan. When Ameer Nowroze had, by forced marches, arrived at a village two stages from the camp of Baidoo Khan, Ameer Togachar, and Ameer Choban Suldooz, with other ameers of Irak, hearing of the arrival of Ameer Nowroze, immediately proceeded to the camp of Ghazan Khan; but it is said, that the first who joined the camp of Ghazan was Ameer Choban Suldooz.

* ق and غ are used indiscriminately in the Toorki language.

When Baidoo Khan became aware of the defection of these ameers he lost all confidence, and retreated, and Ameer Nowroze was despatched in pursuit of him, and having overtaken him near Nukhchiwan, he seized him and brought him to Tubreez, where he was put to death; he reigned only eight months.

*The seventh khan, Sultan Mahmood Ghazan, the son of Arghoon Khan, the son of Abukai Khan, the son of Hulako.*

Ghazun Khan ascended the throne at Tubreez, the capital of Azurbijan, on the last day of Zi Huj 694 Hejri, he being then twenty-five years of age. As he was a Mussulman on his accession, he immediately ordered the conversion of all the tribes of Moghools to that faith, and by his command the Moghools of Iran were all converted; the people of Islam also reposed the greatest confidence in him. In his reign a new era, called the Khani, was commenced by the dewans of Persia, from the year 701 Hejri, and by which they make up their accounts; the impression of his coinage from that date also contained the Mahummudan profession of faith, and the names of the Rashidi Khalifs, who, during the government of the Abasside Caliphs, were included in the Khotba, after

the two professions of faith; these were restored, and read according to the precedence of the Khilafut, and every precaution was taken to confirm and extend the true faith.

After Ghazan was firmly established in his kingdom, he despatched Meer Togachar to Room, or Asia Minor, and Ameer Nowroze, who was the chief support of his throne, was sent to Khorasan, to oppose the invasion of certain Moghools, the relations of Ghazan, who had crossed the Amoyeh. After completing this service by repelling the Moghools, he returned, and was again despatched to the government of Khorasan. At that time the Princes Sookai and Arslan rebelled against Sultan Mahmood Ghazan, who himself proceeded to oppose them, and after a conflict with them took Arslan prisoner and put him to death; but as Ghazan Khan entertained suspicions that this rebellion had been fomented by the artifices of Ameer Togachar, after defeating these princes he despatched Ameer Jirmchee to take possession of the government of Room, and wrote an order to the ameers of that country to put Togachar to death. Some time after this order, the ameers who were in the country of Room also rebelled. The Sultan, therefore, despatched Ameer Kutluk

Shah to Room, with a large force, in the year 696 Hejri, or Kowi eel Toorki, to reduce them to obedience; and in the same year, after the execution of Khwajeh Shums-ud-deen Dustjurdi, the vuzarut was transferred again to Khwajeh Suddur-ud-deen Ahmud Khalidi Zunjani, who was entitled Suddur i Jehan. Khwajeh Ahmud Khalidi abolished the new custom of *Kuchoor*,* which had obtained prevalence in Iran, and established the *Tumgha*; and as this vuzeer was jealous of the uncontrolled authority of Meer Nowroze and his brother, by which none was left to himself, he, in concert with some of the ameers of Ghazan's court, accused the latter of maintaining a secret friendly understanding, or correspondence, with Mullik Nasir-ud-deen, the king of Egypt, to the prejudice of Sultan Ghazan; and having impressed the sultan with a belief to this effect, and that he was about to flee to Iran, the brother of Nowroze was seized and placed in confinement (*purgho*),† but the facts not being established, the vuzeer, who was much incommoded by the authority of Meer Nowroze, forged a letter, as from Meer Nowroze to his brother, exciting him to take

* The meaning of this word not known.

† Sometimes written, Yurghoo.

revenge on Sultan Ghazan, and hid it in a handful of *buzughturgheh*,* which he desired should be beaten, or shaken, and where it being found, his brother was put to death, with his family and servants, on the road near Baghdad, in the year 696, Sultan Ghazan Khan not making any enquiry into the truth of these accusations. At the same time the sultan despatched an army from the Yelak of Hamudan, under Meer Kutluk Shah, Meer Sobtai Noween, and Sirkidak, to Khorasan, with orders to put Meer Nowroze to death, and not to return until they had executed his orders. When Meer Nowroze heard this, knowing himself unable to oppose these ameers in the field, he retired, and sought protection with his friend and son-in-law, Mullik Fukhr-ud-deen (the son of Mullik Shums-ud-deen Keheen, the son of Shums-ud-deen Koort); and the Mullik made an agreement with him not to surrender him as long as he lived. When, however, Ameer Kutluk Shah and his companions arrived at Herat, this perfidious Mullik, abandoning his engagement, treacherously seized and confined Meer Nowroze, and at length delivered him up to Ameer Kutluk Shah, who put him to death in the suburbs of

* The meaning of this word not known.

Herat on the 22d Showal of the same year, and his head was sent to Sultan Ghazan. In the year 697 Hejri, Ghazan Khan despatched his brother Ooljaitoo, the son of Arghoon, to assume the government of Khorasan. It is related, that Ooljaitoo Khan was born on the12th Zi Huj 680 Hejri, on the Desert between Merv and Surkhush, where there was no water to be found, and where the people, therefore, were dying of thirst; and that on his birth the rain fell for seven days and seven nights, and for that reason he was called *Ooljaitoo*, which signifies prosperous, and the bringer of good tidings. After he was converted to Islam he was called Khodabundeh Ooghul, and was afterwards called Sultan Mahummud Khodabundeh. Prince Ooljaitoo, on his arrival in Khorasan, made war on Mullik Fukhr-ud-deen, the son of Mullik Shums-ud-deen Keheen, &c., and several battles were fought between them; at last, however, a peace was effected by the mediation of the Shaikh ul Islam Shahab-ud-din Ismael Jami.

In the year 699, Khwajeh Suddur-ud-deen Ahmud Khalidi Zunjani was seized for malversation in his office, and put to death, and Sultan Ghazan appointed Khwajeh Rusheed-ud-din, the physician, and Khwajeh Saud-ud-deen, his vuzeers.

*An account of the Kings of Egypt, and what occurred between Sultan Ghazan Khan and Mullik Nasir-ud-deen, the Sultan of Egypt.*

The relations of historians are after this manner; that when Syfe-ud-deen Kalawun, otherwise Alfi, had reigned in Egypt eighteen years, in the year 690 Hejri he departed this life, and his son, Mullik Ashruf, ascended the throne, and after a reign of about three years he was assassinated by a slave named Meedra, (who had conspired against him in concert with a number of other slaves,) and his brother, Nasir-ud-deen Alfi, was installed in his place. Meedra made himself ameer-ul-omra, but after reigning twelve months he was assassinated, in his turn, by the slaves of Mullik Ashruf Kunyooka and Lacheen, &c. These slaves made Lacheen commander of the forces, and the affairs of Egypt remained in this state for two years under Lacheen, when Kunyooka was assassinated.

In the beginning of 697 the chiefs of Egypt murdered Lacheen, and the supreme authority was again restored to Mullik Nasir-ud-deen Alfi. Mullik Nasir, during his government, despatched four thousand horse to Mordeen and Rasulain, the chiefs of which cities were tributary to Sultan Ghazan. This detachment plundered those coun-

tries and killed a great number of the Mussulman inhabitants; for this cause Ghazan Khan determined to attempt the conquest of Egypt and Syria, and on the 26th of the month of Suffur, 699 Hejri, marched with an army of ninety thousand men towards those countries. Mullik Nasir also assembled a large army, and marched to oppose him, and their armies met on the 23d Rubbi-el-Avul 699, near Hums, on the borders of Syria, and a battle was fought, in which the Persian troops were victorious. The Egyptians turned their backs on the field of battle, and in their flight sustained a very heavy loss; the king of Egypt on this occasion fled with such speed that only seven horsemen were with him when he dismounted. Sultan Ghazan remained two days at Hums, and then marched to Damascus, and on his arrival there he spared the inhabitants, and committing the siege of the citadel to Ameer Kutluk Shah, and having placed his agents in all the cities of Syria, he returned towards Persia. After he had crossed the Euphrates, the troops of the fortified places in Syria began to rebel, and, leaving their strong-holds, at night attacked the Moghool soldiers singly, and stole and carried off their horses. The Moghool officers perceiving they

were not able to maintain their footing in Syria, assembled, and having crossed the Euphrates joined the army of Sultan Ghazan. The next year Sultan Ghazan, therefore, again prepared to invade and conquer Syria, and, in the year 702 Hejri, arrived by easy marches at Aleppo, where he passed some time in hunting, and pleasure, and committed the conquest of the country to the Ameers Kutluk Shah and Ameer Choban Suldooz, and having placed a large army at their disposal he again returned to Persia. The ameers, however, as they could do nothing, abandoned Syria, and returned to his camp.. Towards the end of the year 702 Hejri, Sultan Mahmood Ghazan again despatched Ameer Kutluk Shah, and Ameer Choban Suldooz with an army to Syria, and Mullik Nasir with a large army, also encamped at Damascus waiting for one of his chiefs named Ghazi Khan. After Sultan Ghazan's ameers had crossed the Euphrates, they laid siege to the castle of Hums, when a man arrived from Damascus with intelligence that Mullik Nasir had not as yet arrived at that city, but that the people of Damascus had fled with their wealth to Egypt. On receiving this news the ameers of Ghazan Khan marched towards Damascus; when they arrived at the town

of Mirh Suffur, on ascending a height they discovered the whole of the plains, beyond, covered with troops; for Mullik Nasir had advanced, having heard that Sultan Ghazan's troops had returned. The next day, the armies being disposed in order of battle, the conflict began, and many were slain on both sides. On that day the actions of Ameer Choban Suldooz renewed the memory of Rustam and Isfendiar, but, notwithstanding his exertions, victory remained on the side of Mullik Nasir, and Ameer Kutluk Shah and Ameer Choban Suldooz were obliged to seek their safety in flight. Two thousand Moghools fell in this action; Ameer Suldooz, however, covered the retreat, and had it not been for his courage and firmness not a man of the whole army would have escaped. In the month of Suffur 703 Hejri, the fugitives of this army arrived in the camp of Sultan Ghazan, at Owjan, and the sultan placed the chiefs in confinement, and punished those who had behaved cowardly, but distinguished Meer Choban Suldooz by presenting him with a *kulah* (a cap or crown), and an ornamented girdle.

It is related, that after the defeat of his ameers and troops in Syria, Sultan Ghazan, seeing no hope of succeeding in his projects in that country,

fell sick from vexation, and at Nobeh Seraie, near Kazvin, his disease increased, and on his removal with the army towards Yoorut Kushlak, he died on the road. Before his death, he ordered all his ameers to be assembled, and declared his will to them, that Ooljaitoo Sultan, his brother, who was in Khorasan, should succeed him; he then departed to the gardens of eternity, that is, he died on Saturday, the 10th Shawal 703 Hejri, much lamented by his ameers and family, and was carried to Tubreez, and buried in a mausoleum erected by himself, and now called the *shunub* or *shunsub* of Ghazan; before his time the tombs of the Moghool kings were unknown. Ghazan Khan reigned eight years and nine months, and his age was thirty-nine years.

*The eighth khan, Ooljaitoo Khan, the son of Arghoon, the son of Abukai Khan, the son of Hulako.*

Sultan Ooljaitoo Khan, during the life-time of his brother was converted to Mahummudanism, and on his accession was called Sultan Mahummud Khodabundeh; he was governor of Khorasan at the time of his brother's death, but immediately proceeded to Azurbijan, and on the 5th Zi Huj 703 Hejri, arrived at Oojan, where he performed the mourning ceremonies customary among the

kings of the Moghools, and finished them at Tubreez ; and, on the 15th Zi Huj of the same year he ascended the throne, his age being twenty-three years. He appointed Meer Kutluk Shah his ameer-ul-omra, and Khwajeh Rusheed-ud-deen, the physician, and Khwajeh Saud-ud-deen, his vuzeers; after some time, however, the latter being accused of the embezzlement of public money, was put to death, and Khwajeh Taj-ud-deen Ali Shah Chilan was associated with Rusheed in the vuzarut. On the 8th of Zikad, in the spring of 704 Hejri, a son named Aboo Saeed was born to the sultan in the village of Eluk Nain, a dependency of Tarim: and the city and fort of Sultania was founded in his, Aboo Saeed's, name, and the buildings being completed, in a short time it was made the capital of the sultan. In the time of Ooljaitoo Khan Sultan, several ameers from Egypt and Syria sought refuge in his court, as Jumal-ud-deen Ookroom, Kara Sunghoor, &c.; these men were well received, and they made known the tyranny and oppression of Mullik Nasir in Egypt, and at their instigation Sultan Ooljaitoo became desirous of subduing that country. In consequence, after he had prepared for war, he marched a large army towards the territories of

Mullik Nasir, and on the 1st Ramzan, 712 Hejri, crossed the Euphrates, and on the 6th Showal of the same year arrived at Rahabia, or Regia, a town depending on Syria, and commenced the siege of that town. After a long contest, however, a peace was effected through the mediation of the physician Rusheed-ud-deen; and on the 24th of the same month, the sultan commenced his march on his return to Persia. About this time intelligence arrived, that Kubuk or Kupuk Khan* and Mysoor Ooglan,† had crossed the river Amooyeh with a large army, and had proceeded by rapid marches to invade Khorasan; and that the ameers of the Sultan or Eel Khan, who were present in Khorasan, as Ameer Yusawul, the commander-in-chief in Khorasan, Ali Kooshchi, Boojai the son of Danishmund Bahadoor, &c., had assembled a force to oppose the troops of Mawurunneher, but had been defeated: Sultan Ooljaitoo Khodabundeh, on receiving this information, immediately prepared to march to Khorasan; but his enemies

* The son of Dowachichun, the son of Borak Khan, the son of Sookur, the son of Kamkar, the son of Chughtaie, the son Chungeez Khan.

† The son of Ooruktimoor, the son of Tooktimoor, the son of Kudaghi, the son of Toori, the son of Baikun, the son of Chughtaie Khan.

hearing of his approach, retired to their own country. The sultan therefore appointed his son, Aboo Saeed, with a large force to the government of Khorasan, and Ameer Syoonuj was constituted his *atabek* or tutor, and ameer-ul-omra; each of the ameers also attached a son or a brother to his suite, and in the year 713, Aboo Saeed departed to his government, and at Yulak Koshuk Murad was met by Ameers Yasawul and Ali Kooshchi, who had escaped from the troops of Kupuk Khan.

On the arrival of Aboo Saeed in Khorasan, his actions were distinguished by mildness and justice, and that country was again restored to order and tranquillity. Some time after this, a quarrel arose between Kupuk Khan and Mysoor Ooghlan, and the latter, in secret understanding or concert with Eel or Ooljaitoo Khan, fled to Khorasan.

