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The Life and Times of
SULTĀN
MAḤMŪD OF GHAZNA

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The Life and Times of
SULTĀN
MAḤMŪD OF GHAZNA

BY
MUḤAMMAD NĀZIM
M.A., PH.D. (CANTAB.)

With a Foreword

BY
THE LATE
SIR THOMAS ARNOLD

والله هو المحمود
God alone is the Glorified (al-Maḥmūd)
Signature of Sulṭān Maḥmūd
Muḥmalu't-Tawārīkh, f. 279 b

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FOREWORD

AMONG the finest products of the literary activity of the Indian Muhammadans has been their historical literature. It includes such noteworthy contributions to autobiographical self-revelation as the *Futuhdt-i-Firuz Shdhi*, and the *Tuzuk-i-Jahdngrtri*, the numerous contemporary chronicles by court historians, as well as the comprehensive works compiled in a more critical spirit by later writers. This literary tradition has been revived in recent years by a new school of historians—men acquainted with modern methods of research, trained to weigh evidence and arbitrate between conflicting points of view. A number of valuable contributions to historical science have been published by this younger group of Indian historians, and the present work will give to its author an honourable place among them. None of his predecessors has ventured to write the separate memoir of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. The difficulties that have hitherto faced the student of the reign of this great conqueror may be illustrated by the bewildering account of his expeditions into India which Sir Henry M. Elliot appended to the second volume of *The History of India as told by its own Historians*. Considerable courage was needed to undertake such a task, and the competent reader will at once recognise the excellent character of the achievement, for no such extensive survey has hitherto been attempted and the sources drawn upon have included a large number of hitherto unpublished manuscripts. As practically the

whole of Sultan Mahmud's life was taken up with fighting, a recital of his various campaigns must necessarily constitute a large part of the task of his biographer, and Dr Muhammad Nazim, in order to *give* a clear and intelligible account of these campaigns, has adopted the admirable device of putting them in their geographical setting, thus enabling the reader to follow the progress of the contending armies free from the confusion which a rigidly chronological sequence of events would have implied, while the demands of such a purely temporal order of events are satisfied by the detailed summary which he has provided in his Appendix N.

For the student of Indian history, Dr Muhammad Nazim's book will not only shed light upon a hitherto obscure period in the annals of that country, but will clear up many confusions and misunderstandings, to the discussion of which his Appendices and many of his notes are devoted. To a wider circle of readers the work should prove of interest as coming from the pen of a modern enlightened Muhammadan scholar who defends the subject of his memoir from the accusation of fanaticism, so commonly connected with his name*

T. W. ARNOLD

P R E F A C E

IN these days sober students of history busy themselves with the problems of social, economic and political evolution of nations rather than with tiresome stories of wars and battles; but there are some wars which will always command an absorbing interest because of their far-reaching consequences, and some of the wars of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, particularly his expeditions to India, are assuredly deserving of such interest. He was the first sovereign to give practical shape to the idea of a Muslim empire in India., The flood-gates of the north-western passes, which were opened by his victorious armies, continued for centuries to pour down streams of Muslim invaders into the plains of India, till the tide of their conquest was stemmed by the advent of the English.

Notwithstanding the numerous scattered notices of Sultan Mahmud in modern historical works, he has not so far received due attention from Oriental scholars. This book, which was originally presented as a thesis for the Degree of Ph.D. at the University of Cambridge, is intended to supply the desideratum to some extent; and though it does not profess to be exhaustive, an attempt has been made in it to sift and arrange the huge mass of material relating to the period of the Sultan, to give an accurate and impartial study of his life and work, to determine the exact chronology of his reign, to identify localities captured by him, to construct an outline of his system of administration, to exonerate

him from the charge of fanaticism so often levelled against him, and to show that his wars in India were not the haphazard movements of a predatory warrior but were the result of a well-considered programme of conquest and annexation. I have based the account on trustworthy authorities, and have scrupulously excluded from it anything that could not be authenticated. Consequently numerous details that have been passed off as established facts have been omitted. As I believe that most of the modern historians and critics of Sultan Mahmud possessed only a superficial knowledge of his career, I have not considered it worth while to enter into lengthy discussions of their arguments, and have contented myself with drawing attention in the foot-notes to some of their most obvious mistakes.

I have not dealt with the literary history of the period of the Sultan, partly because the subject is so vast that it requires detailed and exclusive study, and partly because much has already been done in this direction by eminent scholars like the late Professor E. G. Browne, Shamsu'l-'Ulama Mawlavi Muhammad Shibli Nu'manl, and Professor Mahmud Khan Shiranl.

In the transliteration of Arabic and Persian words, I have adopted the system approved by the Oriental Congress of 1894 and recommended by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of London. I have followed the same system in writing place-names, but I have retained the familiar spellings of such well-known places as Delhi, Lahore, Jhelum, Muttra,zKanaunj, etc. Certain inconsistencies will, however, be observed in the transliteration of Sanskrit and Hindi names but I hope they are not such as to mislead the reader. In

converting Hijra dates, I have followed the extremely useful tables entitled *An Indian Ephemeris* by L. D. Swamikannu, Dlwān Bahadur (Government Press, Madras, 1922).

In the preparation of the Map which is intended to give roughly the extent of the empire of Sultan Mahmud, I have largely drawn upon the material collected in the *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* by Guy Le Strange, but I have omitted the names of places which could not be identified, or for the position of which sufficient indication was not given by Oriental geographers.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge my gratitude to Professor Reynold A. Nicholson for kindly looking through the book and suggesting numerous improvements. To his profound scholarship and extensive reading I am indebted for much information that would otherwise have remained unknown to me. My sincere thanks are also due to Dr U. M. Daudpota, Principal of the Sind Madrasah, Karachi, and Mawlavi Badru'd-Din, Lecturer in the Muslim University, 'Aligarh, for valuable help in elucidating abstruse Arabic passages, to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for undertaking the publication of the work, and to the Secretary of the Press for the courtesy with which he received and carried out my frequent suggestions and alterations.

M. NAZIM

10th March, 1930

Part One

CHAPTER I

AUTHORITIES

BEFORE proceeding to the extant authorities on the period of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, it is necessary to state the works that have perished. Of these, the contemporary or nearly contemporary works were, firstly, an official chronicle, most probably named *Dawlat Namah* i¹ secondly, the metrical *Tdju'l-Futiuh** dealing with the exploits of Sultan Mahmud; thirdly, *Kitdb ft Ghurar-i-Akhbar-i-Multik?l-Furs* by 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Muhammad b. Isma'il ath-Tha'alibi, dealing with the history of the kings of Iran, from the earliest times to the reign of Sultan Mahmud;3 fourthly, three works composed by Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad b. Husain al-Baihaqi,* namely the *MaqamAt-i-Abu Nasr-i-Mushkani*⁵

i Farrukhl, f. 23 b. No reference has hitherto been made to this work.

2 'Unsurl, pp. 79, 85, refers to this work in glowing terms which shows that it was most probably composed by himself. It is incorrectly stated in E. and D. ii, 53, that *Taju'l-Futtuh* was the title of that portion of Baihaqi's *Mujalladat* which dealt with the history of Sultan Mahmud. Cf. *infra*, p. 2.

3 This work was written in four volumes for Abu'l-Mu^affar Nasr, brother of Sultan Mahmud and commander of the troops of Khurasan. Only the first two volumes dealing with the history of the Pre-Islamic period and the history of Muhammad have come down to us, and have been edited and translated into French by H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900).

4 For an account of his life see Ibn Funduq, ff. 101 b-103 a; and *Enty. of Islam*, i, 592. In Bakharzl, f. 104 a, his name is mentioned among the poets.

5 *Athdru'l-Wuzara*, f. 106 a, and Baihaqi, p. 749. His full name was Abu Nasr b. Mushkkn (?) Ahmad b. 'AbduVSamad. He was the head of the Correspondence Department of Sultan Mahmud. Extracts cited from this work in the *Atharu'l-Wuzard* show that it contained valuable information. Cf. Baihaqi, p. 461.

containing, among other things, useful details about the history and court life of the Sultan, the *Mujalladat*,¹ or a history of Sultan Mahmud and his successors in thirty volumes,* from the year 409 to about 460³ (1018-68), and a collection of important diplomatic correspondence of Sultan Mas'ud⁴ and most probably that of Sultan Mahmud, named *Zīnatu'l-Kuttāb*.⁵

It is evident from the extracts preserved in the *Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt* and *-Āthāru'l-Wiṣṭarā* that the *Maqdmāt* contained much useful material for the history of Sultan Mahmud, while the *Mujalldat*, of which only the second half of the sixth volume, volumes seven, eight, nine and the part of the tenth dealing with the period of Sultan Mas'ud are preserved, was a comprehensive work several parts of which were known by special names derived from the titles of the sovereigns to whom they related. Thus the history of Sultan Mahmud was named *Ta'riḫ-i-Yamīnī*,⁶ that of Sultan Mas'ud, *Ta'riḫ-i-Mas'ūdī*, so on. The importance of Baihaqi's *Ta'riḫ-i-Yamīnī* appears from the fact that

1 This title was given to Baihaqi's history in later times on account of its voluminousness. It has been named *Ta'riḫ-i-Nāṣirī*, *Jāmi' fi't-Tawāriḫ banī Subuktigin*, and *Jāmi'u't-Tawāriḫ*, by Ibn Funduq, f. 101 b, and Ḥājjī Khalifa, ii, 508, 580. These titles have misled some writers like Major Raverty (*Tab. Nos.* p. 105), and Elliot and Dowson (ii, 53), to attribute to Baihaqi a story of the predecessors of Subuktigin as well.

2 Ibn Funduq, ff. 12 b, 101 b; and *Ranwdab* p. 7. Raverty, *Tab. Nos.* p. 105, note, however, limits their number to twelve without specifying his authority.

3 Baihaqi, pp. 233, 317. Ibn Funduq, f. 12 b, says that it was a history of* Sultan Mahmud and his descendants but he contradicts himself on f. 101 b by saying that it included the history of Subuktigin as well.

4 Baihaqi, p. 528.

5 Ibn Funduq, f. 101 b. Probably Baihaqi refers to this work on p. 528.

6 Baihaqi, pp. 10, 26, 66, 158. This work has sometimes been confused with *Utbī's *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī*.

it was based on original state documents¹ and a diary which the author used to keep.*

Fifthly, the universal history of Mahmud-i-Warraq ending with the year 4093 (1018); sixthly, the *Dhail Tajdribu'l-Umam* by Hilal b. Muhassin b. Ibrahim as-Sabi which contained *in extenso* the letters of victory despatched by Sultan Mahmud to al-Qadir Billah, the 'Abbasid Caliph;⁴ and finally, the *Fartdu't-Tawdrikh** dealing with the history of Khurasan, by Abul-Hasan Muhammad b. Sulaiman.⁵

Besides these "contemporary works, at least five later works have also been lost. Firstly, *Ta'rtkh-i-Mujadwal* by Imam Muhammad b. 'All Abu'l-Qasim 'Imadi;⁶ secondly, the *Mashdribu't-Tajdrib* in four volumes by Abu'l-Hasan 'All b. Zaid b. Amirak Muhammad b. Husain b. Funduq, known as Ibn Funduq;? thirdly, a history by Abu'l-Hasan al-Haitham b. Muhammad-i-Naji;⁸ fourthly, a history of Khurasan by Abu Muhammad Harun b. 'Abbas al-Ma'muni who traced his genealogy from the Caliph al-Ma'mun;?

1 BaihaqI, pp. 120, 354, 528.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 177, 268, 693.

3 *Ibid.* p. 317.

4 Only a small fragment of this chronicle, embracing three years (A. H. 390-2) has been preserved, and published by Professor D. S. Margoliouth as a part of the third volume of the *Tajaribu'l-Umam* of Abu 'Ali Ahmad b. Muhammad Miskawaih and its Continuation by Abu Shuja* ar-RudhrawarI.

5 Ibn Funduq, ff. 12 a, 53 a, 76 b, 77 a; and Yaqut, *Irshdd*, ii, 60.

6 *Tab. Nds.* p. 69. It is probably the same work to which reference is made in *Mujmal*, f. 263 b, as *Ta'rikh-i-Amir 'Imddi Mahmud b. al-Imam as-Sinjari al-Ghaznawi*. See also Barthold, p. 24.

7 Ibn Funduq, ff. 12 a, 40 a; Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 249; and *Gutfda*, p. 8. Ibn Funduq (f. 12 a) himself speaks of this work being a continuation of 'utbis *Kitdbu'l-Yamini*; but Juwaini, *Tarikh-i-Jaban-Gushd*, p. 1, says that it was a continuation of *Dhail Tajaribu'l-Umam* of Hilal aṣ-ṣabL See also Yaqut, *Irshad*, v, 212.

8 *Tab. Nds.* pp. n, 19, 26, 31, 56, 60, 116, 317, 320. It was written before the seventh century A. H.

9 Ibn Khallikan. ii, 334. **Al-Ma'muni died in 573 (1177-8).**

and *Ta'rikh Maḥmūd bin Subuktigīn wa Banīhi*, by Jamālu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Qiftī.¹

The extant authorities may be divided into four classes:² (i) contemporary, (2) early non-contemporary,^a that is those composed roughly from the middle of the fifth century to the middle of the ninth century A.H.³ (3) later works, and (4) archaeological records.

I. CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES

The first among the contemporary authorities is the *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī* of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jabbar al-'Utbi.³ It covers the full period of Subuktigin and of Sultan Maḥmūd up to 411 (1020).⁴ The style of *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī* is very ornate and verbose, and the author has concentrated on beauty of diction rather than historical precision. His descriptions are singularly lacking in detail. In his account of the expeditions beyond the river Indus, 'Utbi usually makes the Sultan penetrate "the interior of Hind", defeat the "infidels", and "return laden with plunder".⁵ He rarely mentions the route followed by the Sultan, and does not give any indication of the locality of the forts that he cap-

1 *Yāqūt, Irshād*, v, 484. Barthold, p. 27, mentions another work named *Lama'u't-Tawārikh* by Abū'l-Futuh Barakat b. Mubarak b. Isma'īl. The author was born at Ghazna after 460 (1067-8), and his chronicle was brought down to 500 (1106-7).

2 It is necessary to point out here that since there is no work dealing exclusively with Sultan Maḥmūd, the criticism of the different authorities given in the following chapter is not general but specific, that is, it is applicable only to those portions of the works which deal with Sultan Maḥmūd.

3 For an account of 'Utbi's life, see my article "al-'Utbi" in *Ency. of Islam* (in preparation).

4 And not 422 (1031) as stated by Reynolds, p. 474.

j For example, the expedition to Narayan as translated in E. and D. ii, 36.

tured. The expeditions to Central Asia and Sistan are also treated in the same superficial manner as those against India; while other matters of interest to a modern historian, viz. the early life of the Sultan, his system of administration, his method of warfare, and the condition of "the dumb million" under him, receive scarcely a mention. *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī* is deficient in dates, and even as a record of the military exploits of Sultan Mahmud it is neither comprehensive nor exhaustive. Nevertheless, being the only history of Sultan Mahmud written during his lifetime, its value as an authority cannot be overrated.¹

The second in point of importance is the *Zainu'l-Akbbār* of Abu Said 'Abdu'l-Hayy b. ad-Dhahak b. Mahmud al-Gardmī. It deals with the history of Iran from the earliest times to the middle of the fifth century A.H.* It was named after the reigning sovereign Sultan Zainu'l-Millāh Abu Mansur 'Abdu'r-Rashīd, son of Sultan Mahmud (441-4/1049-52). In his introduction to the account of the Ghaznawids, the author proposes to narrate briefly only the most conspicuous events of the reign of Sultan Mahmud, and offers very little criticism or reflection on them, not even enough to break

1 There are several Persian translations of *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī*. The best known of them is the one by *Abu'sh-Sharaf* N&shir al-Jurbādī which was completed about 603 (1206). It was printed in Teheran in 1272 (1855). It is a free translation and some portions of the text have been altogether omitted. A literal Persian translation of *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī*, entitled *Ta'rikh-i-Amīnī*, was made in the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D. by Karamat 'All. A copy of it is preserved in the British Museum (Or. 1888). The translation of Jurbādī into English by the Rev. J. Reynolds is hopelessly incorrect.

The most valuable of the several commentaries on *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī* is the *Fathu'l-Wabbī*, written about 1150 (1737) by Ahmad

b. 'All b. 'Umar at-Tarabulusi al-Manīnī. Cf. also E. and D. ii, 14-18; Barthold, pp. 19-20; and Browne, ii, 471.

2 The manuscript however breaks off abruptly in the beginning of the account of the reign of Sultan Mawdud, son of Sultan Mas'ud (432-41/1041-9).

the monotony of the narrative. He has consequently omitted some expeditions and described others in such a sketchy manner as to excite rather than satisfy the curiosity of the reader. Although a brief and colourless chronicle of dry facts, the *Zainu^-Akhbdr* is a work of considerable importance, as it is the only extant contemporary history which covers the full period of the reign of Sultan Mahmud, and, unlike *Kitabtll-Yamini*, it is precise in assigning dates to the events recorded.¹

About the time of the death of Sultan Mahmud, Abu Raihan Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Blruni finished his famous work on India,² dealing with the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, astronomy and customs of the Hindus in the fifth century A.H. Though not a historical work, it contains some valuable references to the Hindushahiyya Dynasty of Waihand and the origin of the idol of Somnath.

Another work of importance is the *Ta'rikh-i-Mas'iidl* by Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad b. Husain al-Baihaqi which deals primarily with the reign of Sultan Mas'ud, but contains numerous digressions on the history of Sultan Mahmud and his predecessors, and gives a close insight into the working of the different departments of the Ghaznawid state. Baihaqi gives a vivid description

i Only two manuscripts of this work are known to exist, one in King's College Library, Cambridge (MS No. 213), and the other, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ouseley, No. 240). The text is confused at many places, but as the Booleian manuscript is a copy of the King's College manuscript, it is difficult to remove the confusion by collation. For a detailed account of the contents, see Ethd and Sachau's *Cat. of Pers. MSS in Bodi Library* coll. 10-12. A portion of it from f. 81 b to f. 141 a, King's College MS, dealing with the history of *Khurasan* from the *J!hinds to the beginning of the reign of Sultan Mawdud, son of Sultin Mas'ud the Ghaznawid. has been edited by me for the Managers of the Browne Memorial Fund, Cambridge, as the first volume of the Browne Memorial Series. See also Barthold, p. 21.

2 The title of this work is *Tapafa ma li*I~Hind...*, and not *Tirikbu'l-Hind* or *Tirikihi~Hind*, as mcorrectdy given in Brockelmann, 1,475; Huart, p. 302; *Enty. of Islam*, i,726; and E.and D. p. 1.

of the court life, the intrigues of officials and rivalry of persons who sought to influence the sovereign one way or the other. Appended to *Ta'rikh-i-Mas'udi* is a portion of the lost history of Khwariam by al-Biruni which, besides containing interesting details about the conquest of that country, makes numerous allusions to the political relations of Sultan Mahmud with the rulers of Central Asia.¹

The last, though not the least in importance, are the *Diwdns* of the poets 'Unsuri and Farrukhi. Their *qasidas* in praise of Sultan Mahmud contain many historical facts which are useful in correcting and supplementing the accounts of the contemporary historians. These poets usually accompanied the Sultan on his expeditions², and their descriptions of some of the journeys help to fix the routes which he followed.

2. EARLY NON-CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

These are all the contemporary works which give an account of the reign of Sultan Mahmud. Among non-contemporary works, the earliest is the *Siydsat Namah*, composed in 484 (1091-2) by Abu 'All Hasan b. 'All, commonly known as Nisamu'l-Mulk, wazlr of the Seljuk³ Sultan Malik Shah. It contains numerous anecdotes about Sultan Mahmud and his predecessors but from an historical point of view, they are not trustworthy and defeat the expectations aroused by the high reputation of the author. The *Siyasat Namah*, however, is a mine of information regarding the Ghaznawid system of administration.⁴

j See also Barthold, pp. 22-4.

2 FarrukU, ff. 8 b, 48 a.

j For the correct form of this word, see Barthold, p. 2 57, note 1.

4 Cf. also Barthold, p. 25.

The *Mujmalu't-Tawarikh*, of unknown authorship, was written about 530 (1135) in the time of the Seljuk Sultan Sinjar, son of Sultan Malik Shah. It dismisses Sultan Mahmud with a brief and unsuggestive paragraph, but, in the chapters on the Samanids and the Buwaihids, it contains some useful references to him.

The *Kdjatarangim*, a metrical chronicle of the kings of Kashmir, was composed by Kalhana about 545 (1150). It is the only Sanskrit work that contains even a brief reference to Sultan Mahmud in the account of a battle between *Hammlra?* as the Sultan is called, and Raja Trilochanpal of the Hindushahiyya Dynasty.

The *Chahdr Maqala* of Abu'l-Hasan Nizamu'd-Din Ahmad b. 'Umar b. 'Ali an-Nizam al-'Arudi as-Samarqandi was written about 552 (1157). It is the earliest extant work to give in the form of a story the relations of Sultan Mahmud with Firdawsi and al-Biruni and the ungenerous treatment which they are supposed to have received at his hands.

Al-Muntazam ft Tawarikh l-Muluk wa'l-Umam is a universal history composed about the end of the sixth century A.H. by Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdu'r-Rahman b. 'Ali Ibnu'l-Jawzi al-Bakri. It contains numerous quotations from some earlier work, probably as-Sabfi's *DhaiL* and large extracts from the Sultan's letters of victory to the Caliph.

Al-Muntazam ft Duwal al-Munqat'a, which is a general history arranged according to dynasties, was composed about the beginning of the seventh century A.H. by Jamalu'd-Din Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Abi'l-Mansur Zafir b. al-Husain b. Ghazi al-Halabi al-Azdi. The Ghaznawids are not treated in a separate chapter but are mentioned under the account of the 'Abbasids. The author gives a valuable quotation from the Sultan's letter of victory to the Caliph concerning the expedition to Somnath.

About the year 625 (1228) three important works were composed, namely, the *Jawdmftfl-Wkdydt* and *Lubdbu'l-Albab* by Nuru'd-Dln Muhammad 'Awfi, and *Addwl-Muliik wa Kifdyatu'l-Mamluk* by Muhammad b. Mansur b. Sa'id b. Abu'l-Faraj al-Quraishl, known as Fakhr-i-Mudlr, one of whose ancestors was connected by marriage with the Ghaznawid house. The *Jawami'ul-Hikayat* is a collection of anecdotes some of which relating to Sultan Mahmud are taken from the works of Baihaqi, but they furnish very little information, because, the main object of the author being usually ethical rather than historical, he has occasionally distorted facts in order to illustrate some vice or virtue.

The *Lubdbu'l-Albab* is a poetical anthology with brief biographical sketches of poets prefixed to selections from their works. It gives an idea of the large number of poets jwho thronged the court of Sultan Mahmud.

The *Addbu'l-Muluk wa Kifayatu' l-Mamliik* is a treatise on the art of war and bravery and contains numerous historical anecdotes relating to Sultan Mahmud which, from their language and style, appear to have been taken from Baihaql's *Mujalladat* or some other work of that period.

Al-Kdmilfi't-Ta'rikh of Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Abdu'l-Karam Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abdu'l-Karlm b. 'Abdu'l-Wahhab ash-Shaibani, known as Ibnu'l-Athir, is a voluminous chronicle of events up to the year 628 (1230). It has been deservedly called by Ibn Khallikan "one of the best productions of its kind".¹ Ibnu'l-Athir does not mention his sources, but he seems to have drawn upon as-sabi s *DhaiL* 'Utbi's *Kitdbu'/-Yamini* and Ibn Funduq's *Mashdribu't-Tajarih*. With the exception of a few confused and inaccurate statements, Ibnu'l-Athlr's account of Sultan Mahmud is generally very authentic and trustworthy.

Mir'atu z-zaman ft Tawarikh-i-A'yan is a universal

1 Ibn Khallikan. ii, 289.

history composed about the middle of the seventh century A.H. by Abu'l-Muzaffar Yusuf b. Qizughli, known as Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzi (that is, daughter's son of Ibnu'l-Jawzi, author of *al-Munta'am*). In this work large quotations are given, on the authority of as-Sabi's *Dhail*, from the Sultan's letters of victory to the Caliph.