In the year 716 Hejri, Ooljaitoo Khan fell sick, and on the Friday of the Eed Fitr of the same year, he died. Sultan Ooljaitoo reigned twelve years and nine months, and lived thirty-six years; he was buried in a bastion in the castle of Aboabi Burkeh, which he himself had built. It is said that he was the most just of the family of Chungeez, and a great protector of Syuds and learned men, but in the year 709, at the instigation of some

persons of the Imamia sect, as Shaikh Jumal-ud-deen Hussen, the son of Syud Budr-ud-deen Muthuhur Hulubi, &c., who were making proselytes for the Imamia religion, Sultan Mahummud Khodabundeh was induced to add to the profession of the faith, inscribed on the coinage from the time of Sultan Ghazan, the words, "*Ali wuli Allah*," Ali, the friend of God; he also expunged the names of the three Khalifs from the Khotba, and after the name of Ali, the fourth Khalif, he inserted those of Hussun, Hussain, and Abi Mahummud Mehdi; he also inserted in his Sikka the names of the leaders of the twelve sects, and for this reason the Sunnites, in revenge or disgust, called him Sultan Mahummud Khur-bundeh, or the 'slave of the ass,' but the Sheeas call him Khoda-bundeh, or the 'slave of God.' In the same year in which Sultan Ooljaitoo died, or 716 Hejri, the leader of the Imamia sect, Shaikh Jumal-ud-deen, the son of Syud Budr-ud-deen Muthuhur Hulubi, the active disseminator of Sheea opinions, also died.

*The ninth khan, Aboo Saeed, the son of Ooljaitoo Khan, the son of Arghoon Khan, the son of Abukai Khan, the son of Hulako.*

Sultan Aboo Saeed, on hearing of the illness of his father, left Khorasan, and proceeded with

Ameer Syonuj to Sultania, and thence to Irak, but before his arrival his father died. On the arrival of the sultan in Irak in the beginning of 717, after the usual mourning, on the 20th Suffur he ascended the throne in the city of Sultania, which was founded by his father Ooljaitoo, in honour of his birth. Aboo Saeed commenced his reign with great moderation and justice, and appointed Ameer Suldooz his ameer-ul-omra. The vuzarut was continued as before in the persons of the physician Rusheed, and Taj-ud-deen Ali Shah Cheelan; for this reason, that the sultan being only twelve or thirteen years of age, Ameer Choban Suldooz was, therefore, the ruling authority.

In the year 718 Hejri, from the usual conflict of ministers for power, Khwajeh Taj-ud-deen Ali Shah, by bribes and other incitements, induced the ministers, and particularly Ameer Choban Suldooz, to instil enmity into the mind of Sultan Aboo Saeed against the physician Rusheed-ud-deen, and that worthy minister was in consequence put to death.

In this year Prince Mysoor Ooghlan, the son of Ooruktimoor Khan, rebelled in Khorasan, and plundered the country to Mazenderan, and from the desert of Kupchak, Sultan Mahummud Ourung, Khan, the son of Togrul Khan, of the house of Joje

Khan, also advanced, by the route of Durbund, to Azurbijan. Sultan Aboo Saeed despatched Ameer Hussain Goorkan, the son of Akbooka, the son of Sungootoor, the son of Eelkan Jullair, who had married his father's sister, to oppose Mysoor Ooghlan, and himself marched to the Kushlak of Karabaugh. Ameer Choban Suldooz was also despatched after Ameer Hussain Goorkan. At this period intelligence was received of the arrival of Sultan Mahummud Ourung at Durbund, and Sultan Aboo Saecd to defend his territories was compelled to take the few troops he had with him and encamp on the river Kur, whilst all the country on the opposite bank was ravaged and devastated by the enemy. Ameer Choban, who had marched towards Khorasan, when he arrived at the town of Bielkan received the intelligence of the advance of Ourung Khan; he therefore wheeled about, and with two tomans* of troops hastened to join Sultan Aboo Saeed. At this time a panic appears to have struck the troops of Ourung Khan, and they commenced rapidly to retire towards their owu country. Ameer Choban Suldooz immediately crossed the river and pursued them, destroying a great number in

* For the toman of the Tatars, see Marco Polo, p. 1073, and Marsden's Notes.

their flight. On the return of Ameer Suldooz he ordered Koormishi, the son of Alinak Kirayut, and several other ameers who had attacked the troops of Ourung Khan before his junction with the sultan (and who were by the sultan's orders put in arrest) to be beaten with sticks, and the rest of the ameers being offended at this conduct on the part of Ameer Choban Suldooz, Ameers Kiranchi Kirayut, Tughmak, Ashnoka, Booka, Eldorchi Choban, Kara Oubash, and Koormishi Kirayut conspired to put him to death. At this time the sultan marched towards Sultania, and Ameer Suldooz moved towards Georgia; the conspirators, however, like wolves, followed him, and when they approached his encampment, he having intelligence of their object, abandoned it, and fled in another direction. The conspirators, however, having plundered and burned his camp, still followed him, and at last overtook him. A bloody battle ensued between Suldooz and his opponents, in which he was defeated, and with great difficulty escaped with a few followers to Sultania. The conspirators, however, with other ameers and a large army, still followed him from Nukchehwan to Sultania, and having crossed the Sufeedrood, or White River, they attacked

the troops of Sultan Aboo Saeed, at the village of Dulkan. The sultan, on seeing the boldness of the conspirators, marched to meet them with his ameers and the reserve of his army, and a bloody battle was fought between them. In this battle Ameer Erancheen and his wife, Shahzadi Gunjbek, the parents of Ameer Shaikh Ali, were killed by the troops of the sultan. From the exceeding bravery of Abdurrahman, the son of Ameer Koormishi Kirayut, the battle was, however, unfavourable to the sultan, until he, notwithstanding his tender age, drew his sword and advanced to the front of his army; and his troops seeing his intrepidity, made an universal attack on their enemies, in which the slaughter was so great that they broke and fled, and victory rested on the standard of the sultan. Ameers Kiranche Kirayut, Togmak, Ashnoka, Irancheen, &c. were taken prisoners and put to death, and Ameer Koormishe Kirayut, the son of Alinak, his son Abdurrahman Boka Eldoorchi, and Chobau Kara Oubash fled, but were afterwards taken and put to death. As the sultan had manifested such great courage on this occasion, his subjects, on the 20th Rujub 717, or Yound eel Toorki, unanimously gave him the title of Bahadoor.

*An account of Prince Mysoor Ooghlan, the son of Ooruk Timoor, the son of Toktimoor, the son of Kudaghi, the son of Toori, the son of Bamgan, the son of Chughtaie Khan.*

When Prince Mysoor Ooghlan,* who was in Mazinderan, heard of the approach of Ameer Hussain Goorkan, he after devastating the country retired, Ameer Hussain Goorkan following him. Mysoor Ooghlan on his retreat passed near Nishapoor, and ordered some collections to be made from the people of that city. At this time he received information that Ameer Hussain was only two farsangs from Nishapoor; he, therefore, without waiting for his collections, marched by Toos to Jam, and from that place despatched Mobarik Shah, the son of Bojai, and Muktoob, to Herat, that they might besiege Mullik Ghiaus-ud-deen Koort there. When these chiefs arrived at Herat, the Mullik advanced to meet them, and several battles were fought between them. At this time Prince Mysoor Ooghlan was informed that Ameer Hussain Goorkan was advancing towards him with the troops of Irak; he was, therefore, obliged to send a message to recall Mobarik Shah and Muktoob from Herat. After their junction it was discovered that the report above-mentioned was false, and

* This is sometimes written Yussoor Oghlan.

that Ameer Hussain would not quit his encampment for two months; Prince Mysoor, therefore, consulted with his ameers whether it was best to depart or remain, and it was at length determined that they should proceed to Herat and besiege that town. They accordingly marched to Herat, and on the 2d Rubiel-Avul 719 Hejri, encamped on the plain of Bushooran, and besieged Mullik Ghiaus-ud-deen Koort for about a month, and caused him great anxiety, but finding they could not succeed in taking the town they marched to Gurmseer. About this period Ameer Hussain Goorkan arrived at Herat, and, in concert with Mullik Ghiaus, pursued Mysoor Ooghlan to the plains of Ruzcen, where they took some of his troops prisoners and put them to death: they then returned. It is said by some authors, that Prince Mysoor, or Yussoor, retired from that place to Mawurunneher, when he was taken prisoner by one of the descendants of Chughtaie Khan, and put to death. Others say he returned to Kupchak, of which country he acquired the sovereignty, and reigned many years, واللہاعلم.

*Some account of the reign of Aboo Saeed Bahadoor Khan, and the folly of Ameer Choban Suldooz, and his death, &c.*

It is related, that during the first years of the reign of Aboo Saeed Bahadoor, from his youth, and the ascendancy of Ameer Choban Suldooz, the latter in effect was sultan. In the year 721, Ameer Choban Suldooz married the Princess Saki Beg, the daughter of Ooljaitoo Khan, and the sister of the sultan, and great rejoicing was made on that occasion. In 722 Hejri, Ameer Timoor Tash, the son of Ameer Choban, who was governor of .Room, rebelled, and ordered the khotba to be read in his name. Ameer Choban immediately, although it was the depth of winter, marched to reduce him. Timoor Tash, however, not being prepared to oppose his father in arms, advanced to pay his duty to him, and was placed in confinement by him, and sent a prisoner to Sultan Aboo Saeed. The sultan, on his arrival, for the sake of his father, pardoned his offences, and again appointed him to take charge of the government of Room. In the year 723 Hejri, Khwajeh Ali Shah Chulan died at the town of Oojan, and Khwajeh Rokn-ud-din Sain, who was the *naib* or agent of Ameer Suldooz, was

appointed to his office, the vuzarut. In this year Ameer Choban Suldooz gave his daughter, Baghdad Khatoon, a very beautiful woman, in marriage to Ameer Shaikh Hussun, otherwise Shaikh Hussun Eelkani (the son of Ameer Hussain Goorkan), who was the cousin of Sultan Aboo Saeed, and the nephew of Ooljaitoo Sultan.

In the year 725, Ameer Choban Suldooz marched, with a large army, by Georgia to Kupchak, and plundered the country of Sultan Mahummud Ourung; he, however, soon retreated thence.

In this year also, Sultan Aboo Saeed fell desperately in love with Baghdad Khatoon, and his passion became so violent he could take no rest, as it is a rule among the children of Chungeez Khan, that if the *khan* or sultan falls in love with any married woman, her husband must divorce her, and send her to his harem, Sultan Aboo Saeed sent a private message to Choban Suldooz to inform him of his love, and desire to possess Baghdad Khatoon. Ameer Suldooz was, however, offended at the proposition, and returned an uncivil answer, and the sultan said no more on the subject, however he ever after nourished a great hatred to him. As Ameer Choban Suldooz

was aware that distance extinguishes love, he despatched Shaikh Hussun Elkani and his wife to Karabaugh, and compelled Aboo Saeed to accompany him to the Kushlak of Baghdad, where his love for Baghdad Khatoon continually increased. At this period, Rokn-ud-din Sain, the vuzeer, who was entitled Nusrut-ud-din Adil, used every opportunity to impress the sultan with a bad opinion of the conduct and actions of Ameer Suldooz and his family, the sultan's mind being but too ready to receive and retain such impressions. Dumishk Khwajeh, the son of Ameer Suldooz, however, who was one of the *vakeels* or ministers of government, and near the person of the sultan, was partially informed of the change in the disposition of the sultan, and the machinations of the vuzeer, and apprized his father of them. Ameer Choban Suldooz, in these circumstances, thought the best counsel was to retire from court to some distant station, and taking Rokn-ud-din Sain with him punish him for his ingratitude at leisure. As soon, therefore, as the spring returned, and Sultan Aboo Saeed moved from Baghdad to Sultania, Ameer Suldooz, leaving his son Dumishk Khwajeh with the sultan, marched to Khorasan, under prettence of making some arrangements there.

When he arrived at Khorasan he despatched his eldest son, Ameer Hussun, with a large army to Ghizni, which country he plundered and devastated; but as he was guilty of some improper acts in the tomb of Sultan Mahmood Ghazi, the son of Subuktugeen, he was punished for them, as will be hereafter related. When Ameer Sul-dooz left Dumishk Khwajeh with the sultan, and departed to Khorasan, the Khwajeh assumed the whole authority of the empire, and left Aboo Saeed nothing but the name of sultan. The sultan, therefore, taking this much to heart, complained in secret, of the Khwajeh's conduct, to his friends. At this time one of his servants informed him that Dumishk Khwajeh intrigued with one of the widows of Ooljaitoo Sultan, who lived in the castle of Sultania; and the sultan gave orders that he should be informed whenever he visited her. On the night of Wednesday, in the month of Showal 727 Hejri, Dumishk Khwajeh having proceeded to the house of his mistress, the sultan was informed of the circumstance, and immediately ordered he should be put to death; he could, however, find no one bold enough to execute his order. It happened that night, that the heads of some Kurdish robbers were brought

in, and by the advice of Ameers Toghan and Tash Timoor, the sultan gave orders that a report should be spread, that one of these heads was that of Ameer Choban Suldooz, and that he and his adherents had been executed in Khorasan, and their heads brought to the presence of the sultan. Ameer Dumishk Khwajeh, on receiving this information, was much distressed, and, accompanied by ten men, let himself down from the walls of the fort, or castle, and, on his arrival at his own house, found it surrounded by armed men; he therefore fled, and Sultan Aboo Saeed despatched Ameer Misr Khwajeh and Ogha Looloo in *tukamishi*, or pursuit of him; and on their overtaking him, Misr Khwajeh cut off his head. The sultan, after this, despatched secret orders to the ameers of Khorasan, that they should seize and put to death Ameer Choban Suldooz and his adherents; he also despatched similar orders to other parts of his dominions, that none of those connected with the Chobans might escape; he also ordered that the head of Dumishk Khwajeh, should be fixed to the gate of the city of Sultania. When the order of the sultan arrived at Khorasan it was sent to Ameer Choban, and some of the ameers united with him. Hussun, the eldest son