Tabaqat-i-Nasiri was written by Abu 'Umar Minhaj-ju'd-Din 'Uthman b. Siraju'd-Din Juzjani, about the year 658 (1260). *The author's account of the reign of Sultan Mahmud is very brief and uninformative, but in other parts of his work he has given quotations from earlier authorities bearing upon the history of the Ghaznavids and the relations of Sultan Mahmud with the Ghurids, the Seljuks and the Khans of Turkistan.*

In 710 (1310-11) Rashidu'd-Din Fadlu'llah b. 'Imadu'd-Dawlah Abu'l-Khair b. Muwaffaq-ju'd-Dawlah 'Ali completed his general history, named *Jami'u't-Tawdrikh*. It is a voluminous work but as an authority on the reign of Sultan Mahmud it is absolutely of no value. The brief chronological summary of universal history in it is an epitome of Ibnu'l-Athir, and the account of Sultan Mahmud is an unacknowledged verbatim copy of Jurbadhgan's translation of 'Utbis *Kitabu'l-Yamini*. It is a glaring instance of plagiarism in Oriental literature.¹

About the year 730 (1329-30), Hamdu'llah b. Abu Bakr b. Ahmad b. Nasr al-Mustawfi composed two works on history, namely, *Tarikh-i-Ghazala* and the metrical *Zafar Namah* which was intended to be a continuation of Firdaws's *Shahnamah*. *Tarikh-i-Ghazala* does not furnish any valuable material for the history of Sultan Mahmud though the author mentions among his sources the *Maqamat-i-Abu Nasr-i-Mushkani* and *Mujalladat* of Baihaqi, and *Masharibu't-Tajrib* of Ibn Funduq. The last ten years of the reign of the Sultan receive very scanty notice, while the events of the

1 See Appendix A (i).

earlier period are given too briefly to be useful¹ The *Zafar Ndmah* deals with the history of the Muslim rulers down to the time of the author but it adds nothing of value to the account in *TaWikh-i-Gu%jda*.

A universal history under the title of *Majma'u'l-Artsdb*² was composed by Muhammad b. 'All b. 'All b. ash-Shaikh Muhammad b. Husain b. Abu Bakr in 733 (1332—3) in the reign of Sultan Abu Sa'Id, a great-grandson of Hulagu Khan. *Majmdtfl-Ansdb* is the only known history that gives a connected story of the predecessors of Sultan Mahmud and contains the full text of the *Pand-Namah* or the Counsel of Subuktigin to his son Mahmud. The reign of the Sultan is dealt with at some length but the manuscript being defective and confused at many places, it is not possible to utilise it to any great extent. The style and language of its account of the Ghaznawids show that it was taken from Baihaqi or some other writer of the same period.

About the year 800 (1397-8), 'Abdu'r-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Khaldun, commonly known as Ibn Khaldun, wrote his universal history named *Kitdbtfl-Ibar*. Ibn Khaldun has based his account of Sultan Mahmud on Ibnu'l-Athir whose scattered notices he has collected into a continuous narrative without any valuable additions or alterations.

Athdru'l-Wuzara which contains biographical sketches of the important wazirs of the Muslim sovereigns, was written about the middle of the ninth century A.H. by Saifu'd-Dln Hajjl b. Nizam al-Fadll. In his account of the lives of the wazlrs of Sultan Mahmud, the

1 It is stated in E. and D. iii, 60, that *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida* is "the best general history of the East", that "implicit confidence is to be placed in it", and that "it contains much matter not found elsewhere", but as regards the period of Sultan Mahmud it does not deserve such fulsome praise.

2 The account of the Ghaznawids is omitted from all manuscripts of this work except the one in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (Supplement persan, 1278).

author has given long quotations from the *lost Maqamat-i-Abu Nasr-i-Mushkani*¹ which furnish useful information for the history of the Sultan, his method of transacting state business and his relations with his wazirs and other ministers.

Mujmal-i-Fasihi, which is a chronological compendium of prominent events, was composed about the middle of the ninth century A. H. by Fasihu'd-Din Ahmad b. Muhammad, known as Fasihi al-Khwafi. Like *Athdrti'l-Wuzard* this work gives some quotations from the *lost Maqamat-i-Abu Nasr-i-Mushkani*, but otherwise it is not reliable. Its dates are usually wrong and it does not deserve the unbounded confidence which Major Raverty bestows upon it.²

3. LATER WORKS

Passing on to later works, the earliest in point of time is the universal history named *Rawdatu's-Safa* which was composed about the year 900 (1494-5) by Muhammad b. Khwand Shah b. Mahmud, surnamed Mir-Khwand. The author has enumerated the *Mujal-laddt* of Baihaqi among his authorities, but he does not give any information particularly derived from it. He has appropriated without acknowledgment a large portion of Jurbadhqanfs translation of *Kitabul-YamMi*³ and, for the later period of the Sultan's reign, has made a verbatim translation of Ibnu'l-Athir.

A few years after Mir-Khwand, his nephew Ghiyathu'd-Din b. Humamu'd-Din surnamed Khwand-Amir wrote two works on history, named *Khuldsatu't-*

1 Apart from internal evidence, it is probable that these extracts were taken from Baihaqi's lost works, because those passages that have been quoted from Baihaqi's *Ta-rikh-i-Mas'udi* are almost a verbatim copy of the original. Cf. Baihaqi, p. 171, and *Atharul-Wuzara*, f. 106 a.

2 *Tab. Nas.* p. 40, note, and p. 46, note 4.

3 See Appendix#A (2).

Tawarikh and *Habibu's-Siyar* but both are based on *Rawdatu's-Safd*.

In 993 (1585) Mulla Ahmad Thatawi and Asaf Khan composed *Ta'rikh-i-Alfi*, which is a chronological compendium covering a period of 1000 years. The authors have achieved cheap originality by reckoning, not from the Hijra, but from the death of the Prophet.¹ This work is mainly a compilation from Ibnu'l-Athir and *Rjawdattfs-Safd*) the very words of which have sometimes been copied with a few verbal alterations.²

Tabaqdt-i-Ak,bariw&\$ composed about the beginning of the eleventh century A.H. by Nizamu'd-Dln Ahmad b. Muhammad Muqim al-Harawi. The account of Sultan Mahmud as given in this work is an unacknowledged epitome of Gardlzi's *Zainu'l-Akhbdr*.

Gulshan-i-Ibrdhimli commonly known as *Ta'rik-i-Firishta*, was written in 1015 (1606) by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah surnamed Firishta. This work gives a detailed account of the expeditions of Sultan Mahmud. Firishta has enumerated *Zainul-Akhbar* of Gardizi among his authorities, and has made references to Baihaqi's *Mujalladat*, *Ta-rikh-i-Yamini* and *Maqdmnat*. But it is difficult to ascertain how many, if any, of these authorities Firishta actually consulted because, with the exception of one quotation from Baihaqi's *Ta'rikh i-Yamini*, he does not give any material exclusively derived from these works. He has, however, utilised *Zainu'l-Akhbdr* extensively; for, besides a direct quotation regarding Sultan Mahmud, his chapter on Sultan Mas'ud is a copy of GardM's account of that sovereign, with a few insignificant alterations.

Among other works which deserve only a passing

1 In E. and D. v. 156, great tribute is paid to the compilers of *Ta*nkb-i-Alfs* for having consulted all the known historical works in Arabic or Persian, but evidently they had not utilised the *Zainu'l-Akhbar* of Gardizi.

2 See Appendix A (3).

notice, the most celebrated is the *Mir'at-i-Mas'udi*, dealing with the life of the Salar Mas'ud-i-GhazI who is said to have been a nephew of Sultan Mahmud. *Mir'at-i-Mas'udi* was composed about 1020 (1611) by 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chishti. It is a history mixed with a liberal supply of pious fiction. The author claims to have based his work on a history by Mulla Muhammad-i-Ghaznawi who is alleged to have been attached to the court of Sultan Mahmud, but this so-called contemporary history is not mentioned by any previous writer.

Another work which has gained much celebrity¹ is Sujan Ray's *Khuldsatu't-Tawarikh* which was composed in 1086 (1675). The author mentions *Ta'rikh-i-Maw/dnd 'Unsuri* among his authorities but 'Unsuri appears to be an obvious error for 'Utbi because firstly, the poet 'Unsurl is not credited with the authorship of a work of this name, and secondly, Sujan Ray does not furnish any new material for the history of Sultan Mahmud from this unique work. His account of the Sultan is an ornate abridgment of *Rawdatu's-Safd* and *Ta'rikh-i-Firishhta*.

There are several other more or less important works which deal with the times of Sultan Mahmud but they do not furnish any valuable historical material. A chronological list of some of them is given below:

(1) *Jami'u'l-'Ulum* by Fakhru'd-Dln Muhammad b. 'Umar ar-Rizi, composed about the beginning of the seventh century A. H.

(2) *Mukbtasaru'd-Duwal* by Gregory Abu'l-Faraj b. Harun, alias Bar Hebraeus, composed about 658 (1260).

(3) *Mir'atu'l-Jinan* by Abu Muhammad 'Abdullah b. As^cad b. 'Ali al-Yafi'i' composed about the middle of the 8th century A. H.

(4) *Al-Biddja wa'n-Nibqya* by Isma'U b. 'Umar 'Imadu'd-Dln Abu'l-Fida, Ibn Kathlr, composed about the middle of the eighth century A. H.

1 See E. and D. viii, 8.

(5) *'Uyunut-Tawarikh* by Muhammad b. Shakir b. Ahmad al-Kutubl ash-Shafi'I, composed about the middle of the eighth century A.H.

(6) *Ta'rikh- i-Ja'fari* by Ja'far b. Muhammad al-Husain, composed about 820 (1417).

(7) *Sratu'l-KhuJafa wa's-Saltdin* by Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Duqmaq, composed about 840 (1436-7).

(8) *Ta*rikh-i-Muhammadi* by Muhammad Bihamad KhanI, composed in 842 (1438-9).

(9) *Ta'rtkb-i-Kbairat* of unknown authorship, composed about 850(1446).

(10) *Rawdatu'l-Jannat ft Awsafi'l-Harat* by Mu'inu'z-Zamajl al-Asfizarl, composed in 897 (1492).

(11) *Ta'rikh-i-Sadr~i-Jahan* by Fadlu'llah b. Zainu'l-'Abidin, composed about 907 (1501-2).

(12) *Dasturtu-Wuzard* by Khwand-Amlr, composed about 925 (1519).

(13) *Tarikh-i-Abu'l-Khair Khani* by Mas'udi b. 'Uthman Kuhistanl, composed in 960 (1553).

(14) *Akhbaru'd-Duwal wa Athdru'l-uwal* by Ahmad b. Yusuf al-Qaramani, composed about 1007 (1598-9).

(15) *Muntakhabut-Tawdrtkh* by Hasan b. Muhammad-i-KhSkI, composed in 1019 (1610).

(16) *Taqwimttt-Tawdrikh* by Hajji Khalifa, composed in 1075 (1664-5).

(17) *TufyfatuKiram* by Mir 'All Sher QanI, composed in 1183 (1769-70).

These are almost all the important works which deal with the reign of Sultan Mahmud. It is to be regretted that no Hindu sources are available to correct or supplement the statements of the Muslim writers. The Hindus did not possess any historical sense and their so-called histories are nothing more than collections of legends. The Solankhi Rajas who ruled Kathiawar at the time of the invasion of Sultan Mahmud were fortunate in having some Jain monks as their chroniclers, but they have drawn a veil over the doings of this furious invader although he subverted some of their powerful dynasties

and mingled with the dust many of their ancient gods. Thus it is exclusively on Muslim authorities that the present work has been based.

4. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORDS

The archaeological evidence on this period is very scanty and of little value, probably because Afghanistan, the cradle of the empire of Sultan Mahmud, has not yet been opened up to antiquarian research. Moreover, about a hundred years after the death of the Sultan, Ghazna was completely destroyed by Sultan 'Ala Vd-Din of Ghur, "the World-Incendiary", and nothing is said to have escaped his fury except the tombs of Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Mas'ud and two minarets which mark the site of the ancient town of Ghazna. The gates of the tomb of Sultan Mahmud which, under a grave misapprehension, were taken to India by the orders of Lord Ellenborough, are now lodged in the fort at Agra. The inscriptions on these monuments were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xii, 76-7, and more recently in *Syria*, vi, 61-90. The inscriptions, which are in Cufic characters, have been so damaged by atmospheric influences that they cannot be properly deciphered, but apparently they contained nothing of value except the titles of the Sultan. The inscription on the marble sarcophagus is still intact and records the titles of the Sultan and the date of his death.

More enduring than the architectural remains of his time are his coins. The inscriptions on them corroborate or correct the statements of the historians as to the dates at which different titles were conferred on him. This subject has been thoroughly investigated by E. Thomas in his paper on "The Coins of the Kings of Ghazni".¹

Unfortunately even the assiduity of the archaeologist

has not been able to determine with any approach to exactness the names of the various contemporary Hindu rajas. All that has so far been accomplished, and that is not much, has been summarised by Sir V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India*. The inscriptions bearing on the period of Sultan Mahmud, which have so far been discovered, have been published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, *The Epigraphia Indica* and the *Indian Antiquary*, but taken together their historical value is almost negligible.

CHAPTER II

THE MUSLIM WORLD IN THE FOURTH CENTURY A.H.

ISLAM came as a blessing to Arabia. Its unifying forces welded together the heterogeneous clans of the desert into a nation of world-conquerors; and, within a century of the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the surging tide of Muslim conquest had swept over the East and the West. The banks of the Jaxartes and the shores of the Atlantic alike resounded with the call of *Allah Akbar*, God is Great.

But the disruptive tendencies which have led to the downfall of so many Oriental dynasties were at work even in the early stages of the Islamic state. After the death of 'Ali in 40 (660-1), a successful *coup d'etat* placed the supreme power in the hands of Mu'awiyah; while the Shites, the legitimists of Islam, claimed the Caliphate for the descendants of the Prophet from his daughter Fatima, the wife of 'Ali. This was the beginning of the schism which still divides the world of Islam and has been responsible for the shedding of pools of innocent blood.

The cause of the Shites was espoused by the Persians. The ancient monarchy of Persia had fallen before the Muslim arms at the battle of Nihawand. It was a political as well as a religious triumph, and the Persians as a nation embraced the religion of their conquerors. But instead of conciliating them and assuaging their injured feelings by giving them a position of equality in the universal brotherhood of Islam, the Umayyads treated them with contempt and allowed them very little share in the administration of their country. The government became a monopoly of the Arabs whose narrow tribal sympathies, coupled with

their irritating pride of race and nationality, brought home to the humbled nation the full significance of its fall. The vanquished were for a time stunned with the magnitude of the catastrophe but when the stupefying effects of the first blow had passed they made frantic efforts to shake off the foreign yoke, and, in their search for a rallying point, they were attracted towards the descendants of 'Ali, presumably by reverence for their noble descent, personal valour and heroic indifference to changing fortunes of war.

The 'Abbasids, the descendants of 'Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet, also made common cause with the ShI'ites by pretending devotion to the "Family of the Prophet", and these three forces began to act concertedly for the downfall of their common enemy, the Umayyads. It was accomplished by the adroit machinations of Ibrahim, the 'Abbasid, and the valour of Khurasan. Nihawand was avenged on the Zab. The "House of Hashim" triumphed; but power passed into the hands of the 'Abbasids, and the unfortunate descendants of 'Ali found in their former allies enemies even more relentless than the Umayyads. It was however a Persian triumph, and Arab rule was replaced by a truly Muslim government in which the claims of the subject race to an equal share in the commonwealth were thoroughly vindicated.

But the empire thus established began in its turn to show symptoms of decay and disintegration. The single-hearted devotion of the earlier Muslims to the cause of Islam had been replaced by a narrow spirit of self-aggrandisement and lust of power, so that after a short spell of unprecedented vigour and magnificence, rapid decay set in. Spain, North Africa, Egypt, and Syria fell off from the empire; while in Persia independent principalities cropped up in all directions, presaging a harvest of trouble for the already distracted Caliph. Power passed into the hands of the Turkish praetorians

who tendered only a qualified obedience to the "Commander of the Faithful". Bereft of almost all political significance and detested alike by the Arabs and the Persians, the Caliph found himself in a "splendid isolation".

The process of disintegration of the 'Abbasid empire had begun early. In 138 (755-6) a member of the Umayyad Dynasty made himself independent master of Spain. In 172 (788-9) a descendant of 'Ali, named Idris, established a dynasty in Morocco which lasted till 364 (974-5). About the same time, Ibrahim b. Aghlab, a lieutenant of Harunur-Rashid, assumed independence in Tunis. Egypt was lost to the empire in 254 (868) when Ahmad b. Tulun, the governor, cast off the yoke of the 'Abbasids. The Tulunids were supplanted about 323 (934-5) by the Ikhshids, and the Ikhshids were succeeded in 358 (969) by the Fatimids who had established their power in North Africa in the middle of the third century A.H. The Fatimids claimed descent from Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, and contended with the 'Abbasids for the allegiance of "the Faithful" till 567 (1171-2) when they were supplanted by Sultan Salahu'd-Din.

The province of Yaman became independent in the beginning of the third century A.H. under its governor Muhammad b. Ziyad whose family ruled there till the beginning of the fifth century A.H.

In Syria and Mesopotamia, the Hamdanid family established its power in the beginning of the fourth century A.H. but their rule did not last long. Mesopotamia was conquered by 'Adudu'd-Dawlah about 368 (978-9) and Syria was absorbed by the Fatimids in 369 (979-80), while the outlying provinces became independent under the Marwanids of Diyar Bakr and the 'Uqailids of Mawsil.

Persia was also split up into numerous independent principalities, the first of which was established by

Tahir to whose military genius al-Ma'mun owed his elevation to the Caliphate. Tahir was made governor of Khurasan in 205 (820-1) and, on his death two years later^he governorship of the East became hereditary *in* his family. His dynasty ended in 259 (872-3) when Ya'qub the Saffarid, ruler of Sistan and Bust, defeated Muhammad, the last of the Tahirids, and annexed Khurasan. Ya'qub now became so powerful that he threatened the Caliph himself, but his march on Baghdad was arrested by his timely death in Shawwal 265 (June 879). His brother and successor ^cAmr conciliated the Caliph who, however, fearing his power, played him off against Isma'Il the Samanid. ^cAmr was defeated and Khurasan passed under the sway of the Samanids. The Saffarids still held their own in Sistan and made spasmodic efforts to regain their power till 300 (912-13) when they were finally crushed. A few years later the dynasty was revived in the person of Ahmad, a descendant of Ya'qub, who was appointed governor of Sistan by the Samanid Nasr. After his death, his son Khalaf ruled in Sistan till 393 (1002) when he was defeated and taken prisoner by Sultan Mahmud.

In the provinces bordering on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, i.e. Dailam, GUan and Tabaristan, the descendants of^c All had long maintained a spiritual hold on the people. About the middle of the third century A. H. the 'Alids took possession of Tabaristan and ruled there till 316 (928) when it was conquered by Nasr the Samanid. Shortly after that, Mardawij b. Ziyar who traced his genealogy to Argush Farhadwand, an old Persian king of Gllan, acquired power in Tabaristan* His brother Washmgir and, after him, his two sons, Bihistun and Qabus, ruled the province till their power was greatly curtailed by the encroachments of the Buwaihids, who ultimately forced Qabus into exile. Qabus regained his ancestral kingdom in 388 (998) and ruled till 402 (1011-12). The dynasty lost all importance after

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the death of his son and successor Minuchihr in 420 (1029).

About the middle of the fourth century A. H. Hasana-waih b. Husain, chief of a tribe of Kurds, made himself master of a large part of Kurdistan. After his death about 369 (979-80) 'Adudu'd-Dawlah conquered Kurdistan but he allowed Badr, son of Hasanawaih, to rule the country as his deputy. Badr consolidated his power during the disturbances in Raiy following the death of Fakhru'd-Dawlah. He died in 405¹ (1014-15) and was succeeded by his son Zahir who was defeated and put to death by Shamsu'd-Dawlah b. Fakhru'd-Dawlah.

The Buwaihids rose to power in the first quarter of the fourth century A. H. In the year 319 (931) Mardawlj b. Ziyar gave the governorship of Karaj to their ancestor 'All b. Buwaih who traced his genealogy to Bahram Gur. From Karaj 'All and his brothers, Hasan and Ahmad, extended their power over the whole of Western Persia and 'Iraq and acquired control of Baghdad, but after a short period of brisk conquest and vigorous rule decay set in and their kingdom was conquered by Sultan Mahmud and the Seljuks.

The Samanids first came into prominence in the time of the Caliph al-Ma'mun at whose command the four sons of Asad b. Saman were given the government of important towns in Transoxiana. About the end of the third century A. H. their power extended from the Jaxartes to Baghdad, and from Khwarizm and the Caspian Sea to the borders of India. In the year 389 (999) the dynasty came to an end when Sultan Mahmud and Ilak Khan conquered Khurasan and Bukhara respectively.

In the lands on the other side of the Jaxartes the Qara-Khanid Dynasty of Turkomans held sway up to the borders of China. One of them named Abu Musa **Harun** Bughra Khan took Bukhara in 382 (992) but he

1 For an account of Badr, see *Mujmal*, ff. 258 a-261 b.

was forced to return to his country as the climate did not agree with him. His successor lak Khan conquered Bukhara in 389 (999) and put an end to the Samahid Dynasty. The Qara-Khanids, in their various branches, continued to rule till the middle of the sixth century A.H.¹

1 Besides these, there were the kingdoms of Jurjaniyyah, Khwarizm, Gharshistan, and Juzjanan which were nominal dependencies of Bukhara.

CHAPTER III

THE PREDECESSORS OF SULTAN MAHMUD

I. ALPTIGIN

ALPTIGIN, the founder of the kingdom of Ghazna, was born about 267¹ (880-1). He was sold as a slave to Ahmad b. Isma'il the Samanid who enrolled him in his body-guard.*) Nasr b. Ahmad emancipated him,³ and Nuh b. Nasr gave him the command of some troops,⁴ from which position he rose to be the Hajibu'l-Hujjab.⁵ After the death of Nuh, Alptigin acquired great influence over the youthful 'Abdu'l-Malik. When Bakr b. Malik, commander of the troops of Khurasan, came to Bukhara in Ramadan 345 (December 956) Alptigin fell upon him and stabbed him to death.⁶ To reward him for his services or perhaps to remove him from the capital, the Amir bestowed upon Alptigin the government of the province of Balkh, but as this did not satisfy his ambition, the Amir appointed him commander of the troops of Khurasan. Alptigin took over charge of his new government on 20th Dhu'l-Hajja, 349⁷ (10th February, 961).

On the death of Amir 'Abdu'l-Malik in Shawwal 350 (November 961), Abu 'Ali BaFami, the wazir, who was a partisan of Alptigin, wrote to ask his opinion as to the most suitable candidate for the succession. Alptigin favoured the son of the late Amir⁸ who was a minor, but before his reply was received, the army had sworn allegiance to Mansur, the late Amir's brother.

1 Fasihl, f. 207 b.

2 *Gmtfda*, p. 381; *subb-i-fadiq*, f. 998 a. 3 *FasIfrI*, f. 207 b.

4 *Guzida*, p. 384.

5 *Gardizi*, p. 42.

6 *Ibid.* p. 41.

7 *Ibid.* p. 42.

8 *Ibid.* p. 43; and *Tab, Nas** p. 42.

Alptigin now resolved to enforce his will at the point of the sword. He struck up an alliance with Abu Mansur Muhammad, his predecessor in office and at that time governor of Tus, and, leaving him in charge of Khurasan, marched on Bukhara in Dhu'l-Qa'da 350 (December 961). The Amir cleverly alienated Abu Mansur from Alptigin by restoring to him the province of Khurasan and commanded him to prevent the passage of the river Oxus.¹ Alptigin gained the bank of the river, but there he was apprised of the danger of his position. Hemmed in on both sides by the enemy and afraid of treason in his own camp, as the Amir had won over some of his officers, Alptigin gave up his proposed advance on Bukhara and, setting fire to his encampment, fell back on Balkh.² The Amir despatched after him an army of 12,000 horse under the command of Ash'ath b. Muhammad³ who overtook him near the Khulam pass. The two armies met in the middle of Rabl'i 351 (April 962). Alptigin was victorious and captured, besides other important officers, a maternal uncle of the Amir.* With a view to establishing himself somewhere beyond the reach of his offended suzerain, Alptigin marched to Ghazna, defeated Abu Bakr Lawik, the ruler, captured the fort after a siege of four months⁶ and proclaimed himself king.

Amir Mansur however did not let him rest in peace. He sent against him Abu Jaafar at the head of an army 20,000 strong. Alptigin inflicted a crushing defeat on

1 GardM, p. 43.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 43-4; and *Majma'u'i-Ansdb*, f. 223 a.

3 Narshakhl, p. 97; GardM, p. 44, has Babdah.

4 *Tajirib*, ii, 192; and *Ibnu'l-Athlr*, viii, 404.

5 *Jab. Naj.* p. 71. *Gutfda*, p. 385, incorrectly says that Alptigin put Abu Bakr Lawik to death. Abu Bakr had taken refuge with the king of Kabul.

6 *Majma'itl-Ansdb*, f. 224 a. It is mentioned in *Zlnahtl-Majdlis* f. 91 a; *Subb-i-Sadiaq* f. 999 a; *Janndtu'I-Firdaws* f. 37 b, that the fort of Ghazna fell on Monday, 13th Dhul-Hajja, 351 (12th January, 963).

him and forced him to return.¹ The Amir now made the best of the situation by becoming reconciled to Alptigin and conferring upon him the government of the territories which he had conquered.²

Alptigin then conquered Bust and a part of the kingdom of Kabul but he did not enjoy his sovereignty for long. He died on 20th Sha'ban, 3523 (13th September, 963).

2. ABU ISIJAQ IBRAHIM

Alptigin was succeeded by his son Abu Ishaq Ibrahim* who was a weakling. The army got out of control and, taking advantage of this state of affairs, Abu 'All Lawik, son of Abu Bakr Lawik, advanced on Ghazna, defeated Ibrahim and occupied the country. Ibrahim fled to Bukhara to seek the assistance of Amir Mansur⁵ and returned the following year with a large force, put Abu 'All Lawik to flight on 27th Shawwal, 354⁶ (26th September, 96j) and entered Ghazna, but he died shortly after this on 25th Dhu'l-Qa'da, 355⁷ (12th November, 966).

1 *Gutfda*, p. 385.

2 *Tab*, *Nds.* p. 43. The account of Alptigin's rebellion is given differently in *Majma'tfl-Ansab*, f. 223 a; while that given in *Siydsat Ndmab*, pp. 98-106, is full of blunders and contradictory statements.

3 *Majma'u'l-Ansdb*, f. 224a; *Subh-i-Sddiq*, f. 999 a; *Zinatu'l-Majdlis*, f 91 a; and *lanndttfl-Firdaws*, f 37 b. Sir Denison Ross (*The Heart of Central Asia* > p. 112) incorrectly says that he died in 366 (976-7), and that Subuktigin was his immediate successor.

4 *Ibn Hawqal*, p. 13; and *GardM*, p. 41.

5 *Tab. Nas.* p. 71; and *'Utbl*, p. 14.

6 *Faslhl*, f 289 b; and *Jahdn Ard*, £ 82 a.

7 *Majma'u'l-Ansdb*, £ 224 b; *Zinatu'l-MajaliS*) f 92 a; and *fubb-i-Sddiq*, f 999 b. It is said in *Tab. Nas.* p. 72, that he **died one** year after his return from Bukhara,

3. BILKATIGIN

As Ibrahim left no son capable of taking his place,¹ the nobles chose Bilkatigin, a slave of Alptigin and commander of his body-guard,² to be their ruler. Bilkatigin was a famous soldier and is said to have won the regard of his subjects by the purity of his private life and the strict administration of justice. After a reign of ten years he died in 364 (974-5) while he was engaged in the siege of Gardiz.³

4. PIRITIGIN

Bilkatigin was succeeded by another slave of Alptigin named Piri or Piritigin.⁴ He soon made himself obnoxious to his subjects, who invited Abu 'Ali Lawik to be their king. Abu 'Ali accompanied by "the son of the king of Kabul" promptly advanced on Ghazna.⁵ Subuktigin met the invaders in the vicinity of Charakhu⁶ with a body of 500 slaves and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. Both Abu 'Ali and "the son of the king of Kabul" were taken prisoners and put to death.⁷ Piritigin was deposed and, by the unanimous consent of the nobility, Subuktigin was raised to the throne on 27th Sha'ban, 366⁸ (20th April, 977).

1 'Utbi, p. 15.

2 *Tab. Nds.* p. 73. Browne, i, 372, incorrectly says that both Abu Ishaq and Bilkatigin were sons of Alptigin. Cf. also E. and D. ii, 479, and *JRAS.* xvii, 145.

3 *Adabu'l-Muluk*, f. 75 a; *Jahdn Ara f* . 82 b; and *Zlratu'l-/Majdlis*, f. 92 a.

4 'Awfī, f. 391 b. Sir W. Haig, p. 11, calls him Plrai, but there is no authority for it.

5 *Tab. Nds.* p. 73.

6 It is situated on the road from Gha2na to Kabul.

7 *Tab. Nas.* p. 73. A different account is given in *Majma'u'l-Ansdby* f. 225 a. Raverty, *Notes*, p. 677, incorrectly places this battle in 363 (973-4). For the chronology of the predecessors of Subuktigin, see Appendix B.

8 *Tab. Nas.* p. 73; and *Ibnu'l-Athlir*, viii, 503. 'Utbi does not, as is generally supposed, altogether ignore the successors of Abu Ishaq Ibrahim; see his *Kitdbu'l--Yamini*, p. 15.

5. ABU MANSUR SUBUKTIGIN

AbuMansur Subuktigin was born about 331¹ (942-3). His father, named Juq, was the chieftain of a small principality in Turkistan and was a man of extraordinary physical strength.² One day a hostile neighbouring tribe carried out a raid on his town and captured Subuktigin, his third son, who was then only twelve years of age. After remaining a prisoner in the hands of that tribe for four years, he was sold as a slave to Nasr the Hajji.³ Subuktigin however fell ill and Nasr was compelled to leave him at Nakhshab for three years. During this period he managed to learn the art of fighting and swordsmanship, which pleased Nasr so much that he placed him in command of his other slaves.⁴ Subuktigin was brought to Bukhara, probably in 348 (959), and was purchased by Alptigin, the Hajibu'l-Hujjab of Amir 'Abdu'l-Malik.⁵ Alptigin was so well disposed towards him that he promoted him rapidly to higher ranks without making him go through the usual grades in the service of the slaves.⁶ After the death of Alptigin, Subuktigin became the Hajibu'l-Hujjab and "the most trusted officer" of Abu Ishaq Ibrahim,⁷ and gained the hand of a daughter of Alptigin in marriage.⁸ During the reigns of Bilkatigin and Piritigin, he continued to enjoy dignity and honour,⁹ till by the

1 The date is inferred from *Tab. Nas.* p. 75, and *Majma'u'l-Ansdb*, f. 227 a.

2 *Ma/ma'u'/'~Ansdb*, f. 226 b.

3 Subuktigin embraced Islam probably after he had fallen into the hands of Nasr the Hajji. See Baihaqi, p. 107; *Tab. Nas.* p. 70; and *Majma'u'l-Ansab* f. 227 a.

4 Subuktigin's *Pand-Namab*, as given in *Majma'u'l-Ansab*, ff. 226 b et seq. A different and apparently incorrect account of Subuktigin's early history is given in *jami'iu't-Tawarikh** f *204 b.

5 *Majma'u'l-Ansab*, f. 227 b; and *Tab. Nas.* p. 71.

6 *Siyasat Namab*, pp, 95-7.

7 'Utbi, D. 15.

8 *Guzida*, p. 395.

9 *Tab. Nas.* pp» 71-3; and *Majma'u'l-Ansab*, ff. 224 b-225 a.

unanimous consent of the nobility, he was raised to the throne on Friday, 27th Sha'ban, 366¹ (20th April, 977).

During the first year or two after his accession, Subuktigin added Bust and Qusdar to his kingdom* and then turned his attention to India. The whole territory from Lamaghan to the river Chinab was ruled by Jaipai of the Hindushahiyya Dynasty. 3 To retaliate for a raid of Subuktigin, Jaipai advanced with a large force to attack Ghaana about the year 376⁴ (986-7), Subuktigin met him near a hill called Ghuzak, between Ghazna and Lamaghan. The Hindus fought bravely but a sudden snowstorm created consternation among them and Jaipai was forced to sue for peace. Mahmud was in favour of carrying on the war till Jaipai was beaten but Subuktigin, fearing that if the Hindus, as they had threatened to do in despair, burnt themselves with all their valuables, he would lose the rich peace-offerings, consented to come to terms. Jaipai promised to pay an indemnity of 1,000,000 *dirhems* and 50 elephants and to cede some forts and towns on the frontier. As a security for the fulfilment of these terms, Jaipai left some of his kinsmen as hostages and returned to his kingdom. Once back in safety, Jaipai repudiated his promise and took prisoners the officers of Subuktigin who had been sent to take charge of the ceded forts and towns, ^

1 *Jab. Nds.* p. 73; and *Ibnu'l-Athlir*, viii, 503. In *Majma'u'l-Ansab*, f. 225 a, it is incorrectly given as 363 (973-4).

2 Khwand-Amir, *Khuldsatut-Tawarikh*, f. 216 a, says 367 (977-8). Cf. also 'Utbi, pp. 17-19, 20-1.

The kingdom of Qusdar roughly corresponded with Baliichistin. The town of Quşdar is most probably modern Khuzdir.

3 See my article in *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 401-2. Raverty, *Notes*, p. 320, and Smith, p. 396, say that it extended to the river Hakra. They have evidently confused Waihand, the capital of the Hindushahiyya Dynasty, with Bhatinda, and hence the error.

4 'Utbi, pp. 9, 22, says that Mahmud was fifteen years of age at this time. I have conjectured the date from this statement.

j 'Utbi, pp. 21-4.

When Subuktigin got news of this outrage, he marched at the head of a large army and captured many towns in Lamaghan. Jaipal in retaliation organised a league of Hindu rajas against Subuktigin and marched on Ghazna at the head of a great host which is said to have been swelled to the enormous number of 100,000 cavalry and infantry by the contingents furnished by the rajas of Northern India.¹ Subuktigin put him to the rout, annexed the districts between Lamaghan and Peshawar, and introduced Islam among the people. The Khaljis and Afghans who inhabited this region submitted to him and were recruited in the army.²

Subuktigin and the Samanids. When Subuktigin succeeded to the throne at Ghazna, the power of the Samanids had declined and the governors of the outlying parts of the empire were frequently in rebellion against them. Subuktigin however maintained the respect due to Amir Nuh as his overlord and helped him to crush the insurgents. When Fa'iq and Abu 'Ali Slmjuri³ made common cause against their overlord Amir Nuh, he appealed to Subuktigin who quickly responded to the call, hastened over the mountain passes and advanced to Herat where the rebels had mustered in strength. By negotiations he prevailed on them to make peace with the Amir and to pay an indemnity of 15,000,000 *dirhems*. Shortly after this Abu 'Ali broke the peace. Subuktigin attacked him near Herat on 15 th Ramadan, 384⁴ (23rd October, 994). Abu 'Ali fought bravely but his forces were routed by a timely attack led by Mahmud. Abu 'Ali fled to Raiy and took refuge with Fakhru'd-Dawlah. The victors

1 Firishta, p. 20, mentions the Raja of Ajmer among them, but Ajmer was not founded at that time, see *infra*, p. 215.

2 'Utb[^]pp. 2i~6,

j Sir W. Haig, p. 12, incorrectly calls him "Abu 'Ali Sunjur

4 *UtbI, p. 80; Gardizi, p. 55; and Baihaqi, p. 235.

entered Herat where the grateful Amir rewarded Subuktigin with the title of *Ndsiru'd-Din wa'd-Dawlah* and the province of Balkh, and Mahmud with the title of *Saifsd-Dawbh* and the command of the troops of Khurasan.¹ Mahmud entered Nlshapur but he was surprised by Abu 'All and Fa'iq who captured the town and forced him to take shelter at Herat. Hearing news of this disaster, Subuktigln advanced to Tus and met Abu 'All in battle on 20th JumadI ii, 385 (22nd July, 995). Abu 'All fought desperately but the day was decided against him by a vigorous attack delivered by Mahmud. Both Abu 'Ali and Fa'iq, being tired of this fruitless struggle, made overtures of peace to Amir Nuh. When their messengers arrived in Bukhara, the Amir, with a view to breaking up their alliance, imprisoned the one sent by Fa'iq while he showed honour to Abu 'All's ambassador. Fa'iq fled to Ilak Khan for assistance, and Abu 'All was thrown into prison when he came to Bukhara in 386 (996) and handed over to Subuktigln for safe custody.²

Fa'iq in the meantime prevailed on Ilak Khan to attack Bukhara. Amir Nuh, hearing news of this, again appealed for assistance to Subuktigln, who came at the head of a large force; but the Amir gave him offence by refusing, on the advice of his wazlr 'Abdu'llah b, Muhammad b. 'Uzair, to take part in the struggle with Ilak Khan. Instead of fighting, therefore, Subuktigln made peace with Ilak Khan by ceding to him all the Samanid territories to the east of Qatwan, and despatched Mahmud to Bukhara at the head of 20,000 horse, to procure the dismissal of the obnoxious wazlr. The frightened Amir dismissed 'Abdullah and accepted in his place a minister nominated by Subuktigln. 3

1 Subuktigin already had the title of *Mu'inu'd-Dawlab*. See al-Birunl, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* p. 130.

2 *Utbi, pp. 75-101. Abu 'Ali died in 387 (997).

3 'Utbi, pp. 98-100.

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Shortly after this Abu'l-Qasim, brother of Abu 'All Simjuri, taking advantage of the absence of Subuktigin and Mahmud from Khurasan, captured Nishapur but he was forced to evacuate it at the approach of Mahmud and his uncle Bughrajuq.¹

The Death of Subuktigin. Subuktigin now returned to Balkh. About this time, one of his sisters and some other relatives died. He grieved at this so much that he himself became ill.² He then marched towards Ghazna to recover his health in its bracing climate, but on the way he breathed his last at the village of Madru Muy, on the frontier of Balkh, in Sha'ban 3873 (August 997).

Thus passed away Subuktigin, loved by his soldiers whose hardships he had always shared and by his people who had profited from his benevolent administration. His name is immortalised by the title of *Amir-i-Adil*, the Just Amir, which the historians confer upon him. He was resolute and resigned in adversity, and humane and benevolent in prosperity. He had many sons of whom two, Hasan and Husain, are said to have died young, while Mahmud, Isma'il, Nasr and Yusuf survived him. He was very affectionate to his children and seems to have devoted special attention to their education. After his rise to power, he sent for his mother, brothers and sisters and allowed them to participate in his prosperity.⁴ His relations with his overlord Amir Nuh were praiseworthy. His ready assistance to him in crushing the power of the recalcitrant nobility and stemming the tide of conquest from Turkistan, stands in conspicuous contrast with the treason and perfidy which characterised the dealings of the Bukharite nobility towards their suzerain. He

1 'Utbl, pp. 102-3.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 106-7.

3 *Ibid.* p. 107; Gardlzl, p. 58; **and** *Jab. Nas.* p. 75.

4 *Majma 'u'l-Ansab* f. 229 b.

was a great statesman and strengthened his position by securing for his son Mahmud the hand of a princess of the Farighunid house, which was connected by marriage with the Samanids.¹ Towards the end of his career, he had become so powerful that foreign princes eagerly desired his friendship.

i Gardlzl, p. 48; and 'Utbl, p. zzj.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY LIFE OF MAHMUD

ABU'L-QASIM MAHMUD,¹ the eldest son of Subuktigin,² was born on the night between the 9th and 10th Muharram, 361³ (1st and 2nd November, 971). His mother was the daughter of a nobleman of Zabulistan.*

1 The following pedigree of Mahmud is given in *Tab. Nas.* p. 70, on the authority of *Tarikh-i-Mujadwal*

Mahmud b. Subuktigin b. Juq b. Qara Bajkam b. Qara Arslan b. Qara Mallat b. Qara Nu'man b. Flruz-i-Bam Sinjan b. Yazdagird, the last Sasanid monarch. In *Jami'u't-Tawarikh*⁴, f. 204 b, Mahmud is connected with the Samanids, but this does not seem to be correct.

2 'Utbi, p. 114. Briggs, *Firishta*, i, 29, footnote, stigmatises Mahmud as the illegitimate son of Subuktigin, but there is absolutely no authority for this allegation. See also note 4, below.

3 *Tab. Nas.* p. 76; 'Awf 1, f. 256 b, where Baihaqi is quoted; and Ibn Khallikan, li, 113. Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 281, gives 10th Muharram, 360 (13th November, 970), and Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 219 b, quoting as-Sabis *Dhahih* gives 14th Dhu'l-Hajja, 361 (26th September, 972), but both are probably errors of copyists.

Historians have connected the birth of Sultan Mahmud with some extraordinary occurrences. It is stated in *Tab. Nads.* p. 76, that the birth of Mahmud synchronised with the falling down of an idol-temple at Waihana, and that shortly before his birth Subuktigin saw in a dream a tree issuing out of the chafing-dish in his room and spreading out rapidly so as to overshadow the whole world, thus presaging the future iconoclast and conqueror. But this is not peculiar to the historians of Sultan Mahmud. The birth of Alexander the Great is also said to have been marked by somewhat similar events. See Plutarch's *Lives*, ii, 104.

4 *Siydsat Namah*, p. 108; and *Guzida*, p. 395. Mahmud is for this reason called "Mahmud-i-Zabuli" by his court-poets. Zabulistan was the name of the district round Ghazna, between the Helmand and the Khwash-rfid.

In the satire which is attributed to Firdawsi, Mahmud is called "the son of a slave-girl", but if his mother had really been a slave-girl, his court-poets would not have called him Mahmud.

Only a few stray facts are known about his early life. He received the usual scholastic education of an eastern prince under the tutorship of a learned man, "the father of Qadi Bu 'Ali of Siniyya",¹ and was well grounded in different branches of the sacred learning.² He knew the *Qur'an* by heart³ and was familiar with Muslim Law and Tradition.⁴ The political side of his education was not neglected. Subuktigin himself instructed him in the principles of successful sovereignty and put them in the form of a *Pand-Namah*⁵ Mahmud had also acquired great experience of administrative work. It is stated that when Subuktigin went to war in Bust, he left Mahmud, who was then barely seven years of age, as his deputy at Ghazna, with Bu 'Ali Kirmani as his wazir⁶ and, a few years later, assigned to him the government of the province of Zamin Dawar.⁷

Besides this, Mahmud was drilled in the military arts of the time. He was known to be an excellent swordsman, and his skill as a marksman and a lance-fighter could not be equalled.⁸ He gained experience of warfare in the company of his father. As a boy he distinguished himself in a punitive expedition against

i-Zabull. Professor Mahmud Khan Shlrani has conclusively shown in a series of scholarly articles in the quarterly journal *Urdu* (1921-3) that this satire is apocryphal. See also *infra* f p. 158, note 1.

1 Baihaqi, p. 609. Amin Ahmad Razl, *Haft Iqlm*, f. 100 b (Brit. Mus. Add. 24,092), erroneously makes the famous traditionist, Abu Bakr Baihaqi, the preceptor of Sulfan Mahmud.

Siniyya was a place between Wasit and saliq.

2 'Utbl, p. 8.

3 Baihaqi, p. 609; and Farrukhl, f. 23 a.

4 Hajj Khalifa, ii, 3 27. He is even supposed to have composed a book on Muslim Law. See *infra*, pp. 156-7.

5 The full text of it has been preserved in the *Majma'ul-Ansab** ff. 226 b-229 a. There is a reference to this *Pand-Ndmab* in *Atharu-Wuzara*, f. 88 a.

6 'Awfl, ff. 142 a, 391 b; and *Majma'u'l-Ansdb*, f. 226 a.

7 Baihaqi, pp. 123, 126.

8 *Adabu'l-Muluk*, f. 80 a.

Ghur¹ and, when only fifteen years of age, he took a prominent part in a battle near Lamaghan in 376 (986-7) between his father and Jaipal.*

In 380 (990-1) some factious persons created a breach between father and son, as a consequence of which Mahmud was imprisoned in the fort of Ghazna, but the misunderstanding was short-lived and, after some months, he was released and restored to favour.³ A few years later in 384 (994), Mahmud fought on the side of his father in his war against Fa'iq and Abu 'All Simjuri and displayed remarkable skill as a warrior and general. The grateful Amir recognised his services by bestowing on him the title of *Saifud-Dawlah* and appointing him to the command of the troops of Khurasan in place of Abu 'All Simjuri.

But shortly after Mahmud had taken possession of Nishapur, Abu 'Ali and Fa'iq, finding that Subuktigln had left him with inadequate resources, attacked him in Rabf i385 (April 995). Mahmud evacuated Nishapur at their approach, encamped three miles out of the

1 This fact has been omitted by all historians. There are only two references to it in contemporary writers. 'Unsurl, p. 76, in a *qasida* in praise of Sultan Mahmud, says :

ور از شجاعت کوئی بکودکی در غور
به پشت اسپ مبارز به بود پیش پدر

"And if you talk of his valour, in his boyhood, he (Mahmiid) fought in Ghur, on horseback, side by side with his father."

Abu 'Amir an-Najdl, in a *qasida* ('Utbi, p. 82) written to congratulate Mahmiid on his getting the title of *Saifu'd-Dawlah*, says:

قالهند و الغور قد شابت شعورهم
لما راوا منك من باسٍ و قد فشلوا

"The people of India and Ghur have become old and decrepit (with grief or fear) since they have witnessed your prowess."

2 See *supra** p. 29; and 'Awfl, f. 488 b.

j *Majma' al-Mawsu'at*, f. 245 a; and Fasihi, f. 303 b. These are the only two works that mention this fact. Baihaql, p. 257, and Farrukhi, f. 25 a, probably make a reference to it.

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town and awaited reinforcements from his father, but Abu 'Ali and Fa'iq engaged him in battle, defeated his army, captured his elephants and took possession of Nish2]Dur. Subuktigln hastened to his help and gave battle to their allied armies on 20th Jumadiii, 38j (22nd July, 995). After a desperate battle the enemy broke and fled. Many officers of Abu 'AH fell prisoners into the hands of the victors and were exchanged for the elephants which he had captured.¹

The rapid growth of their power occasioned frequent intrigues against father and son. Amir Nuh's wazir, 'Abdu'llah b. Muhammad b. 'Uzair, advised him to deprive them of some portion at least of the vast territories which he had granted to them, but the Amir refused to give offence to such powerful allies.¹ When Ilak Khan advanced to Bukhara in 386 (996), 'Abdullah again offFended Subuktigin3, who sent Mahmud at the head of 20,000 picked troops to turn him out of office and replace him by a friendly wazir. This was done, as has already been mentioned,* but during his absence in Bukhara, Abu'l-Qasim, brother of Abu 'Ali Simjuri, strengthened himself in Kuhistan and captured Nishapur. Mahmud, assisted by his uncle Bughrajuq, advanced to Nishapur and Abu'l-Qasim evacuated the town without giving battle. Having crushed all opposition, Mahmud consolidated his power in Khurasan. Shortly after this, however, Subuktigin died, and Mahmud was called to Ghazna to struggle for the throne with his brother Ismail 5

1 'Utbi, pp. 90-1.

3 See *supra*, p. 31.

j 'Utbi, pp. 102-3.

2 *Ibid*, p. 83.

4 See *supra*, p. 31,

CHAPTER V

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE THRONE*

SUBUKTIGIN died in Sha'ban 387 (August 997) on his way from Balkh to Ghazna. Shortly before his death, he nominated Isma'il, a younger son by a daughter of Alptigin,¹ as his successor in the provinces of Ghazna and Balkh, made his noblemen swear allegiance to him² and entrusted to him the care of his family and dependents.³ Isma'il hurried to Balkh, proclaimed himself king, did homage to Amir Abu'l-Harith Mansur b. Nuh, the Samanid,⁴ and, to secure the loyalty of his soldiers in view of the forthcoming struggle with his brother Mahmud, he lavished on them the treasures accumulated by the assiduity of his father.⁵

It is difficult to ascertain the considerations which induced Subuktigin to nominate Isma'il *in preference* to Mahmud as his successor. He might have been influenced by Isma'il's connection with Alptigin, by his presence at the death-bed,⁶ by a desire to provide for all his three grown-up sons, ⁷ or merely by paternal affection, but it cannot be denied that he displayed lack of political foresight in assuming that Mahmud, the eldest and obviously the most capable of his sons, would let Isma'il enjoy the suzerainty which the possession of Ghazna implied for its master.

1 *Gimda*, p. 393; and *Majma'u l-Ansab*, f. 229 b.

1 "Uteri, p. 110.

3 *Ibid.* Baihaqi, p. 306, says that Subuktigin commended his infant son, Yusuf, to the care of Mahmud.

4 *Catal of Or, Coins in Brit Mas.* by S. Lane-Poole, ii, 130.

5 *Utbi*, p. 114.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Subuktigin had secured the command of the troops of Khurasan for Mahmud and had given charge of the province of Bust to Našr. By his will, he left the provinces of Ghazna and Balkh to Isma'il.

Mahmud did not acquiesce in this settlement. He desired to have his own superior claims vindicated without depriving Isma'U of his share in the patrimony. When* he received the news of his father's death, he sent Abu'l-Hasan Hamuli to Isma'il with a letter of condolence, in which he assured Isma'il of his fraternal affection and of his willingness to deliver to him the province of Balkh or Khurasan if he surrendered Ghazna in recognition of Mahmud's superior rights. He further pointed out that he would not have disputed the will of his father if Isma'il had possessed the requisite experience of warfare and administration. Isma'il rejected this proposal. At this juncture, Abu'l-Harith Farlghuni,¹ ruler of Juzjanan and father-in-law of Mahmud, endeavoured to induce the brothers to settle their differences in a parley, but Isma'il, probably suspecting the good offices of the mediator, turned a deaf ear to his suggestion. Mahmud therefore marched on Ghazna to enforce his will at the point of the sword. From Herat he made another attempt at reconciliation but Isma'il again declined to listen to him.²

Mahmud now made preparations for the struggle. He won over his brother Abu'l-Muzaffar Nasr, ruler of Bust, and his uncle Bughrajuq, governor of Herat and Fushanj, who, with their armies, joined him at Herat,³ while his father-in-law Abu'l-Harith Farlghuni brought the whole weight of his position to bear in his favour. Thus strengthened he resumed his march on Ghazna. Isma'il moved down from Balkh to protect it. Before hostilities actually began, Mahmud made a final attempt at compromise, but Isma'il, interpreting Mahmud's solicitude for peace as a symptom of weakness, set his face against reconciliation.⁴

1 For a brief account of the Farlghnids, see Appendix C.

2 'Utbi, pp. 114-16.

5 Ibid. p. 116.

4 See Appendix D, for a discussion of Elphinstone's **remark** on the alleged weakness of Malimikd's title to the throne.