of Ameer Choban, also had formed a plan of putting to death all the ameers of the sultan in Khorasan and sending their heads to the sultan, and afterwards taking possession of that province and joining the princes of the Chughtayan family, that they might assist him and his father in subduing the territories of Iran, that thus by degrees they might establish themselves as sovereigns in that country. Ameer Choban, however, would give no attention to the projects of his son, being inflated with a high opinion of his power and authority, and in conjunction with other ameers assembled a large force and marched towards Irak. At that time, also, Sultan Aboo Saeed had quitted Sultania, and abode at Kazvin, and Khwajeh Ghiaus-ud-deen Mahummud, the son of Khwajeh Rusheed-ud-deen (to whom the Mutuni Mowakif, the Sharah Shumsia, the Tarikh Gozideh, and the Kusideh of Saliman, are dedicated), was made vuzeer. But to return to our history:—when the orders of the sultan arrived in Khorasan, the ameers, who had no power to carry them into effect, immediately communicated them to Ameer Suldooz, who, when he heard of the death of his son was excessively afflicted, and in revenge put to death the Vuzeer Rokn-ud-deen Sain, and

marched with seventy thousand horse towards Irak, as has been before stated. When Ameer Sŭldooz arrived at Sumnan, he visited the celebrated saint Shaikh Rukn-ud-deen Sumnani, and caused his ameers to take an oath in the saint's presence that they would not forsake him, and afterwards he requested the shaikh to proceed to the camp of the sultan, and demand the murderers of Dumishk Khwajeh. The shaikh having accorded his request proceeded to the sultan, who received him with every demonstration of respect but declined acceding to his proposition: and after the return of the shaikh, Ameer Choban Suldooz, with great pride, marched towards the camp of Aboo Saeed. When he arrived at the village of Kooha, which was only one day's march from the sultan's camp, Ameers Mahummud Khuchuk, Noyaun Awirat, Neikroze, and others, placing the record of their oath to Ameer Choban Suldooz on the niche of oblivion, fled with thirty thousand horse and joined the sultan; and Ameer Choban Suldooz after this, not placing any confidence in the rest of his chiefs, retreated by the Desert towards Khorasan, and most of his troops dispersed. Ameer Choban, in his retreat, did not halt until he arrived at the river of Murghab

in Toorkistan, and there repenting of his conduct, he sought refuge with Mullik Ghiaus-ud-deen Koort, who was his particular friend. About the period of the arrival of Suldooz at Herat, the orders of Sultan Aboo Saeed also arrived, directing Mullik Ghiaus-ud-deen to put him to death wherever he might find him, and promising that on the receipt of his head and the seizure of his wealth, he should be appointed Atabek, or Prime Minister of Persia. Mullik Ghiaus-ud-deen Koort, on receiving these orders, forgetting his old friendship, and the recollection of all the patronage and support he had derived from Ameer Suldooz, despatched an executioner to put a period to his existence, and although Ameer Choban requested he might see and speak to him before he died, the ungrateful man refused to permit him. Ameer Choban before his death, preferred three requests to the Mullik by a messenger therefore:—first, that he should cut off his head; second, that he should send his body to Medina, to be interred in a tomb built there for that purpose; third, that he should not murder his son Julad Khan, born of Saki Beg, the sister of Sultan Aboo Saeed, but send him to the camp of the sultan. The Mullik agreed to perform these requests, and the executioner then strangled Ameer

Choban Suldooz, and two of his fingers were cut off and sent to the camp of Sultan Aboo Saeed, where they arrived on the month of Mohurrum 728 Hejri, and were hung up on the gate of the bazar by his orders.

In the winter of the same year Mullik Ghiaus-ud-deen Koort proceeded to pay a visit to the sultan, and hearing on the road that Ameer Shaikh Hussun had been compelled to divorce his wife, Baghdad Khatoon, the daughter of Ameer Choban Suldooz; and that she had been received into the harem of the sultan, and had become a great favourite there, the villainous Mullik despatched messengers to Khorasan with orders to put to death Julad Khan, the son of Ameer Choban, and the poor child, who is said to have been unequalled in beauty and sweetness of temper, was barbarously murdered. The Mullik, after this, visited the sultan at Karabaugh, but was coldly received from the influence of Baghdad Khatoon, and, in fact, kept under restraint, until persons sent to Khorasan for the bodies of Ameer Choban Suldooz, and his son Julad Khan, returned thence, when Sultan Aboo Saeed expended forty thousand dinars in causing the bodies to be carried by pilgrims to Mecca, and lastly to Medina, where they were buried.

After the death of Ameer Suldooz, some of his children and relations were put to death, and some escaped to other countries; of the latter was Ameer Timoor Tash, the son of Ameer Suldooz, and governor of Room, who fled to Egypt, where he was ultimately put to death: the circumstance and manner of his fate are related in the Tarikh Mubsoot.

It is said that Ameer Choban Suldooz was a righteous and just man, and that he was a great supporter of the religion of Islam. May God forgive his sins!

*The marriage of Baghdad Khatoon with Sultan Aboo Saeed, and the death of that prince.*

It is related, that after the death of Ameer Choban, Sultan Aboo Saeed sent for Kazee Mobarik Shah, and desired him to go to Ameer Shaikh Hussun and try all means to procure from him the divorce of Baghdad Khatoon; the kazi accordingly went to Shaikh Hussun Elkani, and in such terms as he could frame, detailed to him this extraordinary request. Shaikh Hussun, who knew his life was at stake, and resistance vain, was at last, in the presence of the kazi, compelled to divorce his wife, whom he tenderly loved, and after the days of separation she was married to the sultan, and soon took a leading part in the management of state affairs.

In the year 732 Hejri, certain malicious persons informed the sultan that a private correspondence by letter was carried on between Ameer Shaikh Hussun and Baghdad Khatoon. The mind of the sultan on hearing this became estranged from both, and he sought to put Ameer Shaikh Hussun to death; but, as his mother was the sister of Ooljaitoo Sultan, and the sultan's aunt, on her account he contented himself with banishing him to the fort of Kumakh. Baghdad Khatoon also fell under his displeasure, but after an examination into the truth of these reports they were found destitute of foundation, and Baghdad Khatoon was, therefore, restored to her former rank, and Ameer Shaikh Hussun Elkani, who, after the murder of Ameer Choban Suldooz, had been made ameer-ul-omra, was also restored to favour and appointed to the government of Room.

It is said that Sultan Aboo Saeed, in the spring and autumn, took up his quarters at Sultania, and passed the summer and winter at Baghdad or Karabaugh of Iran, and that he was fond of the society of men of learning. He also wrote a very fine hand, for which accomplishment he was indebted to his tutor, Khwajeh Abdulla Syrufi. Sultan Aboo Saeed towards the end of the year 735 Hejri, proceeded to Baghdad, and on the road

was informed that Sultan Mahummud Ourung Khan had quitted the country of Kupchak to invade Persia and Azurbijan, and that he had arrived near Durbund. For this reason, in the beginning of the year 736 Hejri, the sultan returned to Persia and halted at Shirwan, near three months, where, from the heat of the weather and the noxious quality of the air of that place, he was attacked by a fatal disease. On the fifteenth day after his attack, being in great danger, he went to the bath, which so much increased his malady that he died. His death occurred at Beelkan on the 13th Rubbiel-Akhir 736, and his body was carried to Sultania and buried in a dome built by himself for its reception: he was only thirty-two years of age, and had reigned nineteen years. It is said, that Sultan Aboo Saeed, towards the end of his life, saw the daughter of Damishk Khwajeh, Dil Shad Khatoon, a most beautiful woman, who was residing with her aunt, Baghdad Khatoon, and that he fell in love with her and married her; also, that Baghdad Khatoon, from jealousy, poisoned the sultan.

*The reign of Arpa Khan, the son of Soosa, who was the fifth in descent from Areek Boka Khan, the son of Tooli Khan.*

As Sultan Aboo Saeed had no offspring, Arpa Khan was raised to the throne. This prince had originally joined Sultan Aboo Saeed in Khorasan from Tooran, and was raised to the throne by the exertions of the vuzeer, Ghiaus-ud-deen Mahummud, with the concurrence of the ameers. When Arpa Khan was seated on the throne he put Baghdad Khatoon to death, under the imputation that she had poisoned Sultan Aboo Saeed, and that she maintained an intimacy or correspondence with Sultan Mahummud Ourung: he then marched with an army, and encamped on the banks of the river Kur, to oppose Sultan Mahummud Ourung, whom he, after several actions, ultimately defeated. When Ameer Ali Padshah, the son of Chichuk Noyaun Awirat (who was the toghai of Sultan Aboo Saeed, and governor of Diarbeker, and at that time also the tashi of Baghdad Khatoon at Durbund), heard of the death of Aboo Saeed, and the succession of Arpa Khan, the son of Soosa, he was greatly afflicted, and having assembled the tribe of Awirat addressed them to the following effect: "Know, that however true

it may be that Arpa Khan is descended from Tooli Khan, yet, as he is an old enemy to the tribe of Awirat and the children of Tungoo Noyaun, it is not to our advantage to allow him to reign as king." Accordingly, he immediately raised the standard of rebellion, and set up as king, in Baghdad, Moosa Khan, the son of Ali, the son of Baidoo, the son of Toraghi, the son of Hulako Khan, the son of Tooli, and having assembled all the Moghools residing in that vicinity, marched with an immense army to depose Arpa Khan. Arpa Khan, also, on being informed of this rebellion, by the advice of his vuzeer, assembled a large force, and marched to meet his enemies; and on Tuesday the 17th Ramzan 736, the contending armies met in the fields of Chughatoo, otherwise Yughtoo, and a battle ensued, but many of the ameers of Arpa Khan deserted him during the engagement, and joined Moosa Khan, the affections of most men being inclined towards the descendants of Hulako Khan. From this treachery Arpa Khan was defeated, and his army dissipated, and his vuzeer, Khwajeh Ghiaus-ud-deen, although he exerted himself bravely in the fight, yet at length seeing the day was lost, also fled. Ameer Ali Padshah, the son of Chichuk Noyaun Awirat,

however, lost no time in sending in pursuit of them, and they were both taken, and put to death. This happened on the 21st Ramzan 736 Hejri. The reign of Arpa Khan lasted about seven months: he was succeeded by Moosa Khan, the son of Ali, &c.

## *The reign of Moosa Khan, the son of Ali, the son of Baidoo, &c.*

After the death of Arpa Khan, in the month of Shawul 736, Moosa Khan ascended the throne of the Khans, in the town of Oojan, and confided the direction of state affairs to Ameer Ali Padshah, the son of Chichuk Noyaun Awirat. About that time Shaikh Hussun Elkani, the son of Ameer Hussain Goorkan, the son of Akbooka, the son of Sungtoor, the son of Elkan Jullair, who was the cousin of Sultan Aboo Saeed and who had been appointed to the government of Room, having heard of the death of Sultan Aboo Saeed, the succession of Arpa Khan, his subsequent defeat and death, and the accession of Moosa Khan; raised to the throne in the country of Room, Mahummud, the son of Bool Kutlugh, the son of Ans Timoor, the son of Itiarche, the son of Moongar Timoor, the son of Hulako, the son of Tooli, the son of Chungeez

Khan; and marched with the troops of Room and Georgia towards Tubreez to support him, and Moosa Khan and Ameer Ali Padshah also marched to meet them.

On the 14th Zi Huj of the same year, the armies met at the town of Nowshehr, and Ameer Ali Padshah sent a message to Ameer Shaik Hussun Elkani, to the following effect: "That friendship had formerly subsisted between them—that two kings were contending for the throne, and what reason had they, either of them, to interfere in their quarrel? That it would be the best policy, therefore, that each of them, Ameer Ali and Ameer Shaikh Hussun, should retire with their dependants to an eminence near the field of contention, and allow the rival kings to fight their battle by themselves." Ameer Shaik Hussun the elder,* agreed to this proposal, and with two thousand horse retired to an eminence near the field of battle, and the armies engaged, and a plentiful harvest of infidels was reaped. The armies of Room and Georgia were defeated, the Awirat tribe was victorious, and pursued the fugitives. After the battle, and the flight of Mahummud Khan, Ameer Ali Padshah alighted on the river to perform his ablutions, and his troops

* بزرگ

threw off their armour, and followed his example. Ameer Shaikh Hussun the elder, when he saw them thus occupied, descended from the eminence on which he had taken post with his two thousand horse fresh and untired, and charged them; and in this charge Ameer Ali Padshah was killed. Moosa Khan, on seeing this, fled; and Mahummud Khan, who had before fled, now returned, and rejoined Ameer Shaikh Hussun. Ameer Hussun despatched Kara Hussun, his *naib*, or deputy, and Ameer Akurpukh Oighoor, in pursuit of the fugitives, and then marched towards Tubreez.

*The twelfth khan, Mahummud, the son of Boo, or Bool Toghluk.*—In some Towarikhs, or histories, the genealogy of Mahummud Khan is stated in this way: Mahummud, the son of Tajo, the son of Banoo Cheen, the son of Hulako,—but however the line be traced, there is no doubt but that he was descended from Hulako. Mahummud Khan, after the death of Ameer Ali Padshah Awirat, about the end of the year 736, with the aid of Shaikh Hussun Elkani Jullair, was seated on the throne at Oujan, and the direction of affairs of state was delivered into the hands of Ameer Shaikh Hussun Noyaun. Ameer Peer Hussein, the grandson of Ameer Choban Suldooz, was sent by the

sultan to Sultania to bring thence Dilshad Khatoon, the daughter of Dumiskh Khwajeh and the favourite wife of Aboo Saeed, whom on her arrival he married; he also took the descendants of Khwajeh Ghiaus-ud-deen, the son of Khwajeh Rusheed-ud-deen, under his protection. Verses.—"A man's actions, whether good or bad, will always meet retribution."

It is related, that during the reign of Mahummud Khan, the son of Boo Toghluk, the poet Owhud-ud-deen, of Isfahan, flourished. The sultan died a natural death, and was buried at Maraghah.

*The thirteenth khan*, Toghaie Timoor, the son of Soori, the son of Baba Bahadoor, the son of Abookan, the son of Alkan, the son of Toori, the son of Joje, the son of Kybad, the son of Yusookai Bahadoor.—Toghaie Timoor Khan was descended from Kybad the son of Yusookai Bahadoor, and the brother of Chungeez Khan. It is said, that Toghaie Timoor was in Mazinderan when Ameer Akurpukh Oighoor was sent in pursuit of Moosa Khan, and from an enmity which subsisted between him and Kara Hussun, he went to Sultania to Ameer Peer Hussein, the grandson of Ameer Choban Suldooz, who had married Oghlan Khatoon, the niece of Ameer Akurpukhoighoor; when he arrived there, and

related what had happened, they together marched to Khorasan, and in concert with the ameers of that country, and by the united exertions of Ameer Shaikh Ali Koshchi (who was governor of some cities of Khorasan), Ameer Ali Jafur, Ameer Arghoon Shah (the son of Ameer Nowroze, the son of the great Ameer Arghoon Agha), and the ameers who had fled from Ameer Shaikh Hussun Noyaun the elder, brought Toghaie Timoor from Mazinderan, and installed him Khan in Khorasan and read the khotba, and struck money in his name. In the year 737, the Moghools who were in Khorasan assembled and marched to Tubreez, and when they arrived in the limits of Azurbijan, Moosa Khan, who was residing with the Awirat tribes, joined them, and an agreement was made between them, that if they were successful, Khorasan should belong to Toghaie Timoor, and Irak and Azurbijan to Moosa Khan. When Mahummud Khan and Ameer Shaikh Hussun Noyaun Elkani the elder, became aware of this agreement and confederacy, they assembled a large army and marched to attack the confederates, and on the 6th Zi Huj 737, the armies met each other in the plains of Gurm Rood, and a battle was fought; Toghaie Timoor Khan fled to Khorasan

before the battle commenced, and Moosa Khan, although he remained some time on the field, at length followed his example. Shortly after this battle, Moosa Khan fell into thehands of the troops of Ameer Shaikh Hussun Noyaun Elkani, and was put to death on the 10th Zi Huj of the same year.