Mahmud was now forced to refer the dispute to the arbitrament of the sword—*ultima ratio regum*. He marshalled his army in battle array w front of Isma II s position,¹ The two armies were equally matched except in the relative skill of their commanders. One was an inexperienced youth whose time had been spent chiefly in the society of scholars and literary men, the other was a man of ripe age and mature experience whose *cool courage and furious charge had shattered the ranks* of the impetuous Turkomans with the same facility as those of the heterogeneous hosts of the effete Hindus. And this disparity between the commanders made all the difference in the battle that followed.

The two armies met on the plain of Ghazna in Rab i 388² (March 998). Ismail held his own for the whole day, but towards the evening his army broke and fled before a fierce charge led by Mahmud in person. Mahmud won the day, and with it the throne of Ghazna. Isma'H took refuge *in* the fort but realising that it would be impossible to sustain a long siege with the surrounding country in the hands of his brother, he surrendered himself when Mahmud promised to treat him kindly. ³ His reign had lasted only seven months.⁴

1 *Unşurl, p. 76, says that Isma'il had strengthened his position by a line of 200 elephants.

2 This date is interred from the fact that Ism&'ITs reign lasted only for seven months.

3 *Utbl, p. 1 1 8. Sir W. Haig, p. 11, incorrectly says that Ismii'II was surrendered to Mahmud by his nobles.

4 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 92. Raverty, *Tab Nas.* p. 51, note 6, and p. 75, note 6, incorrecdy says that Isma'il was dethroned in 3*9 (999)-

Ismail was a man of gentle disposition and scholarly habits. He was the author of several short treatises and poems in Arabic and Persian. He was a devout Muslim and during his short rule he is said to have followed the practice of the Orthodox Caliphs in leading the Friday prayer. See Ibn Funduq, £ 59 b; IhnuU-Alfelr, ix, 92; and as-Subkl, *TabaqStu'sb-Sbdfi'i&a*, iv, 14.

Ismail was now placed in nominal confinement but was allowed every indulgence consistent with his position.¹ About the close of 389* (999), however, Ismail abused the confidence of his brother and plotted against his life. Mahmud got an inkling of the plot and ordered Nushtigin Kaj, the chief agent, to be executed.³ Ismail was now removed from Ghazna and sent to Amir Abu'l-Harith at *Juzjnan* where he ended his days in peace.⁴

1 'UtbI, pp. 128, 131, 132.

2 *Ibid.* p. 131, says that it happened shortly after Mahmud's victory over 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Nuh in Jumadli 389.

3 The way in which Mahmud came to know of the plot is stated thus in 'UtbI, p. 132 :

One day Mahmud went out hunting in the direction of Marv-Rud, accompanied by Ismail and Nushtigin Kaj. On casting a chance glance towards them, Mahmud saw that Nushtigin, with his hand on the hilt of his sword, was looking towards Ismail for some pre-arranged signal to strike at Mahmud; but Ismail, perhaps suspecting that Mahmud had noticed Nushtigin's action, pretended to appear unconcerned.

Ismail may have been secretly encouraged in this plot by the Samanid Amir Abu'l-Harith Mansur with whom Mahmud's relations were strained about this time.

4 'UtbI, p. 132; but Faslhl, f 309 a, incorrectly says that Ismail was sent to the "fort of Kalanjar, now called Talwara",

Part Two

THE WARS OF SULTAN MAHMUD

CHAPTER VI

WARS IN CENTRAL ASIA

A. *Relations with the Samanids*

AFTER the capture of Ghazna, Mahmud proceeded to Balkh and did homage to Amir Abu'l-Harith Mansur, son and successor of Amir Nuh.¹ The Amir congratulated him on his victory over Isma'U and confirmed him in possession of the provinces of Balkh, Herat, Tixmidh, Bust, etc., but with regard to Khurasan, he regretted that he had already given it to Begtuzun,³

i For a brief account of the early history of the Samanids, see Appendix E.

2 Col. Malleon, *History of Afghanistan*, p. 57, makes the unfounded statement that Amir Nuh "nominated.. .Tuzan Beg to the governorship of Ghazni".

The events which led to the appointment of Begtuzun in place of Mahmud are given below :

On the death of Amir Nuh in Rajab 387 (July 097), 'Abdullah b. Muhammad b. 'Uzair, the former wazir, found an opportunity of wreaking vengeance on Mahmud. He persuaded ADU Mansui of Isfijab to accompany him to Kashghar to induce Ilak Khan to attack Bukhara and, after its conquest, to demand from him the command of the troops of Khurasan which was then held by Mahmud. At their invitation Ilak Khan marched on Bukhara, but at Samarqand he ordered both 'Abdullah and Abu Mansui to be imprisoned, and sent Fa'iq to Bukhara at the head of 3000 troops as his advance-guard. Abu'l-Harith left Bukhara and crossed the Oxus. Fa'iq occupied Bukhara, but he was so much touched by the miserable condition of the Samanids that he sent a deputation of the notables of the town to the Amir to induce him to return. The Amir did so, but he found that the two powerful nobles, Fa'iq and Begtuzun, neither of whom he dare offend, were not on good terms with each other. He therefore separated them by giving to Begtuzun the command of the troops of Khurasan. Mahmud was at this time engaged in the struggle for succession with Isma'il.

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a military commander who was in power at Bukhara. Mahmud sent Abu'l-Hasan Hamuli to Bukhara to plead his cause but the Amir refused to revise his order*

Despairing of getting back Khurasan by peaceful means, Mahmud resolved to take it by force and advanced on Nishapur. Begtuzun evacuated the town and sent for reinforcements. The Amir himself hurried to his relief and encamped near Sarakhs. Mahmud evacuated Nishapur without giving battle,¹ and withdrew to Marv-Rud.² Begtuzun occupied Nishapur and marched to Sarakhs to join forces with the Amir.

Fa'iq and Begtuzun now suspected the Amir of sympathising with Mahmud and formed a plot to depose him.³ When the Amir was returning from a hunting party on 12th Safar, 389 (2nd February, 999), Begtuzun met him on the way, and, on the pretext of discussing an important matter regarding Mahmud, brought him to his camp where he was made a prisoner. Fa'iq and Begtuzun now raised to the throne Abu'l-Fawaris 'Abdu'l-Malik, a younger brother of the late Amir.*

Mahmud took up the cause of the fallen monarch and marched to Sarakhs to punish Fa'iq and Begtuzun, who fled to Marv on his approach. Mahmud pressed in pursuit and encamped in front of Marv, but before hostilities began peace was made by the terms of which Mahmud was confirmed in the possession of Herat, Balkh, etc., while Begtuzun was allowed to hold the command of the troops of Khurasan, Mahmud thus lost the object to gain which he had taken up arms,

1 *Utbi, p. 124, says that Mahmud withdrew because he hated to be the one to give the last blow to the Samanid power.

2 It was situated at a place where the river Murghab debouches into the plains. See Le Strange, pp. 404-5.

3 Baihaqi, p. 804, says that Fa'iq and Begtuzun were afraid **that** Abu'l-Harith might hand them over to Mahmud, as his father Amir NGk had handed over Abu 'Ali Simjuri to Subuktigin.

4 Gardlzi, p. 60; and Baihaqi, p. 804*

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but he is said to have been so pleased that he distributed 2000 *dinars* as a thanksgiving among the poor.¹ The peace, however, was short-lived. Dara b. Qabus, who had not agreed to the peace, instigated some of the followers of the Amir to fall upon the rear of Mahmud's army which was under the command of Nasr, and plunder his baggage. This furnished Mahmud with a *casus belli**

Mahmud at once faced about and marshalled his forces in battle array. He put Nasr in charge of the right wing with 10,000 cavalry and 30 elephants, some of his trusted officers in charge of the left wing with 12,000 cavalry and 40 elephants, while he himself commanded the centre with 10,000 cavalry and 70 elephants, and advanced to attack the united forces of Amir 'Abdu'l-Malik, Fa'iq, Begtuzun and Abu'l-Qasim Simjurl. The battle took place near Marv on 27th Jumadli, 389 (16th May, 999). Mahmud was victorious and Amir 'Abdu'l-Malik fled to Bukhara, leaving 2000 dead on the field and 2500 prisoners in the hands of the victors.³ Abu'l-Qasim escaped to Kuhistan and Begtuzun took refuge at Nishapur. When Mahmud advanced to prevent a junction of their forces, Begtuzun fled towards Jurjan. Mahmud now placed Tus under the command of Abu'l-Harith Arslan Jadhib⁴ with instructions to chase Begtuzun out of Khurasan, but he evaded his pursuers and, after an unsuccessful attempt to stir up rebellion against Mahmud in Khurasan, crossed over to Bukhara by way of the Ghuzz desert.⁵

Mahmud next turned his attention to Abu'l-Qasim

1 GardizI, p. 60; and BaihaqI, p. 805. Why Mahmud was so pleased at this apparently unsatisfactory peace is not explained.

2 'Utbi, pp. 126-7; and BaihaqI, p. 805.

3 *Tajariy* iii, 342-3, from the Sultan's letter to the Caliph.

4 Reynolds, p. 362, calls Arslan jadhib "a well-known and celebrated man of Multan", and has been followed by Raverty, *fab.* Nos. p. 321, note 7!

5 'Utbi, p. 131.

WARS IN CENTRAL ASIA

Simjurl, who had managed to strengthen himself in Kuhistan, and ordered Arslan Jadhīb to proceed against him. Abu'l-Qasim was defeated and forced to fly to Tabas.^{1*}

Mahmud now became the master of Khurasan. He appointed his brother Nasr to the command of the troops of this province and returned to Balkh to watch the course of events at Bukhara. He sent a report of his victory over 'Abdu'l-Malik to the Caliph al-Qadir Bi'llah who granted to him the patent of the sovereignty of the territories which he had conquered and bestowed upon him the title of *Yaminu'd-Dawlah wa Aminttl-Millah* in Dhu'l-Hajja 389² (November 999).

In the meantime Amir 'Abdu'l-Malik was making great preparations for a struggle with Mahmud for the possession of Khurasan, but the death in Sha'ban 3893 (July-August 999) of Fa'iq, the most skilful of his generals, forced him to suspend his activities. A little later, on Monday, 10th Dhu'l-Qa'da* (23 rd October, 999), Ilak Khan took Bukhara, captured 'Abdu'l-Malik, together with all the scions of the royal family, and put an end to the Samanid Dynasty.

But a son of Amir Nuh, named Abu Ibrahim Isma'il al-Muntasir, escaped from the custody of Ilak Khan and made spasmodic efforts to regain the kingdom of his ancestors. He crossed over to Khwarizm and was joined by the nobles who were still loyal to the Samanid cause. After an abortive attempt on Bukhara, he advanced to Nishapur, defeated Nasr on 28th Rabfi, 391 (25th February, 1001) and forced him to fall back on Herat. 5 Mahmud however soon arrived with

1 'Utbi, p. 131.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 133-4; and Gardlzl, pp. 62-3.

3 'Utbi, p. 134; and Baihaqi, p. 806.

4 Gardlzl, p. 61.

5 'Utbi, p. 137; and Gardizi, p. 63. Gardizi adds that after his battle Hindu-bachaT', i.e. a Hindu boy, fell prisoner into he hands of Muntaşir.

reinforcements and Muntasir fled to Jurjan, but he returned to Khurasan in Shawwal 391 (September 1001), and, at his approach, Nasr again evacuated Nlshapur and sent for reinforcements, Mahriid despatched Abu Sa'id Altuntash to his assistance. Thus strengthened, Nasr marched to Nlshapur, defeated Muntasir and forced him to fly to Jurjan, but within a short time Muntasir returned and took Sarakhs. Nasr defeated him in the vicinity of Sarakhs, captured many of his officers including Abu'l-Qasim Simjurl, and sent them as prisoners to Ghazna.¹

Muntasir again crossed over to Transoxiana to try his luck there, but, being unable to gain a footing he returned to Marv, the governor of which, however, drove him to Ablward, on the edge of the Ghuzz desert. Harassed on all sides and tired of the uniform failure that had attended his attempts, Muntasir appealed for help to Mahmud, who ordered the governor of Herat to join forces with him; but, without waiting for reinforcements, Muntasir again advanced to Bukhara. After an unsuccessful struggle with Ilak Khan in Sha'ban 394 (June 1004), he returned to Khurasan and marched across the desert to Pul-i-Zaghul.^a

Disgusted with the disturbance which the activities of Muntasir were causing to the peace of his newly acquired territories and growing apprehensive of his designs on Khurasan, Sultan Mahmud sent a large force against him under Farighun b. Muhammad. Muntasir fled to Jurjan, followed by Nasr, Arslan Jadhīb and Tughanjuq, governor of Sarakhs. Failing to get any support in Jurjan, Muntasir returned to Nasa and after another unsuccessful attempt on Bukhara, took refuge in the Ghuzz desert, in the camp of Ibn Buhaij, chief

1 'Utbi, p. 141.

1 *Ibid.* p. 146. Yaqut, ii, 907, says that Zaghul was the name of a town in the district of Marv-Rud. PuR-Zaghul, or the Bridge of Zaghul, was probably situated somewhere near it.

WARS IN CENTRAL ASIA

of a settlement of the Arabs in that desert. Ibn Buhaij treacherously murdered him in Rab' i 395¹ (December 1004), at the instigation of Abu 'Abdullah Mah-Ruy Bundar who was the 'Amil of that region. Thus ended the stormy career of the last of the Samanids, who had shown a fortitude and tenacity of purpose deserving of a better fate.

When Mahmud heard the news of the assassination of the unfortunate prince, he ordered both Abu 'Abdu'llah and Ibn Buhaij to be put to death, and the camp of the Arabs to be plundered and destroyed, as a punishment for the crime.²

B. Sultan Mahmud *and the* Khans of Turkistan

It has already been stated that shortly after Mahmud had conquered Khurasan, Ilak Khan took Bukhara and put an end to the Samanid Dynasty.³ The two sovereigns exchanged friendly messages and agreed to maintain the river Oxus as their boundary line. To strengthen their friendly relations, Mahmud solicited and obtained the daughter of Ilak Khan in marriage.⁴ In Muharram

1 'Utbi, p. 148; but according to Gardm, p. 65, Rabi'ii.

2 For further details see 'Utbi, pp. 135-48; and GardM, pp. 63-5.

3 See *supra*, p. 45. These Khans are called Afrasiyabi Turks by Muslim historians and Qara-Khanids by modern writers. Very little is known about their early history and even the tribe to which they belonged is not definitely known. 'Utbi, Gardlzi and Baihaqi have ignored them almost completely, except for some scattered references. The account of them in Ibnu l-Athlir too is very confused. Among the few modern scholars who have attempted to construct their history, Sir H. H. Howorth (*JRAS.* 1898, pp. 467-502), and Major Raverty (*Tab. Nas.* pp. 900-6) have made numerous misstatements. See also Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, i, 251-63; *Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 286-8, and 361-3; and Zambaur, pp. 206-7. Barthold, pp. 278-86, gives a scholarly discussion of some disputed points about the history of these Khans.

4 She was probably the one called Mahd-i-Chigal in some stories.

390¹ (December 999) he sent Abu't-Tayyib Sahl b. Muhammad b. Sulaiman as-Su'lukl, chief doctor of the Shafi'ites, and Tughanjuq,² governor of Sarakhs, as his representatives to Uzgend where the nuptkls were celebrated with great splendour. The bride was brought to Khurasan about the middle of the same year.³

WAR WITH ILAK KHAN

These cordial relations however soon came to an end. Ilak Khan coveted the province of Khurasan and was waiting for an opportunity to conquer it.⁴ When Sultan Mahmud went on his expedition to Multan in 396 (1005-6), Ilak Khan despatched two divisions of his army, one under his brother Chaghartigin⁵ to take Balkh and the other under his kinsman Subashitigin to conquer Khurasan. Chaghartigin and Subashitigin captured Balkh and Herat respectively,⁶ and the whole of Khurasan passed under the sway of Ilak Khan.

Before his departure to Multan, the Sultan, in view of such an attack, had left instructions for his officers, in obedience to which Arslan Jadhīb concentrated his forces at Ghazna, while Abu VAbbas Fadl b. Ahmad, the wazir, strengthened all the approaches to the capital and posted strong detachments along the road to Balkh across Panjhir and Bamiyan. When Sultan Mahmud received information of this attack, he left the task of subjugating the outlying parts of Multan to his officers,⁷ returned post-haste to Ghazna and with an army con-

1 Jamal al-Qarashl (Barthold, *Texts*), f. 39 a.

2 *UtbI, p. 192. On coin No. 518 d, described in *Additions to the Oriental Collection of Coins in the British Museum* by Lane-Poole, ii, **218**, his name is given Tughanchuq.

3 UtbI, pp. 192-3.

4 'Awfl, f. 357 b.

5 *UtbI says Ja'fartigin.

6 Baihaal, p. 688, says that the Bazar-i-'Ashiqan or the Lovers' Market, which had been constructed at the special order of Sultan Mahmud, was burnt to the ground at this time.

7 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 133, and 'Unsuri, p. 80, say that Mahmud came to Ghazna without making a halt on the way.

siderably increased by the contingents furnished by the Khaljis, marched across the Hindu Kush mountains to Balkh.¹ Chaghartigin evacuated the town and fled to Tirmidh? Sultan Mahmud ordered Arslan Jadhib, with 10,000 soldiers, to proceed against Subashitigin, who took to flight on his approach. Arslan followed in pursuit. Subashitigin fled to Bukhara but finding his way blocked by floods in the river Murghab, he turned towards Marv and then wheeled round to Sarakhs (as the Ghuzz desert that stretched between him and Bukhara was impassable owing to excessive heat),² defeated Muhassin b. Tariq, chief of the Ghuzz tribe, who had attempted to block his passage, and escaped to Jurjan, probably with a view to seek the assistance of Qabus. But being disappointed, he returned to Nasa and, leaving all his heavy baggage there, set out for Marv across the desert. The Sultan despatched Abu 'Abdu'ilah Muhammad b. Ibrahim at-Ta'i, commander of the Arabs, who surrounded Subashitigin in the desert, inflicted a crushing defeat on him and captured his brother with 700 soldiers. Subashitigin escaped and crossed over to Bukhara.³

In the meantime Ilak Khan had despatched Chaghartigin with 12,000 soldiers to create a diversion in favour of the hard-pressed Subashitigin by attacking Balkh, which the Sultan allowed him to occupy. When Subashitigin was finally crushed and forced to leave Khurasan, the Sultan turned his attention to Balkh. Chaghartigin evacuated it on his approach and fled to Bukhara. Thus about the beginning of the year 397 (September-October 1006) Khurasan was cleared of the enemy.⁴

1 It was probably at this time that Anandpal of the HindQshahiyya Dynasty offered his services to Mahmud. See al-Birdni, ii, 13.

2 'Utbl, p. 215. It shows that this event took place about the end of 306 (July-August 1006).

3 *Ibid.* p. 216; and GardizI, p. 68.

4 'Utbl, pp. 216-17. See also *Majmau'l-Ansab*, f. 232 a.

But Ilakhan did not relinquish his ambition to conquer Khurasan, and made great preparations for another struggle. He prevailed on his kinsman Qadir Khan,¹ ruler of Kashghar, to come to his assistance, and with an imposing army numbering 50,000 warriors,² he again crossed the Oxus. The Sultan advanced to meet him, at the head of an army consisting of Khaljis, Afghans, Kurds, Ghuzz Turkomans and Indians, encamped on the plain of Katar,³ about twelve miles from Balkh and disposed his army in battle array. He posted Altuntash on the right wing, Arslan Jadhīb on the left, Nasr, Abu Nasr Farighuni, ruler of Juzjanan and Abu 'Abdu'llah Muhammad at-Ta'i in the centre, and strengthened his front by a line of 500 elephants, Ilak Khan's right wing was commanded by Qadir Khan, the left by Chaghartigin, while he himself occupied the centre. The two armies met on 22nd Rabi' ii,

1 His name has been differently written as Qadr Khan by 'Utbi, Yusuf Qadr Khan by Gardizi, Qutur Khan in *JdmFtft-Tawdrikh*[^] and Qaidu Khan in *Guzida*. His real name however was Yusuf Qadir Khan (يوسف قدر خان). Qadir was a Turkish adjective meaning "most despotic among kings", and distinct from Qadr, the Arabic substantive. Farrukhi, f. 22 b, confirms this in the following lines :

بجاء و منزلت و قدر تا جهان بوده است
 ندید خان چو قدر خان زمین ترکستان
 بهر شمار قدر خان ازو فزون تر بود
 درین سخن نه همانا که کس بود بگمان

Qadir, and not Qadr, fits in the metre of these lines. See also *Dtwdn Lughatu't-Turk*, i, 304, and Barthold, p. 273, note 5.

2 'Utbi, p. 217; but Gardizi limits their number to 40,000.

3 Gardizi, p. 69. Farrukhi often mentions Katar in reference to this battle. For example, he says on f. 168 a :

آنچه او کرد بترکستان با لشکر خان
 شاه کرد است بدان لشکر در دشت کتم

398¹ (5th January, 1008). Ilak Khan fought bravely. With a small body of 500 slaves he delivered such a furious charge on the centre that the warriors of Mahmud began to waver, and another attack would have ended in a complete rout. At this critical moment, Sultan Mahmud revived the courage of his soldiers by seeking divine assistance. Leaving the field of battle, he climbed a hillock, prostrated himself on the ground in fervent prayer to the "God of Victories" and rose with a confidence which inspired his soldiers. Their drooping spirits thus raised, the Sultan led a counter-attack on the centre of Ilak Khan and rushed into the thick of the battle. His personal intrepidity was soon rewarded. Imitating his example, the commanders of other divisions made repeated impetuous charges on the enemy, and the execution wrought in their ranks by the Sultan's elephants completed their demoralisation. One of the elephants, lifting Ilak Khan's standard-bearer in his trunk, hurled him into the air and then catching him on his steel-clad tusks, cut the wretch in two, while others threw down riders from their horses and trampled them to death. The huge army of the Khan was seized with consternation and fled. Many were captured and thousands perished in their attempt to cross the Oxus. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors. In spite of the severe winter, the Sultan followed the fugitives,² but about this time, news arrived of the rebellion of Sukhpal at Multan and he hurried back to Ghazna.³

1 Gardizī, p. 69, and 'Awfī, f. 357 b; but in 'Utbi, p. 219, Ibnū'l-Athlī, ix, 135, *Majma'u'l-Ansdb*, f. 232 b, it is placed in A. H. 397. In *Alft*, f. 373 a, the battle is said to have taken place towards the close of 397 (August 1007), i.e. in summer, and a few lines below is mentioned the story of the Sultan's pursuit of the fugitive Khan in severe winter, and the anecdote of the jester Walchak.

2 Firishta, pp. 25-6 (probably on the authority of Baihaqi's *Tarikh-i Yamini*)* relates the story of the severe winter and the retort of the court-jester Walchak which persuaded the Sultan to give up the pursuit.

3 'Utbi, p. 223.

Ilak Khan now retired to his country and made great efforts to retrieve his reputation. He entered into a secret alliance with the ruler of Qusdar¹ and tried to induce his brother Ahmad Tughan Khan and Qadir Khan to make common cause with him in a final struggle with Sultan Mahmud. Ilak Khan probably intended to attack Khurasan simultaneously with the rebellion of the ruler of Qusdar² but his plan failed. Qadir Khan rejected the proposal and Tughan Khan not only refused to join but also sent an ambassador to Sultan Mahmud to cultivate friendly relations with him. 3 Ilak grew so furious at this that in 401 (1010), he invaded the country of his brother. He had not, however, proceeded far beyond Uzgand when he was forced to return by a heavy fall of snow. He started again in the following spring (March 1011) but probably the brothers came to an understanding, as about this time they referred their dispute for arbitration to Sultan Mahmud, who is stated to have brought about a reconciliation between them.⁴

Relations with Qadir Khan

Ilak Khan died in 403 5 (1012-13) and was succeeded by his brother Ahmad Tughan Khan, who maintained

1 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 159. Probably Shah Muhammad, the younger Shar of Gharshistan, was also in secret alliance with Ilak Khan. See 'Utbi, p. 255.

2 See *infra*, p. 74.

3 'Utbi, p. 226, says that in the beginning of 400 (August 1009) an ambassador arrived in Ghazna from Tughan Khan.

4 *Ibid.* pp. 248-50; and Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, p. 156.

5 'Utbi, p. 291. Sir H. H. Howorth, *JRAS.* 1898, p. 480, on the authority of Sachau's *Geschichte von Khwarezm*, ii, 12-14, says that Ilak Khan lived up to 407 (1016-17), because BaihaqI, p. 844, refers to an Ilak Khan as the ruler of some territories in Transoxiana in that year. But Ilak was a title and not a name. BaihaqI, p. 631, makes Sultan Mas'ud, in the year 426 (1035), address the ambassador of *Alitigln's son thus: "How is our brother Ilak?", meaning by "Ilak" the son of 'AUtign.

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friendly relations with Sultan Mahmud. On his death in A.D. 417 (1026) his kingdom passed to his brother Abu Mansur Arslan Khan, known as *al-Asamm*, the Deaf. He gave* one of his daughters to Mas'ud, son of Sultan Mahmud.² Arslan died probably in 413 (1023) and two of his kinsmen, namely Qadir Khan, ruler of Kashghar and Tughan Khan, a brother of 'Alitigin of Bukhara,⁴ fought for the possession of his kingdom. Tughan Khan was victorious and took possession of Balasaghun,⁵ the capital of the late Arslan Khan.⁶

Hearing of this struggle, Mahmud came to Balkh about the middle of 415 (September 1024) to watch the course of events in Transoxiana. When he received news of the success of Tughan Khan, he became apprehensive of the growing power of the brothers, 'Alitigin and Tughan Khan who, with Bukhara and Balasaghun in their hands, might menace the security of Khurasan. He therefore took steps to crush them before their power was consolidated. A pretext for invasion was not wanting. The people of Transoxiana, it is stated, brought to Mahmud complaints of the

1 Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, p. 210.

2 'Utbl, pp. 293-4. The account of Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 210-11, is very confused and unintelligible. He says that Qadir Khan and Arslan Khan invaded Khurasan in 410 (1019-20), but were defeated by the Sultan near Balkh. Mahmud, however, was busy in A.H. 410 in India, see *infra*, p. 10. Cf. also Barthold, p. 280.

3 Baihaqi, p. 655, says that the Khanate of Turkistan was in dispute before the departure of Mahmud to Somnath, i.e. about A.H. 414, which is the probable date of the death of Arslan Khan.

4 It is stated in *Majma'u'l-Ansaby*, f. 236 b, that 'Alitigin was "the son of the brother of the father of Qadir Khan." that is, nephew of Bughra Khan. See Barthold, pp. 280-2, 284-5.

5 It was situated on or near the head-waters of the Karagaty branch of the river Chu in Moghalistan, N.E. of Aulie-ata, in Lat. 43° 0' N., Long. 73° 40' E. See *Ta'rikh-i-Rashidiy*, p. 361, *note*, and Barthold, p. 514.

6 There are numerous vague references to these events in 'Utbl, pp. 247-50, 291-4; and Baihaqi, pp. 98, 348, 417-18, 655.

7 Gardizi, p. 81.

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highhandedness of 'Alitiglñ, and Sultan Mahmud resolved to cross the Oxus, ostensibly to punish 'Alitigin for his alleged oppression.¹

Sultan Mahmud had made all the necessary preparations for the occasion beforehand, and he acted swiftly. The river Oxus was spanned with a bridge of boats² and the whole army crossed over to the other side before 'Alitigin was aware of it. The Sultan then advanced on Samarqand where 'Alitigin had taken up his position. On his way the Sultan received the allegiance of several petty chieftains and was joined by Altuntash, the Khwarizmshah, who brought large reinforcements. Sultan Mahmud encamped near Samarqand, disposed his army in battle array and strengthened his front by a line of 500 elephants. 'Alitiglñ evacuated Samarqand without giving battle and retreated to the steppes. The Sultan despatched the chamberlain Bilkatiglñ in pursuit. 'Alltigin himself escaped, but his wife and children, while they were on their way to join him, fell into the hands of Bilkatigin and were brought to Samarqand. The Sultan treated them with the respect and consideration due to their position.³

Shortly after this, Qadir Khan of Kashghar came

1 GardizI, p. 81. It is, however, mentioned in *Rawdah*, p. 777, that by arrogating to himself the dignity of the Grand Khan, 'Alltiglñ had offended Qadir Khan, who induced Sultan Mahmud to invade Transoxiana by pointing out to him that 'Alltiglñ might become a danger to Khurasan if he were allowed to gather power. The Sultan therefore went to Samarqand where Qadir Khan came to meet him. Ibnu'l-Athlñ is very confused at this point.

2 GardizI, p. 81, gives the process of the construction of the bridge, thus : The boats were wrapped in huge filaments of date-palm trees which had been brought on camels from Sistan. These filaments were held in position by iron chains covered with cow-hide. The inside of the boats was stuffed with straw to enable the army to pass over them. According to Farrukhi, f. 22 b, the bridge was completed in one week.

3 GardizI, pp. 84-5; and Farrukhi, f. 22 b. Firishta, p. 32, incorrectly says that 'Alltiglñ himself was captured and sent as a prisoner to a fort in India.

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to Samarqand to make an alliance of friendship with Sultan Mahmud. The two sovereigns met on Thursday, 27th Safar, 416¹ (29th April, 1025), and the occasion was marked by great splendour and magnificence.² To strengthen the bond of friendship a matrimonial alliance was made, according to which Sultan Mahmud betrothed his daughter Zainab to Yag^hantigin³ (afterwards known as Bug^hra Khan), son of Qadir Khan, and Qadir Khan gave one of his daughters to prince Muhammad.⁴ The Sultan now returned to Ghazna leaving Samarqand in the hands of Qadir Khan, but shortly after his departure, 'Alitigin came out of his retreat, defeated Qadir Khan and took possession of Samarqand. Qadir Khan sent Yag^hantigin to seek the assistance of Sultan Mahmud but he had to return disappointed as, in the meantime, the Sultan had made up his mind to lead an expedition to Somnath. 5

On his return from Somnath in 417 (1026), the Sultan sent Abu Bakr Hasir^l with a large force to the assistance of Qadir Khan who defeated 'Alltigin and forced him to come to terms.⁶

Qadir Khan maintained friendly relations with Sultan Mahmud. He died in 423 7 (1032).

1 This date is given by al-Biruni in his unique and hitherto unknown work named *Ghuratu'l-Zijati*, f. 2 a. Baihaqi, p. 246, however, says that the meeting took place on Naw Ruz, the Persian New Year's Day, which fell on 5th Muharram, 416 (8th March, 1025) according to Baihaqi, pp. 666 and 708.

2 It is said in *Tab. Nds.* p. 116, that it was at this time that Qadir Khan requested the Sultan to remove "the son of Saljuq" and his followers to *Khurasan*.

3 Baihaqi, p. 230; and Barthold, p. 284, note 7.

4 Baihaqi, pp. 230-1. Gardiz, pp. 83-4, gives a detailed account of the presents that were exchanged and the ceremonies that were observed on this occasion. See also Barthold, p. 283.

5 Baihaqi, pp. 98, 655.

6 *Ibid.* p. 655, and Farrukhi, f. 168 a, make vague references to this event. It is not mentioned in any other work.

7 Baihaqi, p. 525; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 290. For the details of these events, see Barthold, pp. 279-85.

The fame of Sultan Mahmud had by this time spread far into the East, and in 417¹ (1026) he received embassies from Qata Khan,³ ruler of Qata,³ and Ighur Khan,* ruler of Quchu.⁵ They made a proposal to enter into a matrimonial alliance with the Sultan but he rejected it on the ground that the Khans were not Muslims.⁶

C. The Ma'munids and the Conquest of Khwarizm and Jurjaniyyah

The Ma'munids, as the rulers of Jurjaniyyah⁷ were called, were the feudatories of the Samanids. Nothing is mentioned about them by Muslim historians till 382⁸ (992) when Ma'mun b. Muhammad b. 'Ali, ruler of Jurjaniyyah, is stated to have assisted Amir Nuh b. Mansur, the Samanid, during the period of his exile

1 Gardlzi, p. 87.

2 *Ibid.* p. 87, reads Qaya Khan; al-Bliini, *Qanunu'l-Mas'udi*, f. 92 a, has Qata Khan. Cf. *Jahdn Namah*, f. 205.

3 Al-Biruni, *op. cit.* f. 92 a, says that Qata was situated to the north-west of China, and places it in Lat. 29° 40' N. (which is most probably a mistake for 39° 40'), Long. 113° 40' E. (modern 88° 5' E.). According to *Jahdn Namah*, f. 205 a, Qata, also called Khita, was the name of a town in Machin or Greater China. It was probably the same as modern Kucha, Lat. 41° 42' N., Long. 82° 55' E. See *Serindia*, p. 1238.

4 Gardlzi, p. 87, reads Bughar or Lughar Khan; al-Biruni, *op. cit.* f. 96 b, reads Ighur Khan which probably means "the Khan of the Uigurs". According to 'Awfi (Brit. Mus. Or. 2676), f. 66, Ighur and Qata were two provinces of China, and Ighur was the name of a tribe of the Ghuzz Turkomans.

5 Al-Biruni, *op. cit.* f. 96 b, places it in Lat. 42° 0' N., Long. 89° 20' E. (modern 85° 45' E.), and adds that it was also known as C«&fc.yLq»-. Quchu was the capital of the Uigur Turks of Turfan, and its ruins are still shown at Kara-Khoja, Lat. 42° 52' N., Long. 89° 30' E. See the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 1, pp. 17-19; and also Aurel Stein's *Serindia*, p. 473, and *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, ii, 359.

6 Gardlzi, p. 87.

7 Gurganj of Persian writers, and modern Urganj.

8 *UtbI, p. 77; and Gardlzi, p. 53. Mirza Muhammad, *Chabar Maqala*, p. 241, incorrectly says 380 (990).

WARS IN CENTRAL ASIA

from Bukhara. To punish Abu 'Abdu'llah, the Khwarizmshah, for his treachery to Abu 'All Simjuri, Ma'mun attacked him in 385 (995), took him prisoner and annexed the kingdom of Khwarizm.¹ Ma'mun was assassinated in 387 (997) and was succeeded by his son Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali, who married Kah-Kalji, a sister of Sultan Mahmud.² Abu'l-Hasan died about 3993 (1008-9) and was succeeded by his brother Abu'l-'Abbas Ma'mun, a young man of 25 years of age. He married Kah-Kalji, the widow of his brother,⁴ and professed to have great consideration for Sultan Mahmud, so much so that when the Caliph al-Qadir Bi'llah bestowed upon him the title *oVAmu'd-DarvIah iva Zaintfl-Millah*^ he did not assume it openly for fear of offending the Sultan as it had been received without his intervention.⁵

But these good relations did not last long. The Sultan asked Abu'l-'Abbas to read the *khutbah* in his name and to acknowledge him as his overlord. Abu'l-'Abbas called a council of his officers to consult them in this matter. They unanimously refused to submit to the control of a foreign potentate. When the army got information of this it became mutinous and was pacified only by a lavish distribution of gold among the commanders. This lulled for some time the storm which burst out in full fury a little later. Abu'l-'Abbas dare not offend the army any more, and to secure his position against a possible hostile move of the Sultan, he tried to enter into a secret alliance with the Khans of Turkistan⁶.

When the spies of the Sultan reported the news of this secret alliance to him, he marched to Balkh at the

1 'Utbi, pp. 78, 94-6.

2 BaihaqI, p. 838.

3 See Appendix F.

4 GardizI, p. 73; and BaihaqI, p. 838. Raverty, *Tab. Nas.* p. X20, note 5, wrongly makes Abu'l-'Abbas son-in-law of Sultan Mahmud.

j BaihaqI, p. 838.

6 *Ibid.* pp. 840-6.

head of a huge army of 100,000 horse and 500 elephants¹ and threatened Khwarizm. The Khans of Turkistan intervened and persuaded the Sultan to withdraw his forces, which he promised to do if the Khwarizmshah recognised him as his suzerain. Abu'l-^CAbbas was now constrained to comply with this demand and ordered the *khutbab* to be read in the name of the Sultan in the districts of Nasa and Farawah. This satisfied the Sultan, and he returned to Ghazna.²

The army, particularly that stationed at Hazarasp under the command of Alptigin of Bukhara,³ regarded Abu'l-'Abbas's submission to the Sultan as a deliberate insult to the honour of their country. They advanced on the capital and began by a series of murders which culminated in the assassination of Abu'l-'Abbas Ma'mun on 15th Shawwal, 407⁴ (17th March, 1017). After this they raised one of his sons,⁵ who was only seventeen years of age, to the throne. Alptigin, the leader of the regicides, acted as a dictator and terrorised Khwarizm for a period of four months.

When Sultan Mahmud heard the news of the tragic end of his brother-in-law and vassal, he resolved to attack Khwarizm in order to punish the regicides.⁶ But before giving out his plans, he arranged for the safe return of his sister, the widow of Abu'l-'Abbas, and, by diplomacy and tact, secured the neutrality of the Khans of Turkistan.⁷ After this he marched to Balkh at the head

1 BaihaqI, p. 846.

2 *Ibid.* p. 846.

3 BaihaqI, GardizI, and Ibnu'l-Athir, but 'Utbi reads Niyal-astighn, or, in some copies, Niyaltighn.

4 BaihaqI, p. 848, and GardizI, p. 73.

5 'Utbi, p. 301; but BaihaqI, p. 848, says that one of his nephews named Abu'l-Harith Muhammad b. 'All b. Ma'mun, was raised to the throne.

6 *Athdru'l-Wuzara*, ff. 95 b-101 b, in which a long passage is cited from the lost *Maqamat-i-Abii Nasr-i-Mushkani*. See also *infra*, p. 128, for the proceedings of a council which the Sultan called on this occasion.

7 BaihaqI, pp. 849-50.

PARS IN CENTRAL ASIA

of a large army. The regicides now made overtures of peace but the Sultan proposed such stringent terms that they refused to accept them. Accordingly they made preparations for defence and collected an army of 50,000 warriors.¹

The Sultan marched from Balkh to Tirmidh where he embarked his army in boats, sailed down the Oxus to Khwarizm and advanced on Jurjaniyyah or Gurganj, the capital. The first action with the enemy was disastrous. The advance-guard of the Sultan under Abu 'Abdu'llah Muhammad at-Ta'I, which was encamped on the outskirts of a desert, was surprised by Khumar Tash and put to rout, while the soldiers were engaged in their morning prayer. The disgrace of this defeat was, however, wiped out by the Sultan's body-guard who followed Khumar Tash and defeated and captured him.² The next day, Alptigin himself advanced at the head of a strong army to check the advance of the Sultan. The two armies met on 5th Safar, 4083 (3rd July, 1017), and a desperate battle followed. The Khwarizmians put up a strong fight but they were utterly defeated and dispersed. No further resistance was offered, and the Sultan entered Jurjaniyyah in triumph.⁴

The young Amir and many scions of the Ma'munid family were placed in custody, 5 and a terrible vengeance was taken for the assassination of Abu'l-' Abbas. Alptigin and many other regicides were captured, and lashed, dismembered, gibbeted or trampled to death by ele-

1 BaihaqI, p. 850; Gardizi, p. 73; and *AtharuH-Wuzara*, ff. 95 b-101 b.

2 BaihaqI, p. 850; Gardizi, p. 73; and *Athartu-Wuzara*, f. 100 a.

3 Gardizi, p. 74.

4 'Utbi, pp. 301-2; BaihaqI, pp. 850-1; and *Athdru'l-Wuzara* f. 100 b.

5 Farrukhl, f. 35 a, says that they were sent to the forts of Uk, faq and Sipahbud (or Ispahbud) in Sistan.

phants. Their corpses, after being paraded in the streets, were hanged on gibbets close to the tomb of their victim, the late Amir.¹

The Sultan now appointed Altuntash to the chief command of Khwarizm and Jurjaniyyah, with the title of *Khwarizmshah* and, leaving Arslan Jadhīb to help him in reducing the country to order and submission, he returned to Ghazna. Shortly after his departure, Abu Ishaq, father-in-law of the late Abu'l-'Abbas, collected an army and tried to free Khwarizm from foreign domination but he was defeated and forced to flee. Arslan Jadhīb and Altuntash then crushed all spirit of resistance among the people by savage punishments and indiscriminate massacres, and Khwarizm henceforth became a peaceful part of the empire of Sultan Mahmud.²

D. Conquest of Gharshistan

When Sultan Mahmud conquered Khurasan from the Samanid 'Abdu'l-Malik at Marv in Jumadi i 389 (May 999), he sent Abu Nasr Muhammad al-'Utbi, the author of *Kitdbtfl-Yamim*, on a diplomatic mission to Gharshistan,³ calling upon its ruler Abu Nasr Muhammad b. Asad ash-Shar⁴ to recognise him as his

1 'Utbi, p. 303; Baihaqi, pp. 851-2; and Gardlzi, p. 74.

2 Baihaqi, pp. 852-3.

3 Also called Gharjistan and Ghar j -ash-Shar. *Gharj* meant "mountain" in the local dialect, and *Shar* was the title of the rulers of Gharshistan, so that the full name meant "The Mountains of the Shar". It lay to the east of the modern district of Badghls, at the head of the upper Murghab. See Le Strange, p. 415. Some scholars, like 'D'Herbelot (MuqaddasI, transl. by G. S. A. Ranking, p. 41, note) and Raverty (*Tab. Nas.* Index, p. 189) have confused it with Gurjistan or modern Georgia, in the Caucasus.

4 The word *Shar*, according to 'Utbi, p. 251, meant "the Powerful Lord". According to the *Ency. of Islam*, i, 643, it is derived from the old Persian word khshathriya. The first Shar mentioned in Muslim histories was Abu Nasr Muhammad b.

erlord. The Shar consented and read the *khutbah* in the name of Mahmud in place of the Samanid Amir 'Abdu'l-Malik.ⁱ

Some time after this, the younger Shar named Shah Muhammad b. Abu Nasr Muhammad, offended the Sultan by refusing to accompany him on an expedition, and by behaving arrogantly when called upon to explain this action.² The Sultan ordered Altuntash, Arslan Jadhib and Abu'l-Hasan al-Mani'I, governor of Marv-Rud, to attack Gharshistan. ³ In spite of the difficulties of the way they penetrated to Afshin, the capital.⁴ Abu Nasr Muhammad, the elder Shar, submitted but his son Shah Muhammad offered resistance and took refuge in an almost inaccessible hill-fort. The invaders followed him thither, laid siege to the fort and with battering rams made a breach in the outer walls. The garrison defended the inner fortifications with heroism but they were ultimately overpowered and forced to surrender. Shah Muhammad, the younger Shar, with many of his officers, was taken prisoner and

Asad. He was a man of literary tastes, and when his son Shah Muhammad grew up to manhood, he abdicated in his favour and betook himself to study. When Abu 'All Slmjurl rebelled against Amir Nuh, he tried to persuade the Shars to acknowledge him as their overlord. On their refusal, he invaded their territory, and drove them to a remote part of the country. When Abu 'Ali was constrained to flee from Khurasan after his defeat by Subuktigln, the Shars returned to their capital. For further details of their history, see 'Utbi, pp. 251-9.

Major Raverty, *Tab, Nas.* p. 341, has committed numerous blunders in a short note on their history.

1 'Utbi, p. 254.

2 From his attitude towards the Sultan, it appears that the younger Shar was probably in secret alliance with Ilak Khan who, about the year 400 (1009-10), intended to make another attempt to conquer Khurasan.

j About the beginning of the year 403 (July-August 1012).

4 Afshin was situated on the eastern bank of the upper Murghab, about fifty miles above Marv-Rud. See Le Strange, p. 416.

sent to Mastang¹ where he died a few years later.* His wazir was forced under pain of the rack to disgorge the treasures which he was suspected of having concealed. The kingdom of Gharshistan was annexed in 4033 (1012) and was placed under the command of Abu'l-Hasan al-Manf 1, governor of Marv-Rud.⁴

Abu Nasr Muhammad, the elder Shar, was taken to Ghazna where he was treated with great respect and was assigned a place of honour at the court. The Sultan paid him the value of his private territorial property in Gharshistan which had been seized at the time of the conquest. Ahmad b. Hasan al-Maimandi, the wazir of the Sultan, had great respect for him and did all in his power to mitigate the degradation of his fall. He died in 406⁵ (1015-16).

E. Sultan Mahmud *and the Seljukids*

A section of the Ghuzz tribe⁶ separated from their fellow-tribesmen and, under their chief named Seljuk, son of Duqaq,⁷ migrated to Muslim territory in Transoxiana in the latter half of the fourth century A.H.⁸

1 Gardlzl, p. 71. Mastang is in Baluchistan. See Le Strange, P- 347-

2 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 104, says that Shah Muhammad died some time before the death of his father which took place in 406 (1015-16).

3 GardizI, p. 71.

4 'Utbi, p. 257.

5 *Ibid.* p. 259; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 104. Abu Nasr Muhammad was a man of great learning and profound knowledge of Arabic. Ibnu'l-Athlr, *loc. cit.*, says that he transcribed the Arabic lexicon *Kitdlw*t-Tahdhtb* of Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Azhari, and read it with the author himself. His love of learning attracted many scholars to his court. In al-MaqdisI, p. 509, note, Abu Nasr Muhammad, is called *al-Faqth*, i.e. the Jurisconsult, in obvious reference to his great learning.

6 Barthold, p. 257; and *Ency. of Islam*, ii, p. 168.

7 According to Rawandl, p. 88, his name was Luqman.

8 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 321; *Guzida*, p. 437; and Barthold, pp. 254-6.

About 375* (985-6) they settled at Nur in Bukhara and occasionally helped the Samanids in their wars with their neighbours in Turkistan.² The political conditions in Transoxiana were favourable for the development of their power. In the beginning of the fifth century A.H., Isra'il, son of Seljuk, acquired great influence at Bukhara which he had helped 'Alltigin to conquer either from Ilak Khan or his successors.⁴

When Sultan Mahmud crossed over to Transoxiana, 'Alltigin and Isra'il both fled from Bukhara. 'Alltigin managed to escape into the steppes, but Isra'il was captured in 416⁵ (1025) and sent as a prisoner to the

1 *Guzida*, p. 434; and Faslhi, f. 301 a.

2 <UtbI, pp. 73, 143, 146.

3 Gardizi, p. 84; and Rawandl, p. 89; but Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 323, calls him Arslan.

4 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 323. The account of Ibnu'l-Athir is, however, so vague that the details of these events cannot be ascertained.

For the early history of the Seljukids, see Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 266-8 and 321 *et seq* *Tab. Nas.* pp. 116 *et seq.*; *Guzida*, pp. 434-5; *Rawdah*, pp. 775-7; *Ency. of Islam*, articles on "Seldj.uks", and "Ghuzz"; Rawandl, pp. 86-94; and Barthold, pp. 254-7, 297-300 and numerous scattered notices.

5 Gardzi, p. 84. A different version of these events is given in Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 261, 323; Rawandi, pp. 88-9; *Guzida*, p. 435; and *Majma'u'l-Ansab*, if. 236 b-237 a, thus : It is said that when Sultan Mahmud came to Transoxiana, Qadir Khan complained to him of the annoyance which the Seljuks were causing and requested him to take them to Khurasan. The Sultan agreed to do so and cultivated friendly relations with Isra'il so that he was induced to come to him on a visit. During the course of conversation, Isra'il told the Sultan the effect that the sending of his arrow and bow would have in collecting an army. This made the Sultan so suspicious of his power that he ordered him to be captured when in a state of intoxication, and sent him as a prisoner to Kalanjar where he remained for seven years. He once attempted to escape but was captured and brought back to the fort. On this occasion, he sent word to his followers to make war on Sultan Mahmud and to conquer his country. When Isra'il died his followers, with a view to create trouble, requested the Sultan to allow them to settle in Khurasan.

fort of Kalanjar in the Kashmir hills.¹ His tribesmen are then said to have approached Sultan Mahmud with a request to allow them to settle in Khurasai) on the plea that they were oppressed by their generals in Transoxiana. The Sultan consented, hoping that they would furnish recruits for his army. Arslan Jadhib, however, fearing that they might menace the peace of Khurasan, advised the Sultan to order a general massacre of them or at least to cut off each man's thumb so that he could no longer draw the bow.² Mahmud rejected this inhuman and probably impracticable proposal. Consequently four thousand Ghuzz families under their chieftains crossed the Oxus and were allowed to settle on the outskirts of the desert in the provinces of Sarakhs, Farawah and Abiward,³ but as a precaution, the Sultan forbade them to bear arms of any kind and required them to settle in scattered places.⁴

Sultan Mahmud, however, soon realised that he had made a mistake in bringing the Seljuks into Khurasan. They made themselves so obnoxious in the neighbourhood that towards the close of the year 418 (close of 1027) the people of Nasa and Ablward were forced to complain to the Sultan of their violence,⁵ The Sultan despatched Arslan Jadhib, governor of Tus, to

1 This Kalanjar was situated to the north of Jhelum, in the pass leading into Kashmir. It was therefore different from the fort named Kalinjar in Bundhelkhand. See BaihaqI, pp. 88, 211, 664; and Kahlana, vol. ii, 433, and Bk vii, 1. 1256, note. Most of the Muslim historians who mention the fact of Israel's imprisonment say that Kalanjar was situated near Multan. This wrong indication as to its position has misled Dr M. Iqbal (RawandI, pp. 478-0) in his attempts to locate it. See also *infra*, p. 106 note.

2 Gardlzl, p. 85. Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 323, says that Arslan suggested that they should be drowned in the Oxus. See also BaihaqI, p. 597.

3 Gardlzl, p. 85.

4 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 323; and *Tab. Nas.* p. 120.