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*Some account of Ameer Shaikh Hussun, the son of Ameer Timoor Tash, the son of Ameer Choban Suldooz.*

This man is called Shaikh Hussun Kochick, the younger, or the less. It is related that Shaikh Hussun the younger resided in the country of Room, and in the year 738 Hejri, from a desire to obtain authority and rule, he procured a Turkish slave named Kurachuri, who was extremely like his father, Timoor Tash, and gave out that his father Timoor Tash, who, after the death of Ameer Choban Suldooz, retired to Egypt, had returned thence; and in order that the people might believe this he gave his mother in marriage to Kurachuri, and walked in procession by the side of his horse. A large force consequently assembled to assist them, and Shaikh Hussun, the less or junior, having prepared his

warlike stores, marched towards Azurbijan, and Ameer Shaikh Hussun Noyaun, or the senior, and Mahummud Khan, on being informed of this disturbance, marched by Nukchevan to oppose them. On the 20th Zi Huj of the same year, in the neighbourhood of Alatak, the armies of Room and Irak came in contact, and a bloody battle ensued. Shaikh Hussun, the junior, gained the day, and Mahummud Khan fell into the hands of his enemies, and was put to death in the flower of his youth. Ameer Shaikh Hussun Noyaun, the greater, retired to Tubreez. At this period Karachuri, who had become Timoor Tash, being desirous to establish himself independent, attempted to assassinate Shaikh Hussun the younger, and stabbed him with a knife; the wound, however, was not mortal, and Shaikh Hussun the younger fled to Georgia, and made publicly known who his pretended father really was, and then retired to the protection of Saki Begum, the daughter of Ooljaitoo Sultan. The pseudo Timoor Tash, however, after Hussun's flight, still continued his march to Tubreez to attack Shaikh Hussun Noyaun, the elder; he was, however, defeated, and retired, accompanied by the Awirat tribe to Baghdad, and Ameer Shaikh Hussun the elder also marched from Tubreez to Sultania.

*The fourteenth Khan, Saki Beg, the daughter of Ooljaitoo Sultan.*

When Ameer Shaikh Hussun, junior, came to Tubreez from Georgia, sixteen of the family of the Chobanians assembled before him, and demanded a king of the race of Hulako Khan. The ameers of the Huzaras said that Saki Beg, the daughter of Ooljaitoo Sultan, the sister of Sultan Aboo Saeed, was with them, and as no male of the family of Hulako remained, the right to the throne was hers, and accordingly the Princess Saki Beg, in the year 739 Hejri, by the aid of Ameer Shaikh Hussun, the less (the grandson of of Ameer Choban Suldooz), was seated on the throne, and having assembled a large army, marched towards Sultania. Ameer Shaikh Hussun Elkani the senior, on hearing of this movement, retired to Kazvin, but again advanced with an intention to oppose his enemies, but before a battle was fought a kind of composition was effected, and Ameer Shaikh Hussun Noyaun, the senior, having visited the Princess Saki Beg,* acknowledged her right to the throne, and both the Ameers Shaikh Hussun embraced each other,

* This is written sometimes Begum.

and made peace on the following terms:—That, that winter Ameer Shaikh Hussun Noyaun, senior, should remain at Sultania, and the Princess Saki Beg at Karabaugh; and that in the spring they should assemble a kooriltaie and make arrangements for the future. In consequence, Princess Saki Beg and Ameer Shaikh Hussun, the younger, marched to Iran and Azurbijan, and the senior Shaikh Hussun, to Sultania. In Rujub of the same year, which was the commencement of spring, Toghaie Timoor again assembled a large army to invade Irak and Azurbijan, and marched towards Tubreez; when Ameer Shaikh Hussun Noyaun, the elder, became aware of this, he proceeded to meet him and they met at the town of Saweh. Ameer Shaikh Hussun, the younger, with Ameer Syoorghan, accompanied the Princess Saki Beg from Iran to Owjan. At this time the tribe of Awirat seized Karachuri, the false Timoor Tash, and brought him to the princess, who immediately ordered him to be beheaded. After this, Toghaie Timoor Khan, without the knowledge of Shaikh Hussun Noyaun, the elder, despatched Agurpukh, who was the nurse* of Sultan Aboo Saeed, to Ameer Shaikh Hussun, the lesser, with

* The husband of Aboo Saeed's nurse, more likely.

a message, that between his father and Ameer Suldooz, Hussun's grandfather, firm friendship had existed, and that when an order was issued to put his father Soorikoori to death, Ameer Choban Suldooz had resisted it, and that he could not be so ungrateful as to forget so great a benefit; and that for this cause he could not, in honour, at this day, admit that any injury should be offered to the house of the Chobanians: that it would be advisable, therefore, to do away any cause of enmity that subsisted. Ameer Shaikh Hussun the younger, when he heard this, was much pleased, and with deceit in his heart, said, that whatever the Padshah proposed, was undoubtedly for the benefit of religion, the kingdom, and people; and having made rich presents to Agurpukh Begi and his companions, he, in private, desired him to offer his duty to the king, and tell him that he had no controlling authority in the kingdom, and that on the part of Shaikh Hussun the elder, who was his father-in-law, he entertained great apprehensions, although he as yet had done nothing overtly to justify them; that it would be good policy, therefore, for Toghaie Timoor Khan to allow him to take Shaikh Hussun the elder out of the way; and that, after his death,

he would give Dilshad Khatoon and Saki Begum to the king, and all his family would then unite in his service. When Agurpukh Beg returned and delivered this message to Toghaie Timoor, the weak-minded king allowed himself to be seduced by the hopes of obtaining the Princess Saki Begum (the daughter of Ooljaitoo Sultan), and he therefore, with many promises, returned a very favourable answer, and required that some agreement on the premises should be entered into between them. Ameer Shaikh Hussun the younger replied that he was firm in his purpose, but that the best way would be for the king, in confirmation of this treaty, to give a writing, signed by himself, to the Chobanians, inviting them to attack or remove the Elkanians, and put to death Ameer Shaikh Hussun the elder, and all his connexions and dependants, and make over the supreme control, the viceroyalty of the kingdom, and tribes, to the Chobanians. When the messenger reached Toghaie Timoor with these propositions, he being led away by the desire of possessing the two fair princesses, Saki Begum and Dilshad Khatoon, without reflecting on what might be the issue of his compliance, he wrote out the agreement, exactly as Shaikh Hussun the younger

had prescribed, and signed his name at the bottom of it, and then despatched it by a messenger to Ameer Shaikh Hussun the younger. The shaikh no sooner received the letter than he mounted his horse, and, in company with Peer Hussein Chobani and Ameer Ali Tulpeen, proceeded to the encampment of Shaikh Hussun the elder, and sent to call one of his servants, to whom he gave the agreement, and desired him to tell Shaikh Hussun the elder, that Shaikh Hussun Timoor Tash was waiting without, and presented his duty to him, and the following message: That although Shaikh Hussun the elder had separated from him, and had introduced a stranger to rule in the country, who had no claim to the succession, and was besides the enemy of the house of Hulako,—that although he had expended treasures on armies to support that stranger, and had hazarded his life and fortune in his defence,—yet that very man in return for all his services had written the agreement he now sent him, in his, Shaikh Hussun's absence, indulging himself in these visionary projects, and in public professing himself his friend; that although Shaikh Hussun the elder considered him, Shaikh Hussun the younger, his enemy, yet he would not allow such

undisguised treachery to be concerted against him, or that any injury should befal him; that he warned him therefore to take care of himself. Having delivered this artful message, he retired laughing to his encampment, and again prepared for war: he, however, told his officers and people, that by the grace of God all necessity for war was at an end, and the sedition of Toghaie Timoor quelled. His officers said in reply, that it was now four months since preparations for war had been in operation, and asked how was it possible they should be laid aside so easily, and all at once all quarrels cease? Shaikh Hussun the younger then said, you will see the proof of what I say this night.—When Shaikh Hussun the elder received the document and message sent to him by Shaikh Hussun the younger, he was violently agitated, and awaking from his slumber of negligence, and rising from his couch, ordered his troops to get under arms, and then sent a messenger for Arghoon Shah, the son of Nowroze Ghazi, the son of Arghoon Agha, who was the *deputy* of Toghaie Timoor Khan, and when he arrived, threw the paper before him. When Arghoon Shah had read the paper, Shaikh Hussun the elder asked him if that was the writing of the Padshah,

and he said yes. The shaikh then said, "What evil have I done to him, that he should entertain such treacherous intentions against me and my family?" As Arghoon Shah was ignorant of this matter, no information of it having reached him, he fell on his knees, and after lauding the kindness and friendship of Shaikh Hussun, he said he was entirely ignorant of the agreement, but that he thought it might be traced to the wiles and fraud of the younger Shaikh Hussun; for that Toghaie Timoor, although he was a king, yet still he was a plain simple Moghool, and not able to contend with the insidious arts of the Chobanians. That if Ameer Hussun would grant permission, he and the whole of the troops of Khorasan would either devote themselves to death before him, or root out the tribe of the Chobanians. When Shaikh Hussun heard these wise and manly words from Arghoon Shah, he said, "May God forgive the sins of your predecessors;" and having embraced him, said, "Thou art the grandson of the great Arghoon, and he, by the authority of Mangoo Khan, was chief of all the tribes of Hulako Khan. It is also written in the regulations of Hulako, that he was always guided by the advice of Ameer Arghoon,

and as you also are as faithful and trustworthy, carry this writing to the traitor Toghaie Timoor, and ask why, without any cause of enmity, he entertains such villainous designs against me?" Arghoon Shah accordingly carried the agreement to Toghaie Timoor, and made him aware of what had occurred. Toghaie Timoor, on learning the artifice of Ameer Shaikh Hussun the younger, placing the finger of astonishment between the teeth of thought, at last said, "I did not believe the Chobanians capable of such exceeding fraud and villany; but as it is, having between two horses fallen to the ground, it is not wise to remain here;" and, accordingly, at night he ordered his adherents to saddle their horses, and, accompanied by them, fled towards Khorasan; and it is said, that as his authority was no longer received in Irak, he contented himself with the government of part of Khorasan, until the year 753, when he was murdered at Asturabad by Khwaja Yahya, the chief of the Abdalans, who, after the death of Aboo Saeed, had in some measure distinguished themselves above other tribes. Of these, Toghaie Timoor had claimed allegiance, and they had professed obedience to him; but on being intro-

duced to him, treacherously cut him down with an axe, and afterwards plundered his camp and the whole province of Mazinderan. But to return. The day after the flight of Toghaie Timoor from Maragha to Khorasan, Shaikh Hussun the elder, with his ameers, repaired to the camp of the Chobanians, and having visited the Princess Saki Begum, he kissed her hand, and made excuses for his conduct; and in company with her proceeded to Owjan, having first dismissed his troops. When they mounted their horses, the Princess Saki Begum and Ameer Shaikh Hussun Noyaun the elder rode side by side, and Shaikh Hussun the younger on the flank, or in the front of the cavalcade, to preserve order. When they arrived at Owjan, and Saki Begum alighted, the elder Shaikh Hussun departed, and encamped two fursungs from Owjan, and some of the ameers retired to Tubreez. At this time the younger Shaikh Hussun rebelled, and quitted the camp of the Princess Saki Begum, which he plundered; and he also removed Saki Begum from the sovereignty of Persia, and raised to the throne a man named Suliman, whom he declared to be descended from Hulako Khan. When Ameer Shaikh Hussun the elder heard of this, he raised to the throne, on his part, Jehan

Timoor, the son of Alafreng, a man really descended from Hulako Khan.

*The fifteenth Khan, Jehan Timoor Khan, the son of Alafring, the son of Gunjatoo Khan, the son of Abakai Khan, the son of Hulako Khan, &c.*

After the return of Toghaie Timoor Khan to Khorasan, Shaikh Hussun the elder professed his obedience to Saki Begum, and was by her received into great favour; Shaikh Hussun the younger, alarmed and displeased at this friendship, seized an opportunity, and deposed Saki Begum also from the sovereignty, and raised a certain Suliman to the throne of the Khans. Ameer Shaikh Hussun also, following his example in this mockery of authority, raised to the throne a Choban ameer named Jehan Timoor, and marched to Baghdad, when he took possession of most of the countries of Irak Arabia, and struck money, and repeated the khotbu in his, Jehan Timoor's, name.

*The sixteenth Khan, Suliman, the son of Mahummud, the son of Sukneh, the son of Bishmoot, the son of Hulako, &c.*

Some writers do not admit this person to have been descended from Bishmoot, because, they say, Ameer Shaikh Hussun the younger raised

him to the throne merely for political purposes. About the end of the year 739, Ameer Hussun the younger, by force, married the Princess Saki Begum, and seated her on the throne, and they together left Owjan and proceeded to Tubreez, and Shaikh Hussun the elder retired to Baghdad, where he remained.

In the month of Shawal 740, Saki Begum, with Ameer Hussun the younger, went to Owjan, where a great multitude assembled under their standard. At this period Shaikh Hussun the elder, with Jehan Timoor Khan, marched to invade Azurbijan; and Suliman Khan and the younger Hussun marched to oppose them. In the neighbourhood, therefore, of Chughatoo, (otherwise Yughtoo,) a battle was fought, and the troops from Baghdad were defeated. When Shaikh Hussun returned to Baghdad, he deposed Jehan Timoor, an ignorant man, as unfit to reign, and none of the descendants of Hulako remained, except Suliman Khan.