5 Gardlzl, p. 89.

punish them but they were too strong for him, and all his attempts to crush them proved unsuccessful.¹ The Sultan severely reprimanded him for his incapacity but, as Arslaii stated in excusing himself, the Seljuks had grown so strong that the resources of a provincial governor were not adequate to crush their power.²

Consequently Sultan Mahmud, in spite of his illness, personally moved against the Seljuks in 419 (1028). He marched to Tus and furnished Arslan Jadhīb with necessary reinforcements to fight the enemy. Arslan was more successful this time and was able to inflict a crushing defeat on the Seljuks at Ribat-i-Farawah. Thousands of them were captured and put to the sword.³ Some of the survivors took refuge in Dihistan and the Balkhan mountains while others fled to Kirman, the ruler of which, Qawamu'd-Dawlah Abu'l-Fawaris b. Baha'u'd-Dawlah, received them kindly and promised them assistance but as he died in Dhu'l-Qa'da 419⁴ (December 1028), they moved on to Isfahan. 'AlaVd-Dawlah Abu Ja'far b. Kakawaih, the ruler of Isfahan, treated them with consideration as they offered to enlist in his army, but they did not enjoy his favour for long*. A messenger from Sultan Mahmud arrived at their heels with instructions for 'AlaVd-Dawlah to annihilate the Seljuks. 'AlaVd-Dawlah accordingly tried to entrap them by asking their leaders to a dinner, ostensibly to enrol them in the army. On their arrival, however, they got information of 'Ala'u'd-Dawlah's secret design from one of his Turkish slaves and began to leave hurriedly. 'AlaVd-Dawlah's men tried to intercept them but they fought their way out, defeated a

1 GardMizi p. 89. Rawandl, p. 93, incorrectly says that the Seljuks kept their peace till the death of Sultan Mahmud.

2 Gardlzi, p. 89.

3 *Ibid.* p. 90. Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 266, makes a passing reference to this battle but places it in A. H. 420.

4 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 259, 266.

detachment of Kurds which was sent after them and fled to Adharba'ijan and the Balkhan mountains.¹

But this did not end the troubles of the Sultan. From their mountain fastnesses the Seljuks continued to carry out raids on the adjoining provinces, so that the Sultan had again to send after them Arslan Jadhib, who chased them up and down the country for two years. In spite of his weakness and infirmity, the Sultan himself joined in the pursuit and followed them from Nishapur to Dihistan and Jurjan, till they were completely swept out of Khurasan,* This triumph was however temporary. Within a decade of the death of the Sultan, the Seljuks became the masters of Khurasan,

i Gardm, p. 90; and Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 266, 267, 324.

2 Baihaql, p. 71; and Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 267. Those of the Seljuks who had fled to the Balkhan mountain were permitted by Sultan Mas'ud to return to Khurasan.

CHAPTER VII

WARS IN IRAN, SISTAN AND ADJOINING LANDS

A. *Conquest of Sistan*

WALIYYU'D-DAWLAH ABU AHMAD KHALAF B. AHMAD, a descendant of Ya'qub the Saffarid and governor of Sistan, became independent about the middle of the fourth century A.H. at the break-up of the Samanid empire.¹ Khalaf was not on good terms with his neighbour Subuktigin, and had tried on various occasions to induce Ilak Khan to invade Ghazna.* In 388 (998) Khalaf sent his son Tahir to occupy the province of Fushanj which had been left undefended as Bughrajuq, the governor, had been called by Mahmud to help him in his struggle with Isma'il. When Mahmud ascended the throne, he supplied Bughrajuq with the necessary reinforcements to enable him to recover his province. Tahir was defeated and forced to flee, but Bughrajuq, being flushed with victory, drank heavily and, while in a state of intoxication, rode in pursuit of the enemy. Tahir, finding him helplessly drunk, turned back and put him to the sword.³

Mahmud now resolved to punish Khalaf, In the beginning of 390 (December 999) he marched to Sistan at the head of a large army. Khalaf retired to the fort of Ispahbud. Mahmud laid siege to it. Khalaf sued for peace and offered to pay an indemnity of 100,000 *dinars*. Mahmud accepted these terms and returned to Ghazna.⁴

1 For an account of the early Saffarids, see Appendix G.

2 'Utbi, p. 152.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 154-5. An-Nuwairi, f. 7 b, incorrectly places this event in A.H. 390.

4 'Utbi, pp. 155-6; and GardizI, p. 63.

A little later Khalaf quarrelled with his son Tahir, and, after an unsuccessful attempt to defeat him in battle, planned a stratagem to circumvent his ruin. He sent an affectionate message to him, beseeching him to come and take possession of the treasure, as he felt his end to be near. The unsuspecting Tahir came and, while Khalaf was holding him in his embrace, a hundred soldiers who were hidden in the rank growth of vegetation close by, fell upon him, bound him hand and foot and carried him a prisoner to the fort where he was put to death a few days afterwards.¹

This was too much even for the ferocious nobility of those times, and, in horror and disgust at the foul deed, Tahir b. Yazid, the commander, and other officers invited Mahmud to come and be their ruler.² Mahmud consequently marched to Sistan in Muharram 3933 (November 1002). Khalaf retired to an almost impregnable fort named Taq⁴ which had seven fortifications and was surrounded by a deep and wide ditch. Mahmud laid siege to the fort and ordered the ditch to be filled in. The besiegers then crossed over in the face of a shower of stones and missiles, and attacked the gates of the fort, which crashed down under the furious charge of the elephants. The assailants rushed in to occupy the outer fortifications. The defenders fought bravely and contested every inch of the ground, but when Khalaf saw Mahmud's elephants trampling his

1 *Tajdriby* iii, 385-6. 'Utbi, p. 159, however, says that Khalaf had abdicated in favour of Tahir but as Tahir became disobedient to him, he feigned illness and called upon Tahir to come and take charge of the treasure.

2 Sir W. Haig, p. 14, says that Khalaf had rebelled against Mahmud. This is not supported by any authority.

3 'Utbi, p. 160; and Gardlzl, p. 66. In *Guzida*, p. 396, the date is incorrectly given as 374 (984).

4 'Utbi calls this fort *Madinatu'l-'Adhra*, i.e. the Virgin Fort, probably because of its supposed impregnability.

men to death, he was so disconcerted that he offered submission, and surrendered the fort.¹

Khalaf was now brought a prisoner before Mahmud. He threw himself at his feet² and presented costly pearls and precious stones. Mahmud spared his life, allowed him to keep all his wealth and, at his own request, sent him to Juzjanan.³ The Sultan placed Sis tan in charge of the Hajib Qinji and returned to Ghazna.⁴

A few months after his departure, news was received of a formidable rising against his authority. The Sultan marched to Sistan in Dhu'l-Qa'da 393 (September 1003) at the head of 10,000 warriors and was accompanied by his brother Nasr, Altuntash and Abu 'Abdu'llah Muhammad_at-Ta'I. The rebels took refuge in the strong fort of Uk5 which the Sultan invested.

1 'Utbi, pp. 160-2.

2 It is mentioned in *Mujmal*, f. 264 b, and *Guzida*, p. 396, that, while imploring Mahmud for mercy, Khalaf addressed him as Sultan. This so pleased Mahmud that he spared his life. 'Utbi and Gardlzl, however, do not mention this. In *Sty as at Namah*, p. 44, and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 92, it is said that Mahmud was the first to be called Sultan, while the author of the *Tab. Nas.* p. 75, adds that he was the first ruler who received the title of Sultan from the Caliph, but cf. Barthold, p. 271.

3 Sir W. Haig, p. 14, incorrectly says that Khalaf was rewarded with the government of a district.

Khalaf lived at Juzjanan till 397 (1006-7) when it was found that he was in secret correspondence with Ilak Khan who was then at war with Sultan Mahmud. He was therefore removed to Gardiz where he died in Rajab 399 (March 1009). The Sultan restored all his private property to his son Abu Hafs.

In spite of his callousness, Khalaf was a man of versatile genius with a well-developed taste in literature and great love for the learned. Bakharzl, l. 80 b, mentions him among the poets. His court was one of the centres of learning to which were attracted the *literati* of the age. He is said to have spent 30,000 *dinars* on the compilation of a stupendous commentary on the *Qur'an* in 100 volumes. See 'Utbi, pp. 163-66; Jurbadhqanl, p. 253; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 123.

4 'Utbi, p. 168.

5 Gardlzl, p. 67; and Raverty, *Tab. Nas.* p. xlv. 'Utbi, and Yaqt, i, 210, call it Ark.

On Friday, 15 th Dhu'l-Hajja (15 th October, 1003), the rebels made a sortie on the besiegers and after an indecisive action retired to the fort. The Sultan ordered an escalade to be attempted under cover of darkness and captured the fortifications before the enemy were aware of it. The garrison were seized with panic and fled for their lives. Many were captured and thousands were put to the sword.

The Sultan now placed the province of Sistan in charge of his brother Nasr and returned to Ghazna.¹

B. Conquest of Ghur

The whole stretch of hilly country situated to the east and south-east of Herat and south of Gharshistan and Juzjanan, was called Ghur or Ghuristan.* The outlying parts of this region had submitted to Muslim conquerors but the interior had remained independent on account of its inaccessibility. 3 After some unsuccessful attempts, Subuktigin was able to extend his influence to eastern Ghur and was recognised as suzerain by Ibn Surl,⁴ ruler of Mandish.⁵ After the death of Subuktigin, Ibn Surl adopted a hostile attitude, occasionally withheld the stipulated tribute, waylaid the

1 'UtbI, pp. 168-70; and GardM, p. 67.

2 Le Strange, p. 416. According to Istakhrl, pp. 272, 281, only the inhabitants of the outlying parts had accepted Islam and the people of the interior were still heathens.

3 Gardizi, pp. 46-7, and BaihaqI, p. 134, say that about 369 (979-80) Amir Nuh b. Mansur, the Samanid, sent Abu Ja'far ZubaidI to conquer Ghur, but he was forced to retire after taking a few forts.

4 *Tab. Nds.* pp. 74, 320. 'UtbI calls him Ibn Surl, that is, son of Surl, but in *Rawdah* and some other histories he is called Muhammad b. Surl.

j *fab. Nos.* p. 318, and *infra*, p. 72, note 2. Mandish was the name of a fort. Sultin Muhammad was sent there as a prisoner after his deposition. See BaihaqI, p. 11.

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caravans and levied blackmail on the subjects of **Sultan Mahmud** in the adjacent provinces.¹

The governors of these provinces carried on a desultory warfare with Ibn Suri, but on their approach he always managed to take shelter behind his inaccessible hills. In 401² (ion) the Sultan personally set out for Ghur and sent Altuntash, governor of Herat, and Arslan Jadhib, governor of Tus, in command of the advance-guard. The news of this invasion spread rapidly and the people of Ghur began to pour out of their villages to defend their mountain home. Altuntash was defeated, but the Sultan soon came to his assistance and scattered the Ghuris in a series of well-contested actions. This cleared the way into Ghur, and the invaders marched on Ahangaran,³ the capital. Ibn Suri, despising the shelter of his fort, entrenched himself in inaccessible hills and ravines and opposed the Sultan with an army of 10,000 warriors. The battle raged fiercely till noon. All that valour and military skill could accomplish failed to dislodge the Ghuris from their advantageous position. The Sultan then had recourse to a ruse. He feigned flight, and the simple mountaineers rushed out of their entrenchments to pursue an apparently defeated enemy. When they reached the plain, the Sultan faced about and made a charge on their disorderly ranks. The Ghuris fled for their lives, leaving huge booty on the field of battle. Ibn Suri, with his son Shith and many important officers, fell prisoner into the hands of the conquerors.⁴

The Sultan now placed Mandish under Abu 'Ali, son

1 'Utbl, p. 243; Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 155; and *Tab. Nas.* p. 520.

2 Probably in June ion.

3 See Mustawfi, *Nuzhatu'l-qulub*, p. 154, for its locality. Raverty, *Tab. Nas.* p. 321, note, has confused it with Dih-i-Ahangaran which was the name of a suburb of Ghazna.

4 'Utbl, p. 244.

of Ibn Suri and sent Ibn Suri and Shith as prisoners to Ghazna. Ibn Suri, preferring death to a life of captivity, sucked poison which had been set beneath his signet ring and died on the way at Kidan.²

So far only eastern Ghur had been conquered. In 4053 (1015) the Sultan marched to Khwabin, which was most probably the name of the south-western district of Ghur,⁴ captured some forts and returned to Ghazna.⁵

A few years later, Sultan Mahmud sent his son Mas'ud, governor of Herat, to subjugate the north-western part of Ghur, known as Tab.⁶ Mas'ud left Herat on 10th Jumadī i, 411 (1st September, 1020) and in about six days reached the frontier of Ghur where he was joined by Abu'l-Hasan Khalaf? and

1 Abu 'Ali is said to have been friendly to Sultan Mahmud during the time of his father Ibn Suri. He was a good ruler and maintained loyal relations with Sultan Mahmud. When Ibn Suri committed suicide, Shith was sent back to him for custody. Abu 'Ali treated him well. Abu 'Ali was assassinated about 421 (1030) by his nephew 'Abbas, son of Shith. See *Tab. Nas.* pp. 329-30.

2 'Utbl, p. 244; and *Tab. Nas.* p. 321. Kidan was situated somewhere on the road between Bamiyan and Ghazna. I have been able to determine its position roughly by comparing *Tab. Nas.* pp. 342-3, 415 and 431-2 where Kidan is mentioned several times in different connections. The position of Kidan on the north-western side of Ghur gives an idea of the position of Mandlsh.

3 Probably in May 1015.

4 According to Baihaql, p. 127, Khwabin was situated to the north of Bust and Zamīn Dawar, and Abu'l-Hasan Khalaf who accompanied Prince Mas'ud on his expedition against Ghur in 411 (1020), was the ruler of some part of Ghur. See *infra*, p. 73, note 1.

5 Baihaql, p. 127. This expedition is not given by any other authority.

6 *Ibid.* p. 129. I have not been able to locate this place, as the description of this region in the Muslim geographers is very meagre. It was however near Gharshistan (*ibid.* p. 133), which fixes its position roughly.

7 Baihaql, p. 795, says that the territories of Abu'l-Hasan lay between Herat and Ghazna. He was probably ruler of Khwabin.

Shirwan,¹ chieftains of the south-western and north-eastern parts of Ghur respectively. Thus strengthened, Mas'ud marched along the right bank of the Hari-rud, captured the hill-forts of Bartar and Razan² and advanced into the interior of Tab. Mas'ud now sent an ambassador to the ruler of Tab demanding submission, but he returned an insolent reply. He therefore continued his march on Tab, captured many strong forts that offered resistance and appeared before the capital. This frightened the ruler into submission, and he promised to surrender all the forts which he had captured on the side of Gharshistan. 3

Mas'ud now proceeded against another fort called Tur,⁴ captured it after a week's hard fighting, placed it in charge of his officers and returned to Herat. On his way back, at Marabad,⁵ he received the tribute, consisting chiefly of arms,⁶ which the rulers of Ghur had sent according to the terms of their submission. The whole of Ghur, possibly with the exception of the inaccessible interior, was thus brought under the sway of the Sultan. 7

1 BaihaqI, p. 128, says that the territories of Shlrwan adjoined Gharshistan.

2 BaihaqI, p. 129 and 'Unsurl, p. 82. No geographer mentions the names of these places, probably because they were not situated on any of the important routes.

3 BaihaqI, pp. 128-3 3. This expedition is not mentioned by any other authority. In the *Ency. of Islam*, ii, 141, this expedition is wrongly stated to have been undertaken against Gharshistan in the year 401 (1010-11).

4 BaihaqI, p. 133. Tur is perhaps the same place as Gudhar or Kudar which is mentioned by 'Unsurl, p. 82. It is not mentioned by any geographer.

j BaihaqI, p. 134, says that Marabad was situated about 10 farsakh or nearly 35 miles from Herat. See Le Strange, p. 410.

6 Ghur was famous for its arms in those times.

7 BaihaqI, pp. 133-4.

C. Sultan Mahmud *and the Ruler* Qusdar

The kingdom of Qusdar, corresponding roughly to the north-eastern half of modern Baluchistan, was a dependency of Ghazna. In 401 (1010-11) the ruler of Qusdar adopted a hostile attitude at the instigation of Ilak Khan¹ and withheld the annual tribute. The Sultan marched against him in Jumadi i 402² (December ion) and laid siege to Qusdar. The ruler offered submission and, in addition to the annual tribute, promised to deliver fifteen elephants and to pay an indemnity of 15,000,000 *dirhems*.³ The Sultan accepted these terms, allowed him to retain his kingdom as a feudatory chieftain and returned to Ghazna.⁴

D. *Conquest of the Valleys of the Rivers*
Nur and Qirat

It was reported to Sultan Mahmud that the people of "the pleasant valleys"* of the rivers Nur and Qirat⁶

1 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 159.

2 *Ibid*, The date of this expedition is not mentioned in the printed editions of 'Utbi, but it is given in al-Manlnl, ii, 132, and some manuscripts of 'Utbi.

3 'Utbi, pp. 250-1, but the amount seems to be greatly exaggerated.

4 *Ibid*, and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 159. This expedition is omitted by Gardlzl.

5 Gardlzl, p. 78, says Cw! ojL* L ^ U* ^r£ which Raverty, *Notes*, p. 135, has incorrectly translated "Qirat was a place of sanctity."

6 These were the names of two rivers in modern Kafiristan to the north of Lamaghan. See al-BImnl, i, 259; Raverty, *Notes*, pp. 108, 135; and Map of the Sulaiman Mountains on the Afghan Frontier of India, in *PRGS*. January 1879. Raverty in *Tab. Nds*. p. xlv, has wrongly made these rivers fall into the Kabul river at Daruntha which is much lower down. Firishta, p. 31, wrongly calls these valleys, "Nardln and Qirat", and has confused this expedition with the one against "Nardln" or Nandana. Cunningham, *Anriettt Geography*, pp. 338-44, has incorrecdy identi-

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worshipped the lion.¹ He therefore resolved to conquer these valleys and introduce Islam among their people. In the beginning of 411² (May-June 1020) he marched thither and ordered artisans such as stone-hewers, diggers, carpenters and blacksmiths to make a road for the army across the unknown and difficult country. The ruler of the Qirat valley offered submission and embraced Islam with a large number of his followers. The Sultan treated him with due respect and confirmed him in the government of his kingdom as a feudatory ruler.³

The people of the Nur valley, on the contrary, adopted a defiant attitude and the Sultan despatched his chamberlain 'All b. Il-Arslan al-QariM against them. 'All reduced them to obedience and left a garrison there under 'Ali b. Qadr-i-Rajuq,⁵ to keep the country in hand.

The Sultan now appointed teachers to instruct the converts in the rudiments of Islam and returned to Ghazna.⁶

fied "Nur" with Narayanpur in Alwar State, and "Qlrat" with Vairat or Matsya which was the name of an ancient kingdom and of a town between Delhi and Jaipur.

1 GardizI, p. 78. From Ibn Hawqal and other geographers, it appears that Buddhism was the prevailing religion in these regions. The worship of "the Lion" refers most probably to the Sakiya Sinha (Lion), the Buddha.

2 *Ibid.* Firishta, p. 31, wrongly mentions it after A. H. 412.

3 GardizI, p. 78.

4 *Ibid.* On the death of Sultan Mahmud, this 'All raised Prince Muhammad to the throne. See Baihaqi, p. 12. Firishta, p. 31, calls him 'All b. Arslan Jadhīb.

5 GardizI, p. 78. Firishta, p. 31, calls him 'All b. Qadr-i-Saljuql.

6 GardizI, pp. 78-9.

E. *Expedition against the Afghans*

The Afghans,¹ inhabiting the mountainous region between Ghazna and the Indus, used to carry out plundering raids on the frontier districts of Sultan Mahmud and blackmail the caravans as they passed between Khurasan and India.² In 409 (1019) they way-laid his troops as they were returning in detachments over the hill-passes from Kanauj. The Sultan therefore marched against them about the end of the same year, shortly after his return from Kanauj,³

While his standard was still covered with the dust of the way,
like the wild rose,
And his sword, with the fresh blood on it, was still like the
pomegranate blossom.⁴

In order to take them unawares, the Sultan gave out that he was going in a different direction but he turned round, surrounded them in their mountain haunts and did terrible execution among them, so that very few are said to have escaped except women and children.⁵

The Sultan then returned to Ghazna.⁶

1 Col. Malleeson, *History of Afghanistan*, p. 66, has confused this expedition with the one against Ghur. He calls the people against whom this expedition was undertaken, "Ghilzais, inhabitants of Ghor". They were neither "Ghilzais" nor inhabitants of "Ghor" but Afghans, as stated by 'Utbi, p. 317. See also al-Biruni, i, 208, and *Tab. Nas.* p. 74, note 2.

2 Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 218; *Gwgdā*, p. 399; and *Chahdr Maqala*, p. 18.

3 'Utbi, p. 317; and Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 218. Probably in Dhu'l-Hajja 409 (April 1019).

4 Farrukhi, f. 2 a, in a *qasida* regarding an expedition which was undertaken shortly after the return from Kanauj.

5 'Utbi, p. 317; and Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 218.

6 'Utbi, p. 317. Faslhi, f. 324 a, gives another expedition against the Afghans in the year 414 (1023-4), but it is not mentioned by any other writer.

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F. *Relations of Sultan Mahmud with the Ziyarids*

Shamsu'l-Ma'ali Abu'l-Hasan Qabus b. Washmgir b. Ziyar,¹ ruler of Jurjan and Tabaristan, who succeeded his brother Bihistun in Rajab 367 (February 978), was defeated by Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawlah b. Ruloiu'd-Dawlah the Buwaihīd, at Astarabad in Jumadi i 371 (November 981) and forced to take refuge with Amir Nuh b. Mansur the Samanid.* The Amir tried many times but was not successful in reinstating him in his kingdom. In 387 (997) Subuktigīn, who had promised to help him to recover his ancestral kingdom and even asked Ilak Khan to supply him with reinforcements for this purpose, died before his plans could mature.³ Mahmud now promised to accomplish the wish of his father, but he wanted Qabus to pay the cost of the expedition within a few months of his being reinstalled in his kingdom. When Qabus asked for longer time Mahmud refused to grant it, as he himself was

1 Mardawlj b. Ziyar, the founder of this dynasty, was a lieutenant of Asfar b. Shirawaih who had captured Raiy from Makan b. Kaki about 315 (927-8). Mardawlj put Asfar to death in 316 (928-9) and became master of Qaswīn and Raiy, and shortly after that took Tabaristan and Jurjan from Makan and extended his sway to Isfahan, but before his death in 323 (934-5) the provinces of Isfahan and Hamadan had become independent under 'Ali b. Buwaih. Mardawlj was succeeded by his brother Washmgir who recognised the Samanids as his overlords. On his death in Dhu'l-Hajja 356 (November 967) his son Bihistun came to the throne. Bihistun died in Rajab 367 (February 978) and was succeeded by his brother Qaous. In 369 (979-80) Qabus offended Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawlah and 'Adudu'd-Dawlah by giving shelter to their brother Fakhru'd-Dawlah. Consequently Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawlah marched against him, defeated him at Astarabad in Jumadi i 371 (November 981) and forced him to take refuge in Khurasan. For further details regarding their early history, see scattered notices in *Tajarib*, vols. i and ii; ^cUtbi, pp. 35~9, 170-4, ²74-6; Ibn Isfandiyar, pp. 225-36; and *Guzida*, p. 414.

2 *Tajarib*, iii, 15; and 'Utbi, p. 3J.

3 'Utbi, p. 171.

making preparations for a struggle for the throne with his brother. Qabus was offended, and, for the rest of his life, he cherished hatred against Mahmud.¹

About this time, however, taking advantage of the disturbance caused by the death of Fakhru'd-Dawlah, Qabus occupied Jurjan in Sha'ban 388² (August 998). He then gradually extended his sway over Tabaristan and Jibal. In 402 (1011-2) he was deposed for cruelty by his army, and his son Minudjihr was raised to the throne.³

Sultan Mahmud supported the claim of Dara,⁴ another son of Qabus, who had quarrelled with his father and taken refuge at Ghazna, and sent an army under Arslan Jadhib to place him on the throne, but Minuchihr disarmed the hostility of the Sultan by recognising him as his overlord and promising to pay an annual tribute of 50,000 *dinars*. Shortly after this, Sultan Mahmud gave one of his daughters to him in marriage.⁵

Minuchihr remained loyal to the Sultan and, like other feudatory princes, occasionally sent troops to accompany him on his expeditions.⁶ In the year 420 (1029) when Sultan Mahmud went to Jurjan to await the issue of events at Raiy,⁷ Minuchihr welcomed him in his kingdom and made him a present of 40,000 *dinars*. Shortly after this, news arrived that Majdu'd-Dawlah had been taken prisoner, and the Sultan left Jurjan and marched to Raiy. The fall of Raiy filled

1 *Utbi, pp. 171-2.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 172-4.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 274-7; Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, p. 167; and Ibn Isfandiyar, pp. 231-3. Qabus was put to death in 403 (1012-3), that is, one year after his deposition. *Mujmal*, f. 261 b, and Rabino, *Mazandaran and Astarabad*, p. 141, note 2, incorrectly place the death of Qabus in 409 (1018-19) and 424 (1033) respectively.

4 For an account of Dara, see 'Utbi, pp. 282-4, and scattered notices.

5 Baihaqi, pp. 245-6; and 'Utbi, pp. 278-80, 283.

6 *Utbi, p. 278.