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*Some account of Aboo Shaikh Ali Gawun, the son of Soori, the son of Baba Bahadoor, the son of Aboo Kan, the son of Eel Kan, the son of Toori,*

*the son of Joji, the son of Kybad, the son of Yusookai Bahadoor, the father of Chungeez.*

This Baba Bahadoor was the grandfather of Shaikh Ali Gawun and Toghaie Timoor Khan; and in the year 705 Hejri, accompanied by ten thousand families, the dependents of Kaidoo Khan, the son of Ghazi Ooghool, the son of Ooktaie Khan, the son of Chungeez, he wandered or marched to Khorasan, and resided there; and, according to the custom of the Eels, joined Sultan Mahummud Ooljaitoo Khan Khodabundah, or Khurbundeh, and was afterwards put to death; his descendants resided near Jorjan, where Toghaie Timoor was also brought up. The Ameers of Irak and Khorasan, who entertained apprehensions of Ameer Shaikh Hussun the elder, raised Toghaie Timoor to the throne, and marched to Irak; however, things did not turn out consistent with their expectations, as has been before related. In the year 741, Ameer Shaikh Ali Kowun, or Gowan, the son of Soori, by the orders of his brother, Toghaie Timoor, marched to conquer Irak and Azurbijan; and on this side, Mullik Ashruf, the son of Timoor Tash, the son of Choban Suldooz, by orders of his brother, Ameer Shaikh Hussun the younger,

marched to oppose him. Ameer Shaikh Ali Kawun was defeated, and after returning to his brother Toghaie Timoor, was killed in a battle with the tribe of the Seri Abdalans; and in the year 753, Toghaie Timoor was slain by the hand of Kwajeh Yuhya Surabdar, as has been before mentioned. But to return to our narrative. Ameer Hussun the younger, after the defeat of Shaikh Ali Kawun, marched towards Diarbekir and Room, and ravaged those countries to the utmost of his power: and returned thence in safety and in health, and in the beginning of the year 744, he despatched Suliman Khan, and Yakoob Shah, and other ameers to Room, but they were defeated and obliged to return. On their arrival, Ameer Shaikh Hussun the younger placed Yakoob Shah in confinement, for having misbehaved in the battle between him and the troops of Room; and one of the khans of Shaikh Hussun the younger, called Arab Mullik, who entertained a friendship for Yakoob Shah, being alarmed at his confinement, and apprehensive he might be executed, associated two or three women with him, and on the night of the 27th Rujub of the same year (744 Hejri), gained admission to Shaikh Hussun the younger, and murdered him

by violently twisting his generative parts, as it is stated in the lines of the poet Khwajeh Suliman Seeawujeh: (the lines omitted for a very good reason.) These wretches, the next day, with their associates, secretly left the palace, and the murder was concealed until the third day; when the ameers and chiefs of the kingdom became acquainted with it, and after a long search, Arab Mullik and his confederates were seized and put to death.

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*An account of Mullik Ashruf, the son of Timoor Tash, the son of Choban Suldooz.*

At the period of the murder of his brother, Ameer Shaikh Hussun the younger, Mullik Ashruf was with his uncle, Ameer Yaghi Basti, the son of Ameer Choban Suldooz, in the vicinity of Sherauz, and on hearing of the death of his brother, he marched towards Tubreez. At this time Ameer Syoorghan, who was a prisoner at Kara Hissar, a fort in the territory of Room, broke out from his prison, and killed the governor of the fort, and afterwards joined Mullik Ashruf and Ameer Yaghi Basti. Suliman Khan seeing the ameers had assembled, and being apprehensive of them, marched towards Diarbekir. For some

time the ameers agreed, but at length quarrelled, and Ameer Yaghi Basti and Ameer Syoorghan one night quitted Tubreez, and proceeded towards Jou. Mullik Ashruf pursued them, and overtook them in the field of Aghbabad, and a battle was fought, in which Ameer Syoorghan and Yaghi Basti were defeated. Mullik Ashruf then encamped at the town of Babul, and raised a certain Nowshirwan to the throne of the Khans.

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*The Reign of Nowshirwan Khan.*

When Mullik Ashruf, the son of Timoor Tash, had raised Nowshirwan to the throne, he issued an order that he should be called the Just.* He afterwards went to Gunjeh to provide against the machinations of his enemies, where Kazi Mohiud-din Burda also arrived, with propositions of peace from Yaghi Basti and Syoorghan. The Mullik agreed to the terms; but Syoorghan could not be prevailed on to place confidence in him, and in the end was killed by Ameer Eelkan, the son of Shaikh Hussun the elder. Yaghi Basti having joined his nephew, they went to Tubreez together, and when they arrived there, Mullik Ashruf made away with his uncle, in a way that

* نوشیر وان عادل .

no one ever became acquainted with the manner of his death. After this, being now independent, he began to oppress the people so much, that every one who had the means fled from Iran and Azurbijan to other countries for safety.

In the spring of 748, Mullik Ashruf marched towards Baghdad to attack Ameer Shaikh Hussun the elder. The Shaikh shut himself up in the city, and the Mullik, after besieging him a few days, despairing of success, returned to Tubreez. In the month of Mahurrum 751, he marched an army to Isfahan, which city he besieged for fifty days, at the expiration of which time, the besieged being reduced to extremity, and without hopes of relief, they agreed to read the khotba and strike money in the name of Nowshirwan the Just; they were, besides, compelled to pay twenty millions of dinars and 100,000 in valuable articles of property to Mullik Ashruf, to induce him to return to his own country. In 758, Jani Beg Khan, the son of Mahummud Sultan Ourung,* a Mussulman and a just prince, having often heard of the tyranny of Mullik Ashruf, marched from Kupchak by the route of Durbund towards Azurbijan, and having arrived there, defeated Mullik

* See what is related of him before.

Ashruf and put him to death; and leaving his son Perowi Beg Sultan in Tubreez, returned to his own country. After a short time, Prince Perowi Beg, hearing that his father was dead, was obliged to quit Azurbijan and return to Kupchak, and a man named Ajijook obtained the supreme authority there, and renewed the black oppressions of Mullik Ashruf.

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*The death of Shaikh Hussun the elder, and the accession of his son, Shaikh Awees Khan.*

In the year 757 Hejri, Ameer Shaikh Hussun Elkani Jullair the elder died at Baghdad, and was succeeded by his son, Sultan Shaikh Awees.

Sultan Awees Bahadoor Khan, the son of Shaikh Hussun the elder, the son of Ameer Hussun Goorkan, the son of Akbooka, the son of Sungtoor, the son of Elkan Jullair, after the death of his father, succeeded to the throne, and in the year 759 Hejri, marched to invade Azurbijan, and Ajijook advanced to meet him as far as the Meenai mountains, where he was defeated, and returned to Tubreez. Sultan Awees pursued him thither, and when he arrived there, Ajijook fled to Nukhchiwan. The sultan took possession of the

palace of Rushidi, and in the month of Rumzan of the same year he put to death forty-seven rebellious chiefs of the party of Mullik Ashruf, and, in consequence, many other chiefs and ameers joined Ajijook at Karabaugh. Sultan Awees, therefore, despatched Ameer Ali Tulpin to attack him; but Ameer Ali, on account of some enmity subsisting between him and the sultan, knowingly and willingly allowed himself to be defeated, or rather disgracefully fled from Ajijook, and his army being dispersed, the sultan retired to Baghdad. In the spring of 760 Hejri, Ameer Mahummud Muzuffur marched an army to Azurbijan, and defeated Ajijook, and resided some time in Tubreez; but hearing of the advance of Sultan Awees, he returned to his own country, and the sultan, on his arrival at Tubreez, having apprehended Ajijook, beheaded him. In the year 765, Khwajeh Moorjan, who was governor of Baghdad on the part of Sultan Awees, rebelled, and the sultan marched thither to chastise him. Khwajeh Moorjan was defeated in a battle fought near Baghdad, and was obliged to throw open the gates of that city and submit to the mercy of his master, but the sultan spared his life. The sultan passed eleven months enjoying himself in the delightful city

of Baghdad, and after that period proceeded by Diarbekir to Mosul, which city he besieged and took; he then marched to Mardin, and thence by the Desert of Moosh and Kara Kaleesa, to Tubreez, where he passed the winter; and in the month of Teer went to Baghdad, and again, next spring, returned to Tubreez.

In the year 772 Hejri, Sultan Awees marched to oppose Ameer Wuli, who, after the assassination of Toghaie Timoor, had conquered Mazinderan; the armies met in the vicinity of Rai, and a battle was fought, in which Ameer Wuli was defeated, and the sultan pursued him to Sumnan; the sultan then returned, and about the end of the month of Rubbi-ul-avul 776 he was attacked by a fatal disease. His ameers and Kazi Shaikh Ali Kumkhani attended the last moments of this just prince, and requested him to declare his will: in reply, he said, "Let the sovereignty remain with Husscin, and the government of Baghdad with Shaikh Hussun." The ameers said, "Shaikh Hussun is the elder brother, and will not submit to this arrangement." The sultan said, "You know best;" and the ameers assuming this as a permission to do as they pleased, confined Shaikh Hussun. After this, Sultan Awees Jullair lost the power of speech,

and on the night of Jumadi-il-avul 776, departed this life; on the same night, the ameers put Shaikh Hussun to death in the Dumishk palace, and the body of Sultan Awees was carried to Shirwan and buried there.

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*The reign of Sultan Hussein, the son of Sultan Awees, the son of Shaikh Hussun the elder, the son of Ameer Hussun Goorkan, &c.*

Sultan Hussein ascended the throne with the unanimous consent of the ameers, and with great rejoicing, on the 12th Jumadi-il-avul 776. In the spring of 779, Sultan Hussein marched with a force to the fort or castle of Akhus, which was in the possession of Kara Mahummud Toorkman: a peace was, however, concluded, and Kara Mahummud afterwards visited the Sultan and was received with great favour. In the year 780, certain ameers of Sultan Hussein, as Israil, Abdulkadur and Rehman Shah, &c., from the tyranny of Adil Agha, were driven to rebellion, and marched towards Baghdad. Adil Agha, by the orders of the sultan, marched from Sultania to oppose them, and overtook them near the Aub-i Goorkan,* and most of the rebels fell in the action which ensued:

* اب گرکان

Adil after this returned. In this year, at Baghdad, several of the ameers of Ameer Ismael, the son of Ameer Zukria (who was the governor of Baghdad on the part of the sultan), were put to death; and Shaikh Ali, the son of Shaikh Hussun, the son of Sultan Awees Jullair, was raised to the throne there. When this intelligence reached Sultan Hussein, he despatched a friendly letter to him, and allowed him to retain possession of the government, because there appeared no person in the service of the Prince Shaikh Ali, who was likely to transgress against the rules of government or relax the discipline of the troops: Peer Ali Badook, however, who was a servant of Shaikh Ali's father, and at that time governor of Shuster on the part of Shah Shuja, was sent for by Shaikh Ali, but he on his arrival acted with great independence in matters of government, and, regarding both territory and revenue did some injury, as he reduced the countries of Irak Arabia into his possession. Sultan Hussein Jullair and Adil Agha, when they heard of this encroachment, marched to Baghdad with a large army, and Shahzada Shaikh Ali and Peer Ali Badook, being unable to oppose their force, abandoned Baghdad, and returned to Shuster: Sultan Hussein then entered Baghdad, and gave himself

up to pleasure, while Adil Agha was sent in pursuit of Prince Shaikh Ali. After Shuster* had been besieged some time, Shaikh Ali made peace, on condition that he should retain the government of Shuster and not interfere with the government of Baghdad; after this arrangement, Adil Agha returned to Baghdad, and thence, with most of his army, to Sultania. In the middle of the same winter, however, Prince Shaikh Ali and Peer Ali Badook, at the request of some of the people of Baghdad, marched towards that city; and Sultan Hussein despatched Mahmood Ooka and Omr Kupchak to oppose them: but these two brave officers, were taken prisoners by Peer Ali Badook, and their army destroyed. Sultan Hussein Jullair on hearing this fled to Tubreez, and with great difficulty reached that city. In the commencement of the year 784, Adil Agha was besieging the fort, or city of Rai, and Sultan Hussein Jullair had despatched his army to his aid, and had left himself completely bare of troops. At this time Sultan Ahmud, the son of Sultan Awees Jullair, and the brother of Sultan Hussein (than whom, a more bloodthirsty man did not exist), rebelled, and retired from Tubreez to Ardibil;

* This word is sometimes written, Tustur.

and although Sultan Hussein sent messengers to him and requested him to return, he refused; and having collected an army, on the 11th of Suffur, 784 marched to Tubreez and, like a sudden calamity,* entered the city, and having seized his brother, Sultan Hussein, who endeavoured to conceal himself, put him to death. It is said that Sultan Hussein was a very handsome man, but much addicted to pleasure and irregularities of all kinds.

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*The reign of Sultan Ahmud, the son of Sultan Awees, the son of Sultan Ameer Shaikh Hussun Jullair, the elder, &c.*

Sultan Ahmud, after murdering his brother, Sultan Hussein, ascended the throne; and another of his brothers, Sultan Bayuzeed, fled, and joined Adil Agha, and was by him raised to the throne. Sultan Ahmud, whose power was as yet unstable, was, therefore, obliged to flee towards Muzeed. Adil Aga, on this occurrence, immediately returned to Tubreez, and thence pursued Sultan Ahmud, but on the road some of his ameers disagreed with him, and he was obliged to return to Sultania. Sultan Ahmud, on this, returned to Tubreez; and

* بلاي ناگهان

soon after intelligence arrived that Prince Shaikh Ali, the son of Shaikh Hussein, the son of Sultan Awees, and Peer Ali Badook, were marching towards Tubreez to attack him. Sultan Ahmud immediately marched to oppose them, and in the neighbourhood of the Huftrood, or Seven Rivers, the two armies met and a battle was fought. Omr Kupchak, who commanded the left wing of the army of Sultan Ahmud Jullair, abandoned his post, leaving his position bare, and joined Prince Shaikh Ali; in consequence, Sultan Ahmud retired from the field of battle, and fled, by the route of Khooee, to Nukhchewan, where he joined Kara Mahummud Turkman, and Kara Mahummud being determined to assist Sultan Ahmud, they, with five thousand troops, marched to attack Prince Shaikh Ali and Peer Ali Badook. This time victory favoured the arms of Sultan Ahmud, for both Prince Shaikh Ali and Peer Ali Badook were slain in the engagement which followed their meeting, and the Turkmans returned to their Yooruts* with an immense spoil. Sultan Ahmud after this proceeded to Tubreez, and between him and Adil Agha many battles were fought; but during this struggle, the great and warlike Ameer Timoor Goorkan†

* Or camps.

† Tamerlane.

invaded Irak and Azurbijan, and raised a difficulty to the operations of both.

The race of Hulako was finished in Suliman Khan, the son of Mahummud, the son of Sukneh, the son of Bishmoot, the son of Hulako Khan.

An account of Ameer Shaikh Hussun Goorkan the elder, the son of Akbooka, the son of Sungtoor, the son of Elkan Jullair, has been inserted for this reason, that the said Ameer Shaikh Hussun is derived from Hulako Khan, by his mother, she being the sister of Ooljaitoo Sultan, the son of Arghoon Khan, the son of Abakai Khan, the son of Hulako. The reason also why Ameer Hussain is called Goorkan is this: in the Moghool language a son-in-law is called *Goorkan;* For these reasons some account of him has been given, but the time has now arrived when the wings of our pen must expand and take their flight from the affairs of Persia to those of Tooraun, and present a history of the reign of Prince Chughtaie and his descendants.

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## *The dynasty of Chughtaie Khan, the Son of Chungeez Khan, in the country of Tooraun.*

Historians relate that the princes of the race of Chughtaie, who have ascended the throne of

Tooraun to the present time, are in number twenty-eight. The first khan is Chughtaie Khan, the son of Chungeez Khan. Chughtaie Khan was the second son of Chungeez, and much beloved by his father; and it is also related, that *he was a brave and liberal prince*, and well acquainted with the arcana of government. Chungeez Khan, when he divided his possessions among his sons, gave to Chughtaie the dominion of the country of Tooraun; that is, from the frontier of Kashghur to the territory of Oighoor, and even to the river Jihoon, which is the boundary between Iran and Tooraun, with the addition of Balkh, Budukhshan, Kabul, Ghizni, and the country to the banks of the Indus: these countries, with the troops necessary to preserve them, and his son Chughtaie, Chungeez Khan delivered over to the care of Kurachar Noyaun (the son of Sooghoo Chichun, the son of Eeroomjee Birlas, the son of Kacholi Bahadoor, the son of Toomneh Khan), the descendant of his great uncle.

Chungeez Khan also recommended his son to his care with the greater earnestness, for this reason, that he himself owed all his good fortune to the aid and instruction of this brave Noyaun. It is proper to observe that, although Chungeez ex-

ceeded in his recommendation of Chughtaie Khan to Kurachar, yet he did not fail to impress the necessity of a strict conformity to Kurachar's opinion on his son, and the well-known character of Kurachar Noyaun, and the opinion of his father, operated still more strongly on Chughtaie Khan to confide in his fidelity: he never, therefore, attempted any measure without first receiving his advice, from which he never deviated; and from the penetration and advice of this Noyaun, Chughtaie Khan became the first king of his age in wisdom and valour. "The country from the Land of the Deer to the Valley of the Naimans, was bestowed by Chungeez on his son Chughtaie," who made Paish Baligh* his capital. Here he maintained the customs of *yurgho* and *yasook* with great severity, and suffered no details in those rules or arts of government to escape him, to that degree that in the spring and summer he ordered no one should sit in the water, and that no one should wash his hands in a river, or draw water from a river, except in a gold or silver vessel; also, that clothes washed should not be spread out on the ground to dry: all these things being in opposition to the customs of the Moghools; for the practice of

* Baligh, in the Moghul language, signifies a city.

them is said to produce thunder and lightning: for in the greater part of their country, from the beginning of spring to the end of summer, rain falls heavily, and the thunder-storms are dreadful: "they placed their fingers in their ears at the horrible roar of the thunder-storms of Huzurilmoot, and the lightning was near to destroy their sight, whenever it flashed in their eyes."* Chughtaie Khan preserved the peace of his districts, and the discipline of his army so well, that no necessity existed for guards on his highways or roads; and by the prudent management and the advice of Kurachar Noyaun, he always preserved the friendship of Ooktaie Khan, so that their brotherly love increased to a perfect unity of views and sentiments, and they passed their lives together in pleasure and gladness. From this concord their countries were well governed, and their power and authority firmly established. "When the kaan and khan were united, all disaffection and enmity fled; the blessing of this concord established both the kaan and khan." It is said that Chughtaie Khan was fond of pleasure and hunting, and that most

* يجعلون اصا بعهم في اذا نهم مِن الصواعق حذرالموت
يكا دالبرق يخطف ابصارم كلما اضاء لهم مشوفيه

of his time was spent in these pursuits; and Ameer Kurachar Noyaun occupied himself with the affairs of state, and consulted the welfare of his people and ameers, in all matters, with great effect.

Among the extraordinary events of that period, is the rise of Mahmood Tarabi, who, in the beginning of the year 603, commenced a series of impostures in the town of Tarab, three fursungs from the city of Bokhara. This man assumed the appearance of great sanctity, by fasting and prayer, and pretended that angels or genii attended his orders, and were subject to his command. When this claim to distinction fell into the mouths of the multitude, all the sick and lame of the country surrounding, resorted to him for relief, and one or two of these persons who were cured by the mercy of God, and not by him, increased his fame to that degree, that multitudes of people from all countries repaired to him, and became his servants; his fame and authority, therefore, increased so much daily that the princes and ameers in that neighbourhood became afraid of him, and despatched an account of him to Khojund, and to Mahmood Beg, the son of the chief of Yulwaj, and they themselves, under the veil of devotion and friendship, visited the Shaikh

Mahmood Tarabi, and humbly requested that he would sanctify the city of Bokhara by his presence, that the sick people thereof, by the blessing of his footsteps, might recover from their diseases and be restored to health. Under this pretence they persuaded him to leave Tarab, and proceed towards Bokhara, but with the intention to put him to death at a bridge on the road thither. Tarabi, however, by his penetration or the excellence of his intelligence, discovered their intentions, and when he arrived near the bridge, he said to the darogha who accompanied him, "Cast out thy foolish intention from thy brain, or thine eyes shall be torn from thy head without the intervention of the hands of man." As the darogha and the ameers had kept their design in their own breasts, and had made it known to no one, they were much frightened at these words, and refrained from their purpose. The Shaikh Mahmood Tarabi, therefore, arrived in the city of Bokhara in safety, and alighted at a house, where the whole population resorted to him, so that it became impossible for any one to enter or quit his house; and as his friends would not leave him without his blessing, the shaikh, for the comfort and consolation of those without, now and then mounted the

terrace of the house, and taking a little water in his mouth, squirted it over them, when all those who were sprinkled with it retired with great joy. The ameers and darogha, however much they desired to remove him out of the way, yet from the multitudes that surrounded him and his house could find no opportunity; when Shaikh Tarabi, however, became aware that the ameers intended to put him to death, he alone and secretly left the house, and mounting a horse that was standing at his door, fled to the *tull* or mount of Bahufuz, and having ascended that eminence, halted there. When it became known to the people of the city that the shaikh had disappeared, the multitude set up a loud cry that the shaikh had flown to the mount of Bahufuz at one flight, and the people, unable to contain themselves, all left the city and proceeded to join him. In the evening he harangued the multitude, and said, "Worthy people and true believers, why should we delay any longer to purify the world from the existence of these villains? (meaning the darogha and ameers); let every man provide himself with such arms (arrows, swords, bludgeons, &c.) as he can obtain, and fight valiantly to the utmost of his strength; let us not leave one of these traitors

alive." After this oration the people armed themselves, and carried the Shaikh back to the city of Bokhara, and the darogha and ameers all fled. The next day happened to be Friday, and the khotba was read in the name of Shaikh Mahmood Tarabi; the religious men and chief persons of Bokhara were also assembled, and some were killed, and some were beaten, and the shaikh having again wheedled and coaxed the mob, told them that "God had provided arms for them;" it happened that just at that time a *karwan* had arrived at Bokhara from Sheerauz, and had brought four *khurwars*, or loads, of swords for sale; this coincidence confirmed the people in their confidence in the supernatural agency of the Shaikh. He then ordered them to seize the tents and equipment of the ameers, and commenced his reign with all the pomp and circumstance of royalty; he also assembled an army, and the mob went to the houses of the rich and seized whatever they thought proper, and carried it to Shaikh Mahmood, who divided the spoil, thus taken, among his troops. The darogha and ameers, however, who had abandoned the city, soon collected a force from the Moghool tribes, and returned, and the shaikh with his troops and chiefs also left the city to

oppose them. When the two armies met and formed against each other a battle followed, but the Moghool troops alarmed at the fame of the shaikh's miracles (which were all false), did not much exert themselves in the fight, until, by accident or directed by fate, an arrow struck the forehead of the hypocritical Shaikh Mahmood, and he fell mortally wounded and died immediately. None of his troops were, however, aware of his death; for at that time a terrible storm arose, and such clouds of dust and sand that the troops could not see each other, and the Moghools, attributing this to the miraculous powers of the shaikh, fled from the field of battle, the followers of the shaikh pursuing them; near ten thousand men were killed in this affray. After the victory, and when the troops of the shaikh returned from slaughter and plunder, to their astonishment they could discover no traces of the shaikh himself; they said, however, "Our shaikh has become invisible, as he formerly told us he would, and until he makes his re-appearance in the world let us appoint his brethren, Mahummud and Ali, governors in his place;" the whole of the multitude, therefore, made them their chiefs, and submitted to their orders. It is said that when this intelli-

gence, forwarded by the ameers of Bokhara to Mahmood Beg, the son of Hajeb Yulwaj Bokhari, who resided at Khojund, reached that place, Mahmood Beg despatched the account of these events to Kurachar Noyaun, and by his orders, Eeldoor Noyaun and Chichun Koorchi with a large army were sent to reduce the rebels; and after seven days, during which the latter were employed in plundering the city and country, the Moghool army arrived at Bokhara. The brothers of Shaikh Torabi with their troops on this again quitted the city, and disposing themselves in array, engaged the Moghools with great courage. In the battle which followed, twenty-one thousand men were slain; the brothers of the shaikh were also killed, and the rest of their army dispersed; this disturbance, therefore, was quelled. The Moghool army, notwithstanding, desired much to plunder the people of Bokhara; however, God protected them, and the chiefs of Bokhara having made a valuable present to Ildoor Noyaun and Chichun Koorchi, entreated that they would put a stop to the ravage and murder committed by the Moghools until a reference was made to Kurachar Noyaun, and that then whatever might be his pleasure should be carried into effect. All the

ameers agreed to this, and a *yullaochee* was sent with the reference, and the ameers and troops, in the hope that the answer would be conformable to the *torèh*, or custom of the Moghools, collected a tribute, and refrained from further plunder. When the reference was received by the Noyaun he instantly forgave the offences of the people of Bokhara, and forwarded in answer a firman of Chughtaie Khan, directing the Moghool troops to return and abstain from all plunder and injury of the inhabitants of Bokhara; thus, from the protection and aid of this brave and worthy Noyaun, the people of Bokhara and its environs were saved from the rebellion of the Torabians, and also from the slaughter and ravages of the Moghools.

When the period of the life of Chughtaie Khan approached, he confided the execution of his will and the care of his children to Kurachar Noyaun, and, it is said, died in the month of Zikad 630 Hejri, seven months previous to the death of Ooktaie Khan. After his death thirty kings of his children or relations reigned in the territory of Tooraun. Chughtaie Khan had eleven sons; of these, ten were living at the time of his death; the son who died previously was named Baikun, and those

living were Yusoo Munga, Munookan, Baidar, Sarian, Toolkan, Bozi, Boolkan, Noori, Kamkar, and Tokzar Khan.

The second khan was Kara Hulako Khan,* the son of Baikun, the son of Chughtaie Khan.

In some histories it is written that, on the death of Chughtaie Khan, Kurachar Noyaun exerted himself so effectually in the arrangement of the affairs of the kingdom of Tooraun, and in providing for the welfare both of the peasantry and the soldiery, that nothing equal to his management existed either before or since (*verses*): "He was liberal, and such a lover of strict justice, that no one oppressed others without the severest punishment: except the *ringlets* of the ladies all was at rest, and no uneasiness or disturbance arose, except those caused by the eyes of beauty."†

Some years after the death of Chughtaie Khan, Kurachar Noyaun, for political purposes, raised to the throne Kara Hulako Khan, the son of Baikun, the son of Chughtaie Khan. After Kara Hulako had reigned some time, and his fame had spread to all quarters, at the instigation of Kyook

* That is, the son of the eldest son.

† بجز زلف جانان همه آرمید
کسي فتنه جزچشم خوبان ندید

Khan, the son of Ooktaie Khan, who represented that a grandson could not with propriety be preferred to a son, and that agreeably to the custom of the world an uncle stood in the place of a father, Kurachar Noyaun deposed Kara Hulako Khan, and in the year 643 Hejri placed Yussoo Munga Khan, the son of Chughtaie Khan, on the throne. After some years, however, Yussoo Munga Khan died, and Kurachur Noyaun again raised to the throne, in his stead, Kara Hulako.

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*The restoration of Kara Hulako Khan.*

After the death of Yussoo Munga Khan, Hulako reascended the throne; and in the year 652 Hejri, during his reign, Kurachar Noyaun departed this life. He was the son of Sooghoochichun, the son of Eeroomchi Berlas, the son of Kuchooli Bahadoor, the son of Toomneh Khan, the son of Baisunghur Khan, the son of Kaidoo Khan, the son of Dootmeen Khan, the son of Booka Khan, the son of Boozunjur Khan, the son of Alunkooa, the daughter of Choyumneh Khan, the son of Yuldooz, the son of Munguli Khwajeh, the son of Timoor Tash, of the race of Kyaun, the son of Eel Khan, of the children of Moghool Khan, of the descendants of Turk, the son of the prophet

Japhet. Kurachur Noyaun was eighty-nine years of age when he died: he had ten sons; the six eldest were Eechul, Eeldooz, Yusooteh, Lala, Shuraut, and Yussoo Munga Khan.

*The fifth khan*, or Arghooneh Khatoon, the daughter of Toor Eelchee Goor Khan, and the wife of Kara Hulako Khan.—The pedigree of this lady is as follows: Arghooneh Khatoon, the daughter of Toor Eelchee, the son of Areek Boka Khan, the son of Tooli, the son of Chungeez. —This lady was the wife of Kara Hulako, and had a son by him, named Mobarik Shah, and after the death of her husband from the youth of her son, she assumed the supreme authority in his behalf. She was a very virtuous woman, and acted with great kindness to Mussulmans, whose lives and properties she protected to the utmost of her power.

*The sixth khan*, Balighu, the son of Paidar, the son of Chughtaie Khan.