7 See *infra*, p. 82.

J[^]uchihr with apprehension that the Sultan might next turn his arms against his kingdom. He therefore assumed a hostile attitude, closed the road to Ghazna which passed through his territory, destroyed all the bridges and laid the surrounding country waste. The Sultan became furious when he learnt this and resolved to teach Minuchihr a lesson before returning to Ghazna. In spite of the difficulty of the way and his growing infirmity, he made straight for Jurjan. This unexpected display of energy so cowed Minuchihr that he made profuse apologies for his conduct and secured pardon by paying a fine of 500,000 *dinars*.¹ The Sultan then returned to Ghazna.

Minuchihr died a few months later, about the end of 420² (1029).

G. Sultan Mahmud *and the Rulers* Of Mukran

The kingdom of Mukran which was originally a dependency of the Buwaihids,³ comprised the strip of sea-coast from the Gulf of 'Uman to Sind and a part of Kirman and Baluchistan. When the power of the Buwaihids declined, Ma'dan, ruler of Mukran,⁴ trans-

1 Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 262. Farrukhl, f. 37 b, seems to make a vague reference to this.

2 Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 278. In Ibn Isfandiyar, p. 235, and *Habibu's-Siyar*, vol. ii, pt iv, p. 59, it is incorrectly given as 424 (1033). Ibn Khaldun, iv, 426, wrongly says that Minuchihr died in 426 (1035), and that his son and successor did homage to Sultan Mahmud who had died in 421 (1030).

The history of the later Ziyarids is very confused. Baihaql, Ibn Isfandiyar, Ibnu'l-Athlir, an-Nuwairi, Khwand-Amir and Zahdru'd-Din contain scattered references to them. Sir E. Denison Ross (*Asia Major* > ii, 209-13) has tried to throw some light on their history. H. L. Rabino, *Mazandaran and Astarabdd*, p. 141, has also given a brief note on the House of Ziyar.

3 *Tajarib*, ii, 299.

4 The capital of Mukran was named KIz, near the modern town of Turbat, see Le Strange, p. 333.

ferred his allegiance to Subuktigin and, after his death, to his son Mahmud.¹ In 416 (1025-26), during the absence of the Sultan on his expedition to Somnath, Ma'dan died leaving two sons named 'Isa and Abu'l-Mu'askar, who struggled for the succession. Abu'l-Mu'askar was defeated and forced to take refuge in Sistan.²

When Sultan Mahmud returned from Somnath in 417 (1026), Abu'l-Mu'askar went to Ghazna and was received into favour. 'Isa now becoming apprehensive that the Sultan might help Abu'l-Mu'askar to the throne, recognised Sultan Mahmud as his overlord and sent a deputation of the notables of Mukran to explain the cause of his quarrel with his brother Abu'l-Mu'askar. This disarmed the hostility of the Sultan, who confirmed 'Isa in the government of Mukran and required him to provide for the maintenance of his brother.³

In 420 (1029), finding the Sultan harassed by the Seljuks, 'Isa adopted a hostile attitude and declared himself independent. When Sultan Mahmud got news of this, he resolved to place Abu'l-Mu'askar on the throne, but he died before this design could be put into practice.⁴

H. *Conquest of Raiy, Hamadan and Isfahan*

Fakhru'd-Dawlah, the Buwaihid ruler of Raiy, died in 387 (997) and was succeeded by his son Majdu'd-Dawlah, who was only nine years of age.⁵ Majdu'd-

1 Baihaqi, p. 292.

2 *Ibid.* p. 291.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 291-5.

4 *Ibid.* Sultan Mas'ud, shortly after his accession to the throne, fulfilled the wish of his father and sent a large army to Mukran. 'Isa was defeated and put to death and Abu'l-Mu'askar was raised to the throne. See Baihaqi, pp. 71-2, 293-5; Gardizi, p. 97; and Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 281.

5 For a brief account of the Buwaihids, see Appendix H.

6 **Majdu'd-Dawlah** was born in Rabi' ii 379 (July 989) according to *Mujmal*, f. 257 b, and Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 48; **but** in

Dawlah's mother Sayyida who was a sister of Ispahbud Rustam b. Marzuban, ruler of Shahrbar. became the 'regent'.¹ When Majdu'd-Dawlah grew up to manhood, he tried to throw off his mother's tutelage but Sayyida refused to relinquish power and, in the struggle that followed, Majdu'd-Dawlah was defeated and taken prisoner in 397* (1006-7). After a short time, he was released on consenting to remain in the background and allowing his mother to act as ruler. 3 Majdu'd-Dawlah henceforth spent his time in the pursuit of knowledge and the pleasures of the harem,⁴ so much so that when, on the death of Sayyida in 419 (1028), the government of the country devolved upon him, he found himself unequal to the heavy responsibilities. His administrative capacity, if he ever possessed any, had been blunted during his long retirement and his devotion to literary pursuits had so softened his disposition that the army which was accustomed to stern discipline, grew restless under his mild control. The Dailamite troops terrorised the inhabitants of Raiy and even threatened the life of Majdu'd-Dawlah,⁵ who in despair implored the assistance of Sultan Mahmud.⁶

Mahmud had been eagerly waiting for such an opportunity⁷ and he grasped it with alacrity. He im-

Tajdriby iii, 297, and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 93, it is stated that Majdu'd-Dawlah was four years of age at the time of his accession which is incorrect. Cf. also 'Utbl, pp. 61 and 284.

1 'Utbl, p. 173; and JurbadhqanJ, p. 261, note.

2 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 144.

3 See Appendix H,

4 Majdu'd-Dawlah had fifty wives who had borne him thirty children. See Ibn Jawzl, f. 177 b; *Mujmal*, f 262 b; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 262.

5 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 261; *Guzida*, p. 429. It is further stated in *Mujmaly* f. 261 a, that the army even plundered the treasury of Majdu'd-Dawlah.

6 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 261; *Guzida*, p. 429; but Abu'l-Fida, i, 165, says that the army of Majdu'd-Dawlah had sent the invitation to Sultan Mahmud.

7 BaihaqI, p. 319, further adds that the Sultan had intentionally avoided attacking Raiy during the lifetime of Sayyida.

mediately despatched a force of 8000 horse under the command of the Hajib 'Ali with instructions to take Majdu'd-Dawlah prisoner,¹ and, in spite of his declining health, he himself marched to Jurjan, probably to prevent any help coming to Majdu'd-Dawlah from the Seljuks.² 'Ali reached Raiy in Rabi' ii 4203 (May 1029). Majdu'd-Dawlah played himself into the hands of the enemy. He came out of the town with a small guard of 100 soldiers to welcome 'Ali but when he dismounted from his horse as a mark of respect to hear the Sultan's message, he was placed under surveillance in the Ghaznawid camp. 'Ali then promptly despatched his officers to occupy the gates of Raiy* and sent news of this success to Sultan Mahmud, who hurried from Jurjan and entered the town of Raiy on Monday, 9th Jumadi i, 420 (26th May, 1029) without any opposition.⁵ Immense booty fell into his hands consisting, among other things, of 1,000,000 *dinars*, jewels of half that value, 6000 dresses and innumerable vessels of gold and silver.⁶

After this, Majdu'd-Dawlah was brought into the presence of the Sultan and an interesting dialogue took place between them. "Have you read the *Shdhndmah* and the *Ta'rikhu'f-Tabari*?" asked the Sultan. "Yes", answered Majdu'd-Dawlah. "But your conduct was not like one who had read them. And do you play chess?" asked the imperious catechiser. "Yes", replied the other. "Did you ever see one king approach the other

1 Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 261.

2 *Ibid.* p. 267; and BaihaqI, pp. 152, 258.

3 Ibnu'I-Athlir, ix, 261.

4 Gardlzl, p. 91.

5 *Mujmaly* t. 262 a; and Gardlzl, p. 91. Ibn Jawzl, f. 177 b, says Monday, 16th Jumadi i (2nd June). Lord Curzon, *Persia*, i, 348, wrongly gives A.D. 1027 as the date of the conquest of Raiy.

6 Gardlzl, p. 91; Ibn Jawzl, f. 177 b; *Mujma*/, f. 262 b; and Ibnu'I-Athlir, ix, 261.

king in a game of chess?" continued the Sultan. "No", was the brief reply of the fallen monarch. "What induced you then", was the swift rejoinder of Sultan Mahmud, "to call to your kingdom one who is superior to you in power?" The unfortunate prince hung his head in confusion.¹ Majdu'd-Dawlah and his son Abu Dulaf were sent as prisoners to India.²

The Sultan now began to persecute the Carmathians, the Batinis and the Mu'tazilites, and thousands of them were gibbeted, stoned to death or carried in chains to Khurasan to languish in captivity. 3 Their houses were searched and all books dealing with their heretical beliefs were cast into the flames, while those dealing with topics more acceptable to the Sultan's puritan views were transported to *Ghazn&J*

The Sultan stayed at Raiy for some time and appointed officers to carry on the administration of the country. The rulers of the neighbouring states came to offer allegiance, with the exception of Ibrahim b. Marzuban of Dailam, generally known as "Salar", ruler of Zanjan, Abhar, Sarjahan and Shahrazur.⁵ To punish the Salar for his hostility, the Sultan sent a large army against him under Marzuban b. Hasan who was an old rival of the Salar and had taken refuge with the Sultan. Marzuban made an alliance with some of the Dailamite chieftains, advanced against the Salar and

1 Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 262.

2 Gardlzi, pp. 91, 97. It is stated in *Guzida* p. 429, and Fasihl, f. 335 a, that they were put to death but this is incorrect. According to Gardlzi, pp. 91, 97, they were brought from India to Ghazna by the order of Sultan Mas'ud and were treated with honour. Raverty, *Tab. Nos.* p. 87, note, has followed the error of *Guzida* and Fasihl.

3 Gardlzi, p. 91; Farrukhl, f. 39 a; *Mujmal*, f. 262 b; and Ibnu'l-Athlir, IX, 262.

4 Ibn Jawzi, f. 178a; Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 262; and *Mujmal*, f. 262 b. Fifty camel-loads of books are said to have been burnt under the trees on which the Carmathians had been gibbeted. See also Yaqut, *Irsbad*, ii, 315; and *infra*, p. 160.

5 For the position of these localities, see Le Strange, p. 221.

took Qa^win, but when the Sultan returned to Ghazna, the Salar came out of his retreat, defeated Marzuban and re-occupied Qazwln.¹

The Sultan placed the newly conquered province in charge of Mas'ud and directed him to conquer the remaining provinces still under the Buwaihids.² Mas'ud first turned his attention to the Salar and, accompanied by Marzuban, laid siege to the strong fort of Sarjahan where he had taken refuge. Having failed to reduce it by force of arms, Mas'ud had recourse to an artifice. By promises of rich rewards, he won over some officers of the Salar, who guided a detachment of the besiegers to the vulnerable point of the fort. Finding himself thus betrayed, the Salar came out of the fort and engaged the besiegers in battle on ist Ramadan, 420 (13th September, 1029) but he was defeated and taken prisoner. His son offered submission and promised to pay tribute.³

Mas'ud now returned to Raiy and proceeded to complete the conquest of Hamadan and Isfahan. He attacked Hamadan first, put the deputy of 'Ala Vd-Dawlah b. Kakawaih* to flight and occupied the province. After this he advanced to Isfahan. 'Ala Vd-Dawlah fled to Tustar and Mas'ud took the town in the beginning of the year 4215 (January 1030). 'Ala Vd-Dawlah then prevailed on the Caliph, through his kins-

1 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 262.

2 Baihaqi, p. 359; *Tab. Nas.* p. 87. Baihaqi, p. 258, and Farrukhl, t. 125 a, however, say that the Sultan left Mas'ud at Raiy with an ill-equipped army numbering 2000.

3 Baihaal, p. 259; and Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 263.

A His full name was Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Dushmanziyar and he was commonly known as Ibn-i-Kakawaih. Abu 'All b. Slna, the famous philosopher, lived at his court. See Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 146, 279; and al-Qiftl, *Tarikhu'l-Hukama*, pp. 419-26.

5 Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f 218 b; Baihaqi, p. 259; and Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 279. Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii, 96, erroneously attributes the conquest of Isfahan to Sultan Mahmud in person, and places it before his return to Ghazna in 420 (1029).

man Jalalu'd-Dawlah who was then in power at Baghdad, to ask Mas'ud to permit him to remain as his deputy at Isfahan.¹ While these negotiations were in progress, Mas'ud received on 20th Jumadi i, 421 (26th May, 1030) the news of the death of his father. Anticipating a struggle for the throne with his brother,² he regarded the Caliph's recommendation as opportune and allowed 'Ala'u'd-Dawlah to keep the government of Isfahan on condition that he paid an annual tribute of 20,000 *dinars*.*

Mas'ud then returned to Raiy, placed it in charge of Hasan-i-Sulaimani⁴ and marched to Nishapur to claim the throne of his father.

1 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 279; and BaihaqI, pp. 14-15.

2 BaihaqI, p. 11.

3 *Ibid*, pp. 14-16.

4 *Ibid*. pp. 19-25.

CHAPTER VIII

WARS IN INDIA

A. *Relations with the Rajas of the Hindushahiyya Dynasty of Waihand*

INDIA had early attracted the attention of Alptigin and his successors but the details of their wars with the Rajas of the Hindushahiyya Dynasty of Waihand¹ are available only from the accession of Subuktigin who fought numerous battles with Raja Jaipal and extended the frontier of his kingdom, on the side of India, to Lamaghan.² Mahmud continued the forward policy of his father and, when he was recognised as an independent sovereign by the Caliph of Baghdad in 389 (999), he resolved to lead an expedition to India every year.³

I. CAPTURE OF SOME FRONTIER FORTS

In pursuance of this resolution, Mahmud marched towards India about the close of the year 390⁴ (September 1000), took "many forts", probably in the vicinity of Lamaghan, and returned to Ghazna.⁵

1 For an account of the Hindushahiyya Dynasty, see Appendix I. Waihand is modern Hund. It is called Udabhandu by Kalhana. See Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, pp. 53-4; and Kalhana, *il*, 336-8. Raverty, *Tab. Nas.* p. 79, note, has wrongly identified it with Bhatinda.

2 See *supra*, pp. 29-30.

3 'UtbI, p. 134, simply says, "He made it obligatory on himself to undertake every year an expedition to Hind." Elliot's translation of this passage (E. and D. ii, 24) is misleading as it implies that the Sultan vowed to undertake a holy war to Hind every year and gives to his expeditions a touch of religious fanaticism.

4 The date is inferred from GardizI, p. 63.

5 GardizI is the only contemporary authority to mention this expedition. Firishta and Nizamu'd-Din, the only two among later writers to give this expedition, have most probably taken it from GardizI, but both have made mistakes in copying it. Sir W. Haig, p. 13, erroneously regards this expedition as apocryphal.

2. BATTLE OF PESHAWAR AND WAIHAND

The following year Mahmud made greater preparations for an attack on Jaipal, Raja of Waihand.¹ He marched from Ghazna in Shawwal 391² (September 1001), at the head of 15,000 cavalry and a large number of volunteers and encamped near Peshawar. Jaipal advanced to meet him with an army numbering 12,000 horse, 30,000 foot and 300 war-elephants and took up his position in front of Mahmud's camp. The two armies met on Thursday, 8th Muharram, 3923 (27th November, 1001) and the conflict raged fiercely till noon when the Hindus, unable to withstand the repeated cavalry charges of the Muslims, broke and fled leaving 5000 dead on the field of battle.⁴

The spoils captured satisfied the most fantastic expectations of the conquerors. Fifteen necklaces of pearls, one of which was valued at 80,000 *dinars* and other booty "beyond all bounds of calculation" fell into their hands. Jaipal himself with fifteen of his sons and grandsons was taken prisoner and sent to a place named Mirand.⁶ Peace was concluded between them by the terms of which Jaipal promised to pay 250,000 *dinars* as ransom and to deliver 50 elephants.⁷ Jaipal was allowed to return to his kingdom, but one son and

1 It is stated in *Majma'u'l-Ansab*, f. 231 b, that on the death of Subuktigin, Jaipal tried to take back what Subuktigin had conquered of his kingdom and attacked Mahmud who marched from Ghazna to repel the invasion.

2 Firishta, p. 24.

3 'Utbi, p. 158; and Gardizl, p. 66.

4 Gardizl, p. 66, and 'Utbi, p. 157.

5 Gardizl, p. 66.

6 'Unsurl (*Asiatic Society of Bengal MS*). In *Tab. Nds.* p. 82 it is called Man-Yazid. See also my article in *JRAS.* July 1927, pp. 493-5.

7 'Utbi, p. 158; and *Majma'u'l-Ansdb*, f. 231 b. It is implied from the account given in the latter work that "the sale of Jaipal", to which 'Unsurl (*Joe. cit.*) makes a reference, meant only the fixing of Jaipal's ransom.

one grandson of his were detained as hostages till the conditions should be fulfilled.¹

After this victory, Mahmud advanced to Waihand, the capital of the Hindushahiyya Dynasty, and spent the remaining winter months in reducing the adjoining territories.² He returned to Ghazna in the beginning of spring 3 (April 1002).

Jaipal did not long survive this humiliation, and, shortly after his return to the Punjab, he burnt himself to death probably in the beginning of ³⁹³⁴ (1002-3). He was succeeded by his son Anandpal.⁵

3. BATTLE ON THE INDUS

In spring 396 (March-April 1006), Sultan Mahmud marched to Multan⁶ but as it was not safe to cross the river Indus lower down, he resolved to cross it near Peshawar and asked Anandpal to let him pass through his territories.⁷ Anandpal refused to do so and taking up the cause of Da'ud, the ruler of Multan, advanced towards Peshawar to prevent the passage of the river. The Sultan inflicted a crushing defeat on him and pursued him as far as the river Chinab⁸ where Anandpal

1 'Utbi, p. 158.

2 «Utbi, p. 159, and Gardlzl, p. 56, distinctly mention that the Sultan's march to Waihand was undertaken in continuation with the preceding expedition, but Reynolds, p. 282, incorrectly makes it a distinct expedition.

3 'Utbi, p. 159; Gardizi, p. 56. The capital of the Hindushahiyya kingdom was now probably shifted to Nandana. According to Guzida, p. 396, Mahmud was called *Ghazi* after this victory.

4 'Utbi, p. 159. See also Appendix I.

5 Anandpal was at that time governor of Lahore. For details, see JRAS. July 1927, pp. 493-5 and Appendix I.

6 'Utbi, p. 211. See also *infra*, p. 97.

7 'Utbi, p. 211. It is implied from this fact that the Sultan and Anandpal were at peace, for otherwise this request would have been meaningless. Gardlzl, p. 67, says that the reason for the request was that the Sultan wanted to take Da'ud unawares.

8 Fkishta, p. 15.

eluded the Sultan by escaping into the Kashmir hills.¹ The Sultan relinquished the pursuit and resumed his march to Multan.*

4. BATTLE OF WAIHAND AND CAPTURE OF NAGARKOT

Anandpal was now filled with serious apprehension at the growing power of the Sultan whose advance he and his father had failed to check single-handed. He therefore appealed to the neighbouring rajas for help in stemming the tide of Muslim conquest from the north-west. The rajas readily responded to his appeal and despatched their contingents to swell the army which Anandpal had mustered from all parts of his kingdom.³ This huge host was placed under the command of Brahmanpal,⁴ son of Anandpal, and was ordered to advance to Peshawar.

Sultan Mahmud received news of this attack in mid-winter but disregarding the severity of the weather, he left Ghazna on 29th Rabi' ii, 3995 (31st December, 1008), crossed the river Indus and met the invaders in the plain opposite Waihand. The Hindus fought with great courage and towards the evening the success of the Muslims seemed to be in jeopardy, but the Sultan retrieved the situation by sending his personal guards to sweep round and deliver an attack

1 'Utbi, p. 212; and Gardlzl, p. 67.

2 'Unsurl (Asiatic Society of Bengal MS) says that the Sultan captured 200 forts on his way to Multan, and crossed all the Punjab rivers except Biyas and Sutlej.

3 Firishta is the only author to mention the formation of the league. He says that the Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer joined this league, but probably Delhi was not founded at that time. Major Raverty's oral communication to Sir V. A. Smith (*Early History of India*, p. 384), fixing the date of the foundation of Delhi at A.D. 993-3 on the authority of Gardlzl, is unwarranted, as Delhi is not mentioned even *DJ* name in GardM's *Zaimtl-Akbbar*.

4 'Utbi, p. 224.

5 *Ibid.*; Gardlzl, p. 69.

on the enemy's rear.¹ In effecting a partial change of front to meet the attack, the Hindu ranks fell into confusion and were utterly defeated. Valuable spoils including 30 elephants fell into the hands of the conquerors.²

The Sultan now took up the pursuit of the fugitives and followed them to the fort of Nagarkot³ which was situated near Kangra on the spur of a hill and was encircled by the river Banganga.⁴ The temple in this fort was held in great veneration and was famous for the wealth that had accumulated in its vaults. The Sultan invested the fort, which fell after three days of heroic defence.⁵ Spoils "beyond the limit of calculation" were captured by the conquerors, and consisted of 70,000,000 *dirhems* of coined money, 70,000 *manns* of gold and silver ingot and costly apparel, besides a folding house made of silver measuring 30 yards by 15 yards, a canopy of linen measuring 40 yards by 20 yards which was reared on poles of gold and silver,⁶ and a richly decorated throne reputed to be that of Raja Bhim of the Pandava Dynasty.⁷ The Sultan placed the fort in charge of his officers and returned to Ghazna about the end of the year 399^s (June 1009).

1 'Utbl, p. 224. Firishta, p. 26, makes the two armies lie facing each other for 40 days.

2 'Utbl, p. 224; GardizI, p. 69. It is stated in E. and D. ii, 33, note, that this expedition has been left out by all chroniclers except 'Utbl. This is perhaps due to an oversight, as it is mentioned in Ibnu'l-Athir, *Rawdah*, *Habibu's-Siyar* and elsewhere. Firishta simply shifts the scene of battle from Waihand to Peshawar.

3 'Utbl, p. 224. GardizI, p. 70, further adds that the fort was reputed to have been built in the time of Raja Bhim of the Pandava Dynasty.

4 'Utbl, p. 224; and 'Unsurl, p. 84.

5 GardizI, p. 70.

6 'Utbl, p. 226.

7 'Unsurl, p. 85.

8 'Utbl, p. 226. According to GardizI, p. 70, the Sultan ordered these spoils to be displayed in public in the beginning of 400 (August-September 1009).

After this victory, the Sultan probably annexed the whole strip of territory from the river Indus to Nagarkot but, after the departure of the Sultan, Anandpal managed to re-establish his power in the Salt Range with his headquarters at Nandana. Anandpal died some time after this and was succeeded by his son Trilochanpal.¹

5. CAPTURE OF NANDANA (NARDIN)

The Sultan now resolved to crush the power of Trilochanpal in the Salt Range. He started from Ghazna about the end of autumn 404² (November 1013) but he was forced to return on account of a heavy fall of snow. He started again in the following spring³ (March 1014) and marched to Nandana** which, situated on the northern spur of the Salt Range, commanded the main route into the Ganges Doab. Having learned of the Sultan's intention, Trilochanpal entrusted the defence of the fort to his son Bhimpal the Fearless, 5 and set out for "the Kashmir Pass"⁶ to implore the assistance of Sangramaraja of Kashmir.⁷ Bhimpal entrenched himself in a strong position between two hills at the junction of which the fort was situated, and closed the entrance to the pass by a strong line of elephants. The Sultan advanced to the assault and, after several days of futile fighting, was at last able to draw out a detachment of Bhimpal into the plain and put it to the rout.⁸

1 Al-BirunI, ii, 13. Sir W. Haig, p. 17, wrongly calls him Jaipal II

2 The Sultan probably marched by way of Kabul, see Baihaqi, p. 841.

3 'Utbl, p. 260.

4 It is Nardin of 'Utbl. Gardizi and Baihaqi call it Nandunah. It is situated in Lat. 32° 43' N., Long. 73° 17' E., at the junction of two spurs of the Salt Range. See *Punjab Dist. Gaz.* xxvii, A, 1904, pp. 46-7; *I.G.L* xviii, 349; and *Tab. Nas.* pp. 334-9, note.

5 He is called "Nidar" meaning Fearless by Utbl.

6 GardM, p. 72, by which is probably meant the lower part of the Loharin valley.

7 Kalhana, Bk vii, 11. 47-53.

8 'Utbl, p. 262.

Bhimpal in the meantime received fresh reinforcements and leaving his entrenched position, he came out into the plain, with his rear resting on the hills and his wings protected by elephants and attacked the Sultan, but he was beaten back. He then ordered a charge of elephants. The Muslims assailed them with such a deadly shower of arrows on their eyes and trunks that they were forced to turn back. The Sultan now delivered a furious charge on Bhimpal which proved irresistible.¹ The Hindus broke and fled for refuge to the fort of Nandana. The Sultan laid siege to it. Mines were run under the walls of the fort and the Turkoman sharpshooters poured a terrific shower of arrows on the defenders. Realising that it would be impossible to hold out long, the garrison surrendered unconditionally. The Sultan entered the fort and captured immense booty including a large number of elephants, and a big store of arms and other valuables.*

The Sultan now turned his attention to Trilochanpal who, with the Kashmir contingent, was encamped in one of the valleys to the north of Jhelum.³ Tunga, the commander of the Kashmir forces, was so elated with pride at an easy victory which he won over a reconnaissance party of the Sultan that he began to think too lightly of the strength of the invader, but on the following day, Tunga's pride received a rude shock when "the leader of the Turushka army" who was "skilled in stratagem",⁴ personally led an attack on the Kashmir

i 'Utbfs account ends here.