This khan is called Balika, and Alko by some historians, he was a soldier-like man and fond of war. The ameer-ul-omra of Balighu, was Ameer Eechul Noyaun, the son of Kurachar Noyaun; Balighu was a just sovereign, and a very handsome man, and governed his kingdom in a way

answering to the rules of Feridoon and Jumsheed. In the beginning there existed a great friendship between Balighu Khan and Areek Boka Khan, the son of Tooli Khan, the son of Chungeez, that is at the time the latter ascended the throne of Karakorum. At that time Areek Boka summoned Balighu with his troops to defend Toorkistan. When Alika or Balighu, the son of Paidar, arrived at the Aloos of Chughtaie, a great force assembled round him, and he assumed great authority, and seized the treasure which was sent from Iran to the capital of the Kaans, and in consequence there arose a quarrel between him and Areek Boka Khan, which ended in war. The first time Areek Boka Khan marched to attack Balighu Khan, a battle was fought, in which Balighu Khan was worsted; but when Areek Boka and his army returned to their own country, Balighu Khan again assembled his forces, and Ameer Eechul Noyaun also joined him with a large army; on the junction, therefore, of the Chughtayan Ooloos, he advanced to attack Areek Boka Khan, who was not backward in marching with his army to oppose him. The hostile armies at length met, and after the requisite arrangements on both sides, a battle followed; on this occa-

sion Balighu himself led to the onset, and his enemies being unable to withstand him, retired, and Areek Boka, astonished and alarmed at Balighu's bravery, and at his desperate charges, was also obliged to accompany his army in their flight. After the battle, Musaood Beg, the son of Mahummud Beg, the chief of Yulwaj Bokhari, the vuzeer of Areek Boka Khan, entered the service of Balighu Khan, by whom he was much esteemed, and raised to high office and authority. When the victorious Balighu returned to the Chughtayan aloos, in the year 658 Hejri, he ascended the throne in Paish Baligh, and married Arghooneh Khatoon, the daughter of Areek Boka Khan, and the widow of Kara Hulako Khan; he had reigned only four years when he died; he had two sons, one named Doba and the other Kyaun.

*The seventh khan*, Mobarik Shah, the son of Kara Hulako Khan.

When Mobarik Shah had arrived at years of discretion, he was raised to the throne by the aid of Ameer Eechul, the son of Ameer Kurachar Noyaun Birlas (who removed or poisoned Balighu Khan, in the year 662 Hejri). It is related that Mobarik Shah was a good king, and very mild, learned, and liberal; the tribe or aloos

of Chughtaie Khan, during the reign of Mobarik Shah, by the agency and bravery of Ameer Eechul Noyaun Birlas, was placed in a most prosperous condition; the country well peopled and in the enjoyment of perfect tranquillity.

*The reign of the eighth khan, Borak, the son of Sookur, the son of Kamgar, the son of Chughtaie, the son of Chungeez Khan.*

On the death of Mobarik Shah in the year 663 Hejri, Borak Khan was raised to the throne, with the concurrence of all the princes, ameers, and ladies of the royal family; the office of his cup-bearer was held by Ameer Eechul Noyaun; the princes and ameers of the Chughtayan race performed the customary genuflections (*the kowtow*), and the troops and subjects of Borak Khan devoted themselves to his service. In his time Ameer Eechul Noyaun Birlas proceeded to Azurbijan to Tokzur Ooghul the son of Chughtaie Khan. When Borak Khan had established himself on the throne a quarrel arose between him and Kaidoo Khan, the son of Ghazi Ooghul, the son of Ooktaie Khan, and after many battles fought between them, they made peace on the following conditions:—that Kaidoo should give up to Borak the countries of Irak and Khorasan, as they were well qualified for

both summer and winter quarters. After this, in the year 666, Borak Khan despatched Musaood Beg,* the son of Yulwaj · Bokhari, on a mission to Abukai Khan, the son of Hulako, the son of Tooli, then king of Persia, speciously to court his friendship, but in secret to act as a spy and collect information respecting the state of that kingdom, and also regarding Tokzur Ooghul, the brother of Borak Khan, who was in Goorjistan, or Georgia, and to whom Eechul Noyaun went to obtain intelgence respecting the advance of the Chughtayan army. Musaood Beg, agreeably to the orders of Borak Khan, proceeded on his mission; and to provide against accidents, at every stage placed relays of horses, and men to take care of them. When the news of the arrival of Musaood Beg reached Tubreez, Khwajeh Shums-ud-deen the dewan went out to meet him, and alighted from his horse to pay him respect; Musaood Beg, however, did not alight, and in addition to this insult he said contemptuously, "Art thou the Sahib Dewan?—thy name certainly sounds better than the names of the others." The dewan, greatly offended, made no answer to this interrogation.

When Musaood Beg visited the king he took

* In a former part of this work Musaood Beg is called a Bulloche.

his place above all the ameers of Iran; but seeing he was looked on with suspicion and dislike by the chiefs of the state, on the third day he demanded permission from Abakai Khan to return home; on his quitting the presence, he immediately mounted his horse and proceeded on his journey, and assisted by the relays of fresh men and horses he had left on the road, he made such haste that in four days and nights he reached and crossed the Jihoon. The ameers of Tubreez, when they saw that Musaood Beg had departed, reported to the sultan that he came as a spy, and that it was not safe to allow him to return. The sultan, therefore, immediately despatched horsemen after him to bring him back wherever they found him: he had, however, so sped on his way that no one overtook him. When Musaood Beg returned to Borak Khan he detailed all he had learned at Tubreez, and Borak Khan immediately assembled a large army, and in the year 667 Hejri marched towards Khorasan, to subdue the kingdom of Iran. When Borak Khan had passed the Jihoon, Mullik Shums-ud-deen Koort arrived as an ambassador, with offers of submission, but changed sides, and was received into the service of Borak Khan, to whom he promised the possession of the throne of Iran.

It is related that at that time the governors of Khorasan were the Prince Tubeen Oghul, the son of Hulako Khan and Arghoon Akai Awirat. When the troops of Borak Khan arrived at Nishapoor the armies of Iran and Tooraun met, and a bloody battle followed. In this battle Tubeen Oghul and Arghoon were defeated and obliged to flee to Irak. The following is a description of the battle, as nearly literal as can well be made.

When the *booljoonghar*, (which in Persian is called *yuzak*, and in Oighoor Toorki, *kurawul*), or advance of Borak Khan's army, saw that of Prince Tubeen Oghul, the only question and answer asked and returned was with the edge of their swords. While the two advanced parties were thus engaged, the brave men of the *booroonghar* (which in Arabic is called *mukdumut il jysh*, and in Oighoor Toorki *eerawul* and *munkulai*, *i. e.* the advanced guard), galloped to the assistance of the *kurawul* and drew breath with their swords.

The *munkulaie* being now warmly engaged, their shouts reached the skies. On both sides the *oonghar* and *joonghar*, or the *Mymuneh* and *Mysureh* (the right and left wings), the bravest of the brave among the *Moghools of Iran and Tooraun*, charged, and intermixed with each other,

and the slain fell in heaps—indeed the carnage produced a resemblance of the day of resurrection. The troops of Khorasan cut off the heads of the Moghools, as if they had been so many kites, and they began to waver, when, of a sudden, the *ook-choonghar* of the Moghools (which is called *sakeh*), arrived from the rear, and making their spears their standards, pressed their horses on to the charge. At this time also the *boostoonghar* (which is called *Ajnaya* and *Kumeen*, *i.e.* the rear-guard), of Borak Khan made its appearance, and Borak Khan charged into the midst of the *mélée*, and penetrated even to Prince Tubeen Ooghul. This charge and his distinguished bravery decided the victory, and the troops of Khorasan first wavered and then fled.

Prince Tyubeen Ooghul and Arghoon Agha having witnessed the defeat of their army, were of necessity obliged to retire, and they turned their horses' heads towards Irak.

When these chiefs retreated, the troops of Borak Khan took their fill of slaughter and plunder, as is the custom of conquerors, and Khorasan remained one year under the authority of Borak Khan.

When *Abukai Khan, the son of Hulaku, who*

was king of Irak, Iran, Azurbijan, and Khorasan, heard that Borak Khan had taken possession of. the province of Khorasan, he saw no remedy but to march an army to oppose and dispossess him. He accordingly marched with a large army from Irak and Azurbijan towards Herat, by the road of Rai; at Rai he was joined by prince Tubeen and Arghoon Agha Awirat, who had proceeded by a different route to Tubreez, and not having found him, had followed his army to Rai. At this place the troops were arranged in order, and then marched to Herat, and halted in a place called Julgae, in the vicinity of which the troops of Borak were encamped; and near the town Ashkgiwan the two armies met, and forming in order of battle, the embers of contention were blown into a flame. Borak Khan took the immediate command of the *oonghar* or right wing of his army, and fell upon the *joonghar*, or left, of Abukai Khan, with such vigour that he totally defeated it, and it retired to seek support from the *oonghar* or right wing; when, however, it arrived near the right wing, the whole of the army of Abukai Khan fell into confusion and fled. At this time Subtaie Noyaun Oighoor, who belonged to the left wing of the army of Abukai Khan, alighted from his horse

and sat down on an eminence, and said, "The man whose foot is not firm in the battle, may the God of the heavens and the earth punish him. I take the soul of the great Chungeez Khan to witness that I will devote my life at this spot." At hearing these words of Subtaie Noyaun, the troops of Abukai Khan, receiving them as a good omen, halted, and those who had before fled returned to the charge. Abukai Khan also made a brave charge at the head of his troops, and was well seconded by them, and Marghawul Bahadoor, who was one of the chief officers of Borak Khan, was killed, and a sanguinary struggle took place over his body for its possession: in fact, since Mars first drew his sword, to prosecute in relentless war the destruction of mankind, such a battle never was fought. It is related that the battle continued with the utmost fury the whole day, and at night the armies separated, and retired to their respective camps. Borak Khan now retreated in the direction of Mawurunneher, and when he arrived at Bokhara he was converted to the Mussulman faith, and received the title of Sultan Ghiaus-ud-deen. A short period after this he was seized with a disease,* and was obliged

* Called *folij*, or *aflaj*.

to be carried about in a litter; in 668 Hejri, he visited Kaidoo Khan, the son of Ghazi Ooghul, the son of Ooktaie Khan, and was poisoned by a cup of sherbet given to him by Kaidoo. The period of his reign was six years. Borak Khan had three sons, Dooda Chichun, Booria, and Hoolao.

*The ninth khan,* Pyke Khan, the son of Hoola Shiramoon, the son of Sarian, the son of Chughtaie Khan, the son of Chungeez Khan.

Pyk Khan (the son of Hoola Shiramoon) was a prince of such power and greatness, that the revolving heavens reverenced him, and the sun from the throne of his glory passed over him with deference and respect.*

*The tenth khan,* Toktimoor, the son of Kudaghi, the son of Toori Balkan, the son of Chughtaie Khan. It is related that this prince was a very just and righteous man.

*The reign of Dowa Chichun,* the son of Borak Khan, the son of Sookur, the son of Kamgar, the son of Chughtaie Khan.—Dowa Chichun Khan was a prince well qualified for the throne. In his reign, the chief ameer and agent, or vuzeer, was Ameer Alungeez Noyaun, the son of Eechul Noyaun, the son of Kurachar Noyaun, the son of Sooghoo Chi-

* An example of the مبالغه.

chun, &c. Dowa Chichun preserved, with Ameer Alungeez Noyaun, the conditions of the treaty made between Kurachar Noyaun and Chungeez Khan, and Kacholi Bahadoor and Kubul Khan, denominated the Al-tumghaie of Toomneh Khan. Agreeably to the articles of this treaty, a written agreement was signed by each, and the rules and customs of their forefathers strictly observed. This prince reigned thirty years, and by the able management of Alungeez Noyaun, the aloos of Chughtaie Khan was preserved in prosperity, peace, and happiness. Dowa Chichun had twelve sons: their names were—Soorghud Ooghul Jyookur, Abookur, Eelkhwajeh, Eelchu Gudaie, Kureejook, Iyoomkun Oghul, Booran, Toormshere, Esau Booka, Kubk, and Gunjuk.

*The twelfth khan* was Gunjuk, the son of Dowa Chichun Khan.—Historians relate, that Gunjuk Khan, the son of Dowa Chichun Khan, was a very able and just prince, and his reign prosperous. When Gunjuk Khan was firmly established on the throne, he observed that the children of Kaidoo Khan, the son of Ghazi Ooghul, the son of Ooktaie Khan, did not perform the requisite duties of their government, or preserve the boundaries of their territory with the care

and firmness necessary, and that they seemed to require his protection. For this reason he despatched an army into their territory, and during the confusion caused by this invasion reduced most of them under his authority, and added them to the aloos of Chughtaie.

*The thirteenth khan,* Talikoo Khan, the son of Kudaghi, the son of Toori, the son of Baikan, the son of Chughtaie Khan.—This prince was also a man of great ability and power; he was also very just and generous.

At his death, *the fourteenth khan,* Esun Booka Khan, the son of Dowa Chichun, ascended the throne. He was also celebrated for his justice and hatred of oppression,

*The fifteenth khan,* Kubuk, the son of Dowa Chichun, the son of Borak Khan, &c.—Kubuk Khan was also a just prince. In his time the science of government attained great perfection, and his military actions and regulations raised him to the pinnacle of greatness. The fame of his justice reached all parts of the earth. In his time the Kubbutul Islam, or city of Balkh, which had been in ruins, and a field of reeds from the time of Chungeez Khan, was rebuilt. Of the actions of this worthy prince it is related,

that one day he was riding out for exercise with his servants, and that in a cave near the road, he discovered a number of human bones. On seeing these, he pulled up his horse and remained in thought some time, and then said to his attendants, "Do you know what these bones have been saying to me?" His attendants, being surprised at the question, remained silent; when he, answering himself, said, "They are the bones of men barbarously murdered, who cry to me for vengeance." He then, like a king, determined to find out how they came there, and immediately summoned the huzara, to whom the land appertained, and ordered him to examine as to whom these bones, found in his jurisdiction, belonged. The sirdar, or chief of the *wehcheh*, or tribe, whose *yoorut* or encampment was near this place, was therefore seized and examined, and it was discovered that three years previous, a karwaun had arrived there from Khorasan, and that this tribe had murdered the whole of the persons composing it, and had seized their property, and that some part was still in their possession. When this fact was established, the khan ordered the murderers to be apprehended, and the property collected, and despatched a messenger to the chief of Khorasan,

that he might search for and produce the heirs of the murdered men. On their being found, they were sent to the khan, who immediately delivered up the property he had collected, with the murderers, into their hands. When this prince died he was buried in the country of Koorshi, and a splendid monument was raised over him.

*The sixteenth prince* was Eelchukdaie, the son of Dowa Chichun Khan, the son of Borak Khan, lineally descended from Chughtaie Khan. Eelchukdaie, the son of Dowa Chichun, was a wise and virtuous prince.

*The seventeenth khan*, Dowar Timoor, the son of Dowa Chichun, the son of Borak Khan, &c.—Dowar Khan was a valiant, just, and munificent prince.