2 Gardizi, p. 72. 'Utbl, p. 263, says that there was an idol in a temple here with an inscription indicating that it had been constructed 40,000 years ago. In E. and D. ii, 39, an incorrect translation of 'Utbl is given to imply that the temple was of "the great Budda". The word *Budd* in that passage is the Arabicised Form of the Persian *But* which means an idol, see *Tdju'I-Arus* (Cairo ed.), ii, 295.

3 Gardizi, p. 12; Kalhana, Bk vii, 1. 53, note.

4 These epithets are used for Sultan Mahmud in Kalhana, Bk vii, 1. 56. He is mentioned in 1. 53 as *Hammira* which is an

troops and put them to the rout. Tunga fled for his life.¹ Trilochanpal rallied his forces and made a final attempt to retrieve his fortune but he was defeated.²

The news of this victory spread far and wide. Numerous rajas of the neighbourhood tendered their fealty to the conqueror and many of the inhabitants of these territories embraced Islam. The Sultan appointed teachers to instruct the converts in the rudiments of their new faith and ordered mosques to be built all over the country. 3 He then placed the fort of Nandana in charge of Sarugh⁴ and returned to Ghazna in summer 405 5 (July-August 1014).

The power of Trilochanpal was broken and he retired to the eastern part of the Punjab where he seems to have established himself in the Siwalik hills.⁶ Trilochanpal however did not rest in peace and carried on warfare with the neighbouring rajas, particularly Chandar Ray of Sharwa.⁷ When he heard the news of Sultan Mahmud's invasion of Kanauj in 409 (1018), he made peace with Chandar Ray and in order to strengthen his position, secured the hand of one of his daughters for Bhimpal;⁸ but when Bhimpal went to Sharwa to fetch the bride, he was detained there by Chandar Ray.

obvious adaptation of *Amir*, the title by which Mahmud was generally known. Sir Aurel Stein, *Kalhana*, i, 107, however, wrongly says that *Hammira* stands for "*Amiru' I-Mu'- minln*".

1 *Kalhana*, Bk vii, 1. 57.

2 *Ibid.* 11. 57-8; and *Gardizi*, p. 72.

3 *Gardizi*, p. 72.

4 *Ibid.* Sarugh held this position till after the death of Sultan Mahmud. See *Baihaqi*, p. 169.

5 *Gardizi*, p. 72.

6 I have drawn this inference from the events narrated below, and from 'Utbi's account of the battle on the river Ruhut.

7 *Utbi*, pp. 311-13. The "*Parujaipal*", mentioned by 'Utbi in these events, is no other than Trilochanpal of the Hmdushahiyya Dynasty, because the other prince of this name, who was ruler of Kanauj, came to the throne long after these events. See *infra*, pp. no and 206.

8 Sir W. Haig, p. 20, has confused the account of these events by incorrectly making this Bhimpal son of a Raja of Kanauj whom by a curious mistake he calls Jaichand.

About this time (Sha'ban 409/January 1019) the Sultan attacked Sharwa.¹ Chandar Ray made preparations for resistance, but at the approach of the Sultan, he took to flight on the advice of Bhimpal who feared that in case of defeat he might fall a prisoner into the hands of the Sultan.²

6. BATTLE ON THE RIVER RUHUT (RAHIB)

Shortly after the return of Sultan Mahmud to Ghazna from his expedition to Kanauj (close of 409/beginning of 1019), Trilochanpal entered into an alliance with Ganda,³ Raja of Kalinjar, and secured from him a promise of help in winning back his ancestral kingdom from Sultan Mahmud.⁴ When Sultan Mahmud received news of their alliance, he marched from Ghazna in the beginning of autumn 410⁵ (October 1019), with the intention of punishing Ganda. When Trilochanpal obtained information of this invasion, he marched south to join forces with his namesake, the ruler of Kanauj and BarL⁶ The Sultan pushed forward in pursuit of Trilochanpal⁷ and overtook him on 14th Sha'ban, 410⁸ (15th December, 1019) but Trilochanpal managed to cross the river Ruhut (Ramganga)? at a place where it leaves the

1 'Utbi, p. 311, and *infra*, p. no.

2 'Utbi, p. 311.

3 Nanda of 'Utbi and other Muslim writers. His true name is known from the Mau Chandel inscription, see *Epigraphia Indica*, i, pp. 195-207; and *JRAS.* 1909, p. 278, but Sir W. Haig, p. 21, persists in calling him Nanda.

4 Gardlzl, pp. 76-7; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 218.

5 Gardlzi, p. 76. Cf. also 'Utbi, pp. 317-18.

6 This fact is inferred from Gardlzl, p. 76. See Appendix K.

7 Farrukhl, f. 16 a, says that before he reached the river Ruhut, the Sultan took a fort named Sarbal which was at a distance of one day's march from the river. Sarbal may possibly be identified with Sabalgarh, 15 miles south of Hardwar, on the left bank of the Ganges. It has the ruins of a fort about 800 yards square.

8 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 218.

9 The river Ramganga is known as Ruhut in its upper courses, see *I.G.L.* xxi, 175.

hills¹, and tried to prevent the passage of the Sultan. In spite of the obvious danger of crossing the river in the face of the enemy, eight intrepid warriors of the Sultan's body-guard threw themselves into the current on inflated skins *in order to cross over to the other side*.² Seeing this, Trilochanpal sent a *small detachment* of his archers with five elephants to annihilate them before they could land. But without heeding the brisk shower of arrows that was poured on them, they plied their bows so skilfully as they swam that they safely gained the opposite bank. Encouraged by their example and by the Sultan's promise of "a life of repose after that day of trouble"³ to all who would follow them, the whole army plunged into the river, some on horseback, some on inflated skins, and, without the loss of a single life, crossed over to the other side,⁴ swiftly formed themselves into battle order, fell upon the Hindus and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. Rich spoils were captured, the share of the Sultan alone comprising 270 elephants and two coffers full of precious stones.⁵

Trilochanpal, though wounded in battle, managed to escape. After an unsuccessful attempt to come to terms with the Sultan, he marched south to solicit the help of Ganda, but he was assassinated by some of his followers in 412⁶ (1021-22). His son Bhimpal the Fearless succeeded to the diminished dominions, or probably only the title, of his father. With his death

1 Farrukhl, f 16 a. Probably near Afzalgarh.

2 'Utbl, p. 319; and Farrukhl, f. 16 a. Sir W. Haig, p. 21, says that "eight Muslim officers, apparently without their king's permission or knowledge, suddenly crossed the river with their contingents," but there is no authority for this.

3 'Utbl, p. 319.

4 *Ibid!*; and Farrukhl, f. 16 b.

5 Farrukhl. *ib.*; GardM, p. 77; and Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 219. Farrukhl further adds that among the prisoners of war there were two wives and two daughters of Trilochanpal.

6 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 219; Farrukhl, f. 16 b; and al-Birunl, ii, 13.

in 417¹ (1026), the Hindushahiyya Dynasty came to an end.² The rajas of this dynasty were renowned for their love of learning, generosity and noble sentiments. 3

B. *Relations with the Ruler of Multan*

I. CAPTURE OF MULTAN

The province of Multan, ever since its conquest by Muhammad b. Qasim, had remained an outpost of Islam in India. Early in the fourth century A.H., the Carmathians gained the ascendancy there and established a line of rulers who did not pay allegiance to the Caliphs at Baghdad.⁴ When Subuktigin rose into prominence, Abu'l-Fath Da'ud b. Nasr,⁵ the Carmathian ruler of Multan, entered into friendly relations with him⁶ and, after his death, with Sultan Mahmud.

These good relations however did not last long. When Sultan Mahmud was returning from his expedition to Bhatinda in 395 (1005), Da'ud probably resented the passage of his army through the province of Multan. 7 With the intention of punishing him for

1 Al-Biruni, ii, 13; but Sir W. Haig, p. 22, incorrectly says that Bhimpal took refuge with the Raja of Ajmer.

2 Al-Biruni, ii, 13. Several members of this family took refuge at the court of the Rajas of Kashmir and lived on the handsome allowances that were settled on them. See Kalhana, Bk vii, IL 144-78, 274, 956, 1470; and Bk viii, ll. 225-27.

3 Al-Biruni, ii, 13; and Kalhana, Bk vii, ll. 66-9.

4 Al-Biruni, i, 116, says that Jalarn b. Shaiban was the first Carmathian to take possession of Multan. See also Mas'udi, pp. 234, 385.

5 Briggs, Firishta, i, 40, says that Da'ud was a descendant of "Sheikh Humeed Lody". "Lody" is an obvious error for Lawl who, according to Mas'udi, pp. 234, 385, was probably one of the ancestors of Da'ud. This error has misled some writers to call Da'ud a Lodhl.

6 Firishta, pp. 18, 24.

7 'Utl, p. 211, says that Da'ud's adherence to the Carmathian heresy was the cause of the Sultan's invasion of Multan.

his contumacy and reducing him to submission, Sultan Mahmud marched from Ghazna to Multan in the spring of 396¹ (March-April 1006) but as it was not safe to cross the river Indus lower down, he resolved to cross it near Peshawar. Anandpal moved to Peshawar to check the advance of the Sultan, but he was defeated and forced to flee.²

The Sultan then marched straight across the Punjab to Multan. Da'ud fled to an island in the river Indus. The garrison of Multan, however, shut the gate in the face of the Sultan who invested the fort, and, after a siege of seven days, carried it by assault. 3 The citizens craved protection and offered to pay a fine of 20,000,000 *dirhems*.* The Sultan accepted the offer and spared the inhabitants but he showed no mercy to the Carmathians, hundreds of whom died for their faith. 5 Even their congregational mosque suffered at the hands of the persecutor and was reduced to the humble position of a barn-floor "where bunches of Hinna"> were bound together.⁶

The Sultan now proceeded to reduce the outlying parts of the province of Multan and Bhatinda? but

1 'Utbi, p. 211. In *Alfiy* f. 372 a, it is incorrectly stated that the Sultan left Ghazna in the beginning of 396 (October 1005).

2 See *supra*, p. 88.

3 Gardizl, p. 67.

4 'Utbi, p. 212; and Gardizl, pp. 67-8; but the amount seems to be exaggerated.

5 'Utbi, p. 212; and 'Unsuri, p. 80. In *Aaabu'f-Muluk*, f. 80 a, it is stated that Sultan Mahmud put so many Carmathians to the sword that "a stream of blood flowed from the Loharl gate which was on the western side of the town", and that "the hand of the Sultan was stuck fast to the hilt of the sword on account of congealed blood, and had to be immersed in a bath of hot water before it could be loosened".

6 Al-Biruni, i, 117.

7 Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 132, says that after the fall of Multan, the Sultan advanced to Gwalior and Kalinjar, but his account of the operations against these two places is the same as that of Gardizl and Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzi under A. H. 413, which shows that Ibnu'l-Athlir has confused the two expeditions.

before long he received news of the irruption of Ilak Khan into Khurasan and giving charge of the government of Multan to Sukhpal, alias Nawasa Shah,¹ he hurried back to Ghazna to meet the danger from the north.

2. REBELLION OF SUKHPAL

Taking advantage of the prolonged struggle between Sultan Mahmud and Ilak Khan, Sukhpal abjured the religion of Islam and raised the standard of revolt in the winter of 398 (December 1007). The news of this rising reached the Sultan in Rabi' ii 398 (January 1008) while he was following the defeated army of Ilak Khan.² He relinquished the pursuit and, undaunted by the severity of the weather (a circumstance on which Sukhpal seems to have counted in choosing this time for his rebellion), he hastened to India³ and appeared before Multan. Sukhpal offered resistance but he was defeated and forced to seek refuge, probably in the Salt Range⁴ in the Punjab where Anandpal, his brother or cousin, still maintained his

1 *Guzida*, p. 397; and 'Utbi, p. 223. Sir W. Haig, p. 15, however, says, without specifying his authority, that Sukhpal was appointed governor of Und, i.e. Waihand.

Sukhpal, called Nawasa Shah, which means "grandson of the Shah", was a grandson of Raja Jaipal of the Hindushahiyya Dynasty, see *Adabu'l-Muluk*, f. 88 a. GardizI, p. 69, says that he was among the prisoners of war captured from Mahmud by Abu 'All SImjuri at Nlshapur, most probably in 385 (995), and was converted to Islam by him. Sukhpal thus must have fallen into the hands of Subuktigin earlier than this date, probably in 376 (986-7), when Jaipal is said to have left some of his kinsmen as hostages with Subuktigin.

2 Gardlzl, p. 69; and Firishta, p. 26. It is probable that Sukhpal rebelled at the instigation of Ilak Khan.

3 'utbi, p. 223; and Gardlzl, p. 69. Firishta incorrectly says that the Sultan did not advance against him in person.

4 Gardlzl, p. 69, says that Sukhpal fled to the hills of *jylE*> which is probably a mistake of the copyist for oi'ayfe (Khewra), the name by which the Salt Range is commonly known.

authority. Sukhpal, however, was soon captured and brought before the Sultan, who exacted from him a fine of 400,000 *dirhems* and placed him in confinement.¹

3. FINAL SUBJUGATION OF MULTAN

The Sultan had been forced to leave some of the outlying parts of the province of Multan unsubdued in 396 (1006) because of his sudden departure for Khurasan to repel the invasion of Ilak Khan. He therefore again marched to Multan in the beginning of 401 (October 1010) and completed the subjugation of the province. Abu'l-Fath Da'ud, who was probably creating some disturbance, was taken prisoner and thousands of Carmathians who had gathered strength there were put to the sword or sent as prisoners to different forts.² Da'ud was imprisoned in the fort of Ghurak where he ended his days in peace.³

After this the Sultan returned to Ghazna.

C. *Expeditions to other parts of India*

I. CONQUEST OF BHATINDA (BHATIYA)

Early in the year 395⁴ (October 1004), the Sultan started from Ghazna to take the strong fort of Bhatinda*

1 Gardlzl, p. 69. In *Addbu'*7-Mu/uk, f. 76 b, it is stated that after the death of Sultan Mas'ud, Nawasa Shah formed a confederacy of the rajas of the southern Kashmir hill states and attacked Lahore but was defeated and slain. Cf. also Ibnu'l-Athlir's account of this attack given under A. H. 435.

2 Gardlzi, p. 70; and al-Blrunl, i, 116-17. But the power of the Carmathians was not broken in spite of such rigorous persecution, and they rose in rebellion under the son of Da'ud, shortly after the death of Sultan Mas'ud. See *Addbu' l-Mulihih* f. 76 a; and *Tab. Nds.* p. 491.

3 GardM, p. 70. Ghurak or Ghorak is situated about fifty miles north-west of Qandhar.

4 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 130. See Appendix J.

j "Bhatiya" of Muslim writers. For its identification, see Appendix J.

which guarded the passage from the north-west into the rich Ganges valley.¹ He marched by way of Hisar and Walishtan in modern Baluchistan,² crossed the river Indus in the neighbourhood of Multan³ and appeared before Bhatinda. Baji Ray⁴ the Raja, was so confident of his strength that instead of seeking the protection of his fort, he came out into the field to give battle to the invader. He defended his position bravely for three days against the repeated attacks of the Sultan.⁵ This unusual tenacity of the Hindus completely unnerved the Muslims, and on the fourth day Baji Ray seemed to be carrying everything before him,⁶ but the Sultan proved equal to the occasion. He aroused the enthusiasm of his warriors by a stirring appeal and then led them in a final desperate charge on the enemy. He himself set the example and plunged into the thick of the battle, dealing hard blows on his right and left.⁷ His courage and enthusiasm were soon rewarded, and before sunset the Hindu ranks were broken and shattered.

The Raja fled for refuge to the fort which was surrounded by a deep and wide ditch, and was famous for its strength. The Sultan laid siege to it and ordered the ditch to be filled in with stones and trees. When Baji Ray saw this operation progressing satisfactorily, he despaired of standing the siege for long and, leaving the garrison to resist the invader as best they could, fled to a forest.⁸ His whereabouts were however soon

i *Gazetteer of Bikaner* by Capt. Powlett, p. 122.

2 GardizI, p. 66. Walishtan was the name of Sibi in Baluchistan, see *Le Strange*, p. 347. Cf. also *Baihaqi*, p. 72; and *Ibn Funduq*, f. 57^b;

3 *'Utbi*, p. 208.

4 Sir W. Haig, p. 14, incorrectly calls him Bajra.

5 *'Utbi*, p. 209.

6 *'Utbi*, p. 209, makes a vague reference to it. *Firishta*, p. 24, gives many details which are not mentioned by *'Utbi* or *GardizI*.

7 *'Utbi*, p. 209.

8 *'Utbi*, p. 210, also mentions some hills which might be those near H\$nsI. *GardizI*, p. 67, says that he fled to the bank of "the

discovered and he was surrounded but, preferring death to the humiliation of captivity, the high-spirited Raja stabbed himself with a sword.¹

The death of the Raja depressed the spirits of the garrison and the fort was taken without much further resistance. No quarter was given to the enemy and only those who embraced Islam escaped the vengeance of the conquerors. Immense booty was captured, the share of the Sultan alone amounting to 120 elephants besides gold, silver and arms.²

The Sultan stayed there for some time to subjugate the outlying parts of the kingdom of Bhatinda and appointed teachers to instruct the converts in the rudiments of Islam.³ He then marched back to Ghazna but he had stayed too long at Bhatinda. The Punjab rivers were in flood probably owing to early rains. Much of the baggage was lost and many of the warriors, who had weathered the storms of arrows, were swept away by the infuriated waters of the river Indus.⁴ The sufferings of the soldiers were augmented by the hostility of the ruler of Multan, who most probably resented the Sultan's passage through his territories.⁵

After suffering great hardships the Sultan arrived in Ghazna about the middle of 395 (May-June 1005).

2. CAPTURE OF NARAYANPUR

In the beginning of 400⁶ (October 1009), shortly after his return from Nagarkot, the Sultan led an expedition to "the river Sasind" which might be the old name of a branch of the river Hakra.

1 'Utbi, p. 210; Gardizi, p. 67.

2 'Utbi, p. 210. Gardizi, p. 67, says 280 elephants.

3 'Utbi, p. 210.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Firishta, p. 25, says that Da'ud had given offence to Sultan Mahmud by his unbecoming behaviour.

6 Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 149. 'Utbi is the only contemporary authority to mention this expedition. He omits the date but mentions it between the expeditions to Bhimnagar and Ghur, i.e. between A. H. 399 and 401.

expedition to Narayanpur,¹ probably with the object of opening up a way into the Ganges Doab from the side of Multan and Bhatinda. The Raja of Narayanpur offered resistance but he was defeated and his town was captured and given up to plunder. The Sultan then returned to Ghazna.*

Some time later, the Raja of Narayanpur³ sent a friendly embassy to the Sultan offering to pay annual tribute and 50 elephants, and, like other feudatory princes, to send a contingent of 2000 soldiers to serve under him, so that the Sultan might spare his territories from attack in future. The Sultan agreed to these terms. This peace is said to have given great impetus to the trade between India and Khurasan.⁴

1 Narayan of 'Utbi. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, pp. 338-44, has identified it with Narayanpur in Alwar State. See also Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, ii, 242-7, and vi, 91-103.

2 'Utbi, pp. 241-2. The only other contemporary reference to this expedition occurs in a *qasida* of the poet Ghada'iri (as preserved in 'Unsuri, p. 100). He says :

"I received two purses of gold on the victory of Narayan,
I will get one hundred such purses and bags on the conquest
of Rumiya."

Ibn Jawzi, f. 158 a, and Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 198 b, mention that in 402 (1011-12) news was received at Baghdad of the sufferings of the army of the Sultan in India due to scarcity of water. It may possibly refer to this expedition as the Sultan might have delayed the report to Baghdad.

Sir W. Haiff, p. 17, says, most probably about this expedition, that it was really intended against Delhi and that the Sultan fought an action at Taraori, near Karnal, but there is no authority for these statements.

3 'Utbi, p. 242. 'Utbi does not mention the name of the raja, but obviously it could be no other than the Raja of Narayanpur. Mark the error in E. and D. ii, 448.

4 'Utbi, p. 242. For the commercial importance of "Narayan" or Narayanpur in the time of Sultan Mahmud, see al-Blruni, i, 202-5; and Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, pp. 338-9.

3. CAPTURE OF THANESAR

In autumn 405¹ (October 1014), shortly after his return from Nandana, Sultan Mahmud marched from Ghazna² with the intention of taking Thanesar. 3 When Trilochanpal, son of Anandpal, learnt the news of this attack, he offered to deliver 50 elephants if the Sultan spared Thanesar⁴ which was held in great veneration by the Hindus for its idol named Chakraswamin but the Sultan declined to alter his plans. Another Raja named Ram,⁶ ruler of Dera,⁷ probably a devotee of the idol, advanced at the head of a large army to contest the passage of the river Sutlej, near the place where it debouches into the plains.⁸ Ram took up a strong position along the bank of the river, with his rear resting on a hill and his front protected by a line of elephants. The Sultan ordered two divisions of his

1 Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 172. 'Utbi does not give the date but mentions it subsequently to the expedition against Nardin or Nandana. Gardlzi, p. 70, however, places it in 402 (1011-12).

2 'Utbi, p. 264, says that the Sultan crossed a barren tract of land where no water could be found. This may refer to the alkaline wastes of the Punjab in the districts of Lyallpur and Shahpur.

3 'Utbi, p. 264, says that the Sultan attacked Thanesar because he envied the raja of that place the possession of a certain breed of elephants which were specially suitable for military purposes.

4 'Utbi, p. 264.

5 Chakraswamin means "the Lord of the Wheel". It was believed to have been made in the time of Raja Bharat as a memorial of the wars connected with his name. See al-Blruni, i, 117; and Gardlzi, p. 70.

6 Gardlzi, p. 71. 'Utbi gives an account of the battle but does not mention the name of the raja. Ram is again mentioned by Gardlzi, p. 104, when he is stated to have done homage to Sultan Mas'ud.

7 Gardlzi, p. 71. Dera may probably be identified with Dera Goplpur, District Kangra, or with Deohra, capital of Jubbal state, Punjab.

8 'Utbi, p. 265, but he does not mention the name of the river Sutlej. This is, however, the only river which fits in with the description of the battle.

army to cross the river at different fords and to carry out a simultaneous attack on the enemy's wings. The Hindus fought bravely and held their ground firmly. In the evening the Sultan delivered an irresistible attack on the Hindus who, leaving behind all their valuables and elephants, fled precipitately. The Sultan won the day but his loss on the field of battle was much heavier than that of the vanquished enemy.¹

The Sultan now continued his march to Thanesar.* The Raja of that place fled at his approach, leaving the idol to take care of itself. The Sultan entered the town unopposed and gave it up to plunder. The idol Chakraswamin was torn away from the place where it had received for ages the homage of countless multitudes, and was transported to Ghazna and cast into the public square. 3

The Sultan returned to Ghazna in the spring of the same year (March 1015).

4. INVASIONS OF KASHMIR

(a) *First Siege of Lohkot or Loharin.* In the year 406⁴ (101 j) the Sultan made preparations for an invasion of Kashmir, probably to punish Sangramaraja for his assistance to Trilochanpal. He marched to Jhelum and then, proceeding along the valley of the river Tohi, he tried to cross over to Kashmir by the Toshmaidan Pass.⁵ His progress was however checked by the hill-fort of Lohkot, modern Loharin,⁶ which guarded the Pass and

1 'Utbl, p. 265; and Gardizi, p. 71.

2 The account that follows is omitted by 'Utbl.

3 Gardizi, p. 71; and al-Blruni, i, 117.

4 Gardizi, p. 72. 'Utbl has omitted the expedition altogether except for a casual reference on p. 304.

5 Sir Aurel Stein, Kalhana, ii, pp. 293-5, 399.

6 Gardizi and Kalhana give it the names of Lohkot and Loharkotta respectively, both of which mean "The Iron-Fort". It is situated in Lat. 33° 48' N., Long. 74° 23' E. See Sir Aurel Stein's note E, Kalhana, ii, 293-300.

had the reputation of being impregnable. The Sultan invested the fort, but heavy falls of snow cut off his communications and after a month's fruitless endeavour he was forced to raise the siege and retire.¹

On his return march, the Sultan lost his way in the hills and arrived at a place where the whole plain was covered with water.² Many of his troops perished and he himself escaped with difficulty.³

The Sultan spent the remaining winter months in the Punjab and returned to Ghazna in spring⁴ (March 1016).

(b) *Second Siege of "Lohkot or Loharm.* The Sultan made another attempt to invade Kashmir and in autumn 4125 (September-October 1021) marched from Ghazna to reduce the fort of Lohkot which had formerly checked his advance. The natural defences of the fort again proved insurmountable, and for one month the besiegers made futile attempts to take it. Meanwhile severe winter set in and reduced the assailants to a pitiable condition. The Sultan was forced to raise the siege and finally abandon the idea of conquering Kashmir.⁶