*The eighteenth khan*, Toormeh Shere, the son of Dowa Chichun.—Toormeh Shere was a just and magnificent prince. He was a Mussulman, and in his time the idolatrous doctrine of the plurality of the godhead was burnt up by the ardent rays of the true faith. The aloos or tribe of Chughtaie, in his fortunate period, was enriched by the inestimable wealth of Islam; and independent of the enjoyment of the blessings of this world, was qualified for eternal happiness in

the next. In the performance of the duties of the religion of Mohummud, and in the exaltation of the faith of Ahmud, he exerted himself to the utmost. The professors of the Mussulman faith, in his time, enjoyed perfect prosperity. Among the events of his reign is the following: He marched an army to the conquest of Hindoostan, and having penetrated to the gates of Delhi, plundered that country of every thing he could carry away with him. When he encamped with his army at Delhi, the King of that country sent him some valuable presents out of the city as a paishkush by his chief ameers, and offered his submission. The khan therefore marched from Delhi towards Gujurat, and plundered Somnaut and Surat, and returned thence in safety to his own country laden with spoil. Some time after this, his cousin Pooran, the son of Dowar Timoor, who was not a Mussulman, associated with certain Moghools who had not yet been converted to Islamism, assembled an army in Hubbeh, and in the year 728, in the environs of the pleasant town of Kush, at Koozi Mendak, put Toormeh Shere to death, and he was buried in one of the villages of Samurkund.

*The nineteenth khan*, Arjukam, the son of Ool-

jaitoo Sultan, who was descended from Tooli Khan, the son of Chungeez Khan.—Pooran Khan, the son of Dowar Timoor Khan, the son of Borak, the great-grandson of Chughtaie Khan, strained every nerve to maintain himself in the sovereignty. He was not, however, successful, although from his power or treachery he put to death many of the princes and ameers of the house of Chughtaie Khan, as Doorchi Khan, the son of Eelchukdaie, and his atabeg Ameer Jadoo, &c.

*The twentieth Khan*, Jungatoo Khan, the son of Jyoom Keen, the son of Dowa Chichun, the son of Borak Khan, &c.—Jungatoo Khan was the relief and resource of the oppressed, but in his anger he was dreaded for his severity; at other times he was a pleasant man. He was murdered by his brother.

*The twenty-first khan*, Yussoo Timoor Khan, the son of Jyoom Keen, the son of Dowa Chichun, &c. &c.—Yussoo Timoor Khan was esteemed a great prince, although he put his brother to death. It is related that after Yussoo Timoor rebelled against his brother Jungatoo Khan, and put him to death, he assumed the sovereignty of Tooran, and behaved in a manner that showed his exaltation could not be permanent, and that he was mad, or something very like it. As an instance of this,

it is said he cut off the breasts of his own mother, under pretence that she had advised him to rebel against his brother Jungatoo Khan, and that he had murdered him at her instigation.

*The twenty-second khan*, Ali Sultan, one of the descendants of Ooktaie Khan Kaan, the son of Chungeez Khan.—Ali Sultan conquered Yussoo Timoor Khan, and without any other claim usurped the throne; this man plundered the treasury of Yussoo Timoor and his forefathers, and in the universal confusion and depredation, the treaty between Kubul Khan and Kacholi Bahadoor, which was denominated the Altum-ghaie of Toomneh Khan, and the renewed treaty, signed by Chungeez Khan and Kurachar Noyaun, with the last treaty framed between Dowa Chichun and Alungeez Noyaun in conformity to those above-mentioned, were destroyed. In his time it appears the Moghools intermarried with the people of the country.

*The twenty-third khan*, Mahummud, the son of Poulad Ooghul, the son of Kurjook Khan, the son of Dowa Chichun, the son of Ghiaus-ud-deen Borak Khan, &c.—Mahummud Khan was worthy of the kingdom, he being a just man; he allayed the troubles and remedied the disorders of the last reign.

*The twenty-fourth khan*, Kazan Sultan, the son of Yussoor Ooghlan, the son of Oorooktimoor Khan, the son of Toktimoor, the son of Kudaghi, the son of Baikun, the son of Chughtaie Khan.

Kazan Sultan Khan, the son of Yussoor Ooghlan, ascended the throne in Mawurunneher, in the year 733. At that time the king of Persia was Sultan Aboo Saeed, the son of Ooljaitoo Khan, &c. Three years after the death of Sultan Aboo Saeed, other khans of the Chungeez family were seated on the throne of Persia, as Arpa Khan (the son of Soosa), Moosa Khan, Mahummud Khan (the son of Boo Tughluk), Toghaie Timour (the son of Soori), Saki Beg (the daughter of Ooljaitoo Sultan), Jehan Timoor Khan (the son of Alafreng, of the race of Hulako Khan), Suliman Khan and Noushirwan Khan; all these were contemporaries with him. The conquest or reduction of the aloos of Chughtaie Khan, by Ameer Kurghun, took place also in the reign of Kazan Sultan, and that great conqueror Ameer Timoor Goorkan was born in his time; the words "My glad tidings have given to the expecting world what was promised,"* and "The star of

* الشعر بشري فقد اخبر المال ما وعدا
وكوكب التصرفي الافق العلا صعدا

victory has risen to its meridian," were verified. The actions of Kazan Sultan Khan, and the other khans who reigned, after him, over the aloos of Chughtaie, will now be detailed. From the commencement of the reign of Chughtaie Khan, the son of Chungeez, and his children and descendants, to Kazan Sultan, was one hundred and nine years.

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*The Conquest of the Aloos of Chughtaie by Meer Kurghun.*

When Kazan Sultan, the son of Yussoor Oghlan, ascended the throne he displayed great pride and cruelty, and put a number of his ameers and Noyauns to death, and, for that reason, the remaining chiefs of the aloos of Chughtaie rebelled, and joined Ameer Kurghun against him. Ameer Kurghun assembled an army at the town of Saliserai to oppose Kazan Sultan, who, when he heard of it, marched towards him to attack him. Ameer Kurghun also advanced to meet him; and, in the year 746, the two armies met on the plain of Derehi Zungi, and in the battle which was fought there Meer Kurghun was wounded in the eye by an arrow, and defeated. Kazan Sultan returned after this victory to

Koorshi, but in that winter, from the exceeding coldness of the season, most of the * men and cattle of the adherents of Kazan Sultan perished in the snow; and Ameer Kurghun, hearing of his losses, again raised the standard of rebellion, and attacked Kazan Sultan Khan, and in a battle fought between them Sultan Kazan was slain on the field of battle. Ameer Kurghun, however, forbade his sepahees, or soldiers, all plunder and devastation, and treated the family of the slain monarch with great kindness and respect.

*The twenty-fifth khan*, Danishmundche Khan, descended from Ooktaie Khan, the son of Chungeez Khan.

Danishmundche Khan was raised to the throne by Ameer Kurghun after the death of Kazan Sultan, but as his pedigree was derived from Ooktaie Khan, not from Chughtaie Khan, for that reason, or some other, after reigning two years, he put him to death.

*The twenty-sixth khan*, Biankuli, the son of Surghud Ooghul, the son of Chichun Khan, the son of Borak Khan, the son of Sookur, the son of Kamgar, the son of Chughtaie Khan.

Ameer Kurghun after he had murdered Danish-

* اولاغان.

mundche Khan, raised Biankuli to the throne of the Khans; he then occupied himself in the regulation of the cities and people of his kingdom, and by a specious display of justice and liberality, attracted the affections of all classes of the people. In the year 760 Hejri a certain Kutluk Timoor, the brother-in-law of Ameer Kurghun, from some malice that he bore him, assassinated the worthy ameer while he was out hunting, and then fled to Kundooz: the relations and friends of the ameer, however, pursued him, and having found him at Kundooz they cut him to pieces. After the death of Ameer Kurghun, his son Abdullah took his father's place, and made Samarkund his capital. He there fell in love with the wife of Biankuli Khan, the son of Surghad Ooghul, and put the unhappy Moghool prince to death and seized his wife.

*The twenty-seventh khan*, Timoor Shah, the son of Yussoo Timoor Khan, the son of Iyukur, the son of Dowa Chichun, the son of Borak Khan, &c. &c.

After the murder of Biankuli Khan, Ameer Abdullah, the son of Ameer Kurghun, raised to the throne Timoor Shah, the son of Yussoo Timoor Khan. Ameer Bian Suldooz, however,

rebelled, and, in concert with Ameer Haji Birlas, who was descended from Yussoo Munga, the son of Kurachar Noyaun, marched to attack him. The contending armies soon met, and a battle was fought, in which Ameer Bian Suldooz gained the victory, and Ameer Abdullah and Timoor Shah Khan were both slain. Ameer Bian Suldooz then raised the standard of sovereignty in Mawurun-neher. He was a mild and good man, but much given to drinking, and, from that cause, great confusion and disorder prevailed in the affairs of the country of Tooraun, and in every city an independent chief of the tribe or aloos arose. Among the principal of these was Ameer Haji Bĭrlas, descended from Yussoo Munga, the son of Kurachar Noyaun. He occupied Kish; Ameer Bayuzeed Jullair seized Khojund; Ameer Ooljaitoo Agha Suldooz, Balkh; and Ameer Khwajeh Burdi, Sharghan; these all strove to be masters. Ameer Hussun, the son of Milan, the son of Kurghun, assembled forces and attacked all parties, and Ameer Khidr Yussoori with his dependents admitted no superior.

*The twenty-eighth khan*, Toghluk Timoor, the son of Eel Khwajeh, the son of Dowa Chichun, the son of Sultan Ghiaus-ud-deen Borak Khan, &c.—

Toghluk Timoor Khan, after the death of Ameer Kurghun, was made chief of the aloos of Hubbeh,* and in the year 761 Hejri, when he heard of the disturbed state of Mawurunneher, he marched thither and reduced most of the ameers before-mentioned to obedience; he then returned to Jineh or Hubbeh. After his return the ameers of Mawurunneher again disagreed, and rebellion again showed itself every where. Toghluk Timoor Khan, therefore, in the year 763, returned to that country and put to death Ameer Bayuzeed Jullair and Bian Suldooz; he after this left his son Ilias Khwajeh in Mawurunneher, and returned to his capital, and was there converted to Islamism, and a great number of his subjects followed his example, as is related in the book called the Mufsulah. He was buried at Almaligh in a mausoleum built by his orders, and known by the name of Altoon.

*The twenty-ninth khan*, Ilias Khwajeh, the son of Toghluk Timoor Khan, the son of Eel Khwajeh, the son of Dowa Chichun, &c.

Ilias Khwajeh Khan, after the return of his father from Mawurunneher, reigned there two

* This word is sometimes written جنه.

years. In the year 765 a battle was fought between him and Ameer Hussein (the son of Ameer Milan, the son of Kurghun), in conjunction with Ameer Timoor Goorkan (the son of Ameer Toraghi Noyaun, the son of Purkuli, the son of Alungeez Noyaun, the son of Eechul Noyaun, the son of Kurachar Noyaun, &c.), at the town of Kyakeen, in which he was defeated, and fleeing to Hubbeh was there assassinated by Kumr-ud-deen Doghalut, and was buried at Almaligh, by the side of his father, Toghluk Timoor Khan.

*The thirtieth khan*, is Adil Sultan, the son of Mahummud Khan, the son of Polad, the son of Kurjook, the son of Dowa Chichun, &c., &c.—Adil Sultan Khan was raised to the throne by Ameer Hussein, the son of Milan; he held possession of the countries of Balkh and Budakh-shan. After a short period, from some imputed crime or fault, he was thrown into the river of Chestigan and drowned.

*The thirty-first khan*, Kamil Shah, the son of Doorchi, the son of Eelchukdai Khan, the son of Dowa Chichun, &c.—When Ameer Hussein, the son of Milan, the son of Kurghun, under the pretence that Adil Sultan Khan entertained

enmity towards him, drowned that unfortunate prince, he raised to the throne in the city of Balkh* Kamil Shah Khan, the son of Doorchi. At that time Ameer Timoor Goorkan, (the son of Toraghi, the son of Alungeez Noyaun, the son of Eechul, the son of Kurachar Noyaun) had assembled an army and was encamped at Balkh.

*The thirty-second khan*, Syoorghunumush, the son of Danishmundchi Khan.—This prince was of the race of Chughtaie Khan, the son of Chungeez Khan. The great Timoor, at whose birth the four trines of the great stars returned twelve times to each trine in conjunction,† and who for that reason was denominated by the learned, the great Timoor Goorkan, at that time resided at Balkh, and governed agreeably to the customs of his forefathers, that is to say, in conformity to the words of the Koran, "Observe my covenant;"‡ also to the covenant which was first made by Kacholi Bahadoor and Kubul Khan, called the Al-tumghaie of Toomneh Khan; and next renewed between Chungeez Khan and Kurachar Noyaun, and the

* Called also Kobutul Islam, and 'the mother of cities.'

† کواکب علویین هر چهار مثلثه رادوازده باردرهر کدام مثلثه معاودة کرده.

‡ اوفوا بعهدي.

third time renewed and confirmed by Dowa Chichun and Alungeez Noyaun.

According to these three treaties, at the time a war broke out between the great Timoor Goorkan and Ameer Hussein, the son of Milan, Ameer Hussein raised Kamil Shah to the throne in the city of Balkh; Ameer Timoor Goorkan also raised Syoorghunumush Khan, the son of Danishmundchi Khan, of the race of Ooktaie Khan, to the throne, and encamped with a large force at Balkh, Ameer Hussein being within the walls of that city, and the standard of slaughter was raised between them.

In one of the battles fought there, Omr Shaikh Bahadoor, the son of Timoor Goorkan the Great, was wounded in the foot by an arrow, and three days after this occurrence Ameer Hussein, the son of Ameer Milan, the son of Kurghun, was taken prisoner by the troops of the great Timoor and put to death (some mistake, or word left out here) with Kaikhosrou and Kutlakh; when the period of the life of Syoorghunumush Khan had arrived the great Timoor was still living.

*The thirty-third khan*, Sultan Mahmood, the son of Syoorghunumush, the son of Danishmundchi Khan, of the race of Ooktaie Khan.

On the death of Syoorghunumush Khan the great Ameer Timoor raised to the throne his son Sultan Mahmood, and his name was written at the head of state-papers as long as the great Timoor lived, and to the period when Timoor departed this life at the town of Otrar, on his journey to Khutai, the *khani* or sovereignty of Sultan Mahmood Khan was undisputed and independent. The great actions performed by Ameer Timoor Goorkan and his conquests are detailed separately in other histories.

This history treats of the four *Uluses* or tribes of Chungeez Khan, and enumerates the kings, who were the children, or descendants of Turk Khan, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, on all of whom be peace.

The names of the kings (Khwakeen) of Turkistan, contained in this work, are taken from the compilation made by Sultan Issaed Alugh Beg Mirza the martyr (may God enlighten his tomb), illustrative of the history of the Khans of the four *Uluses*.

THE END.

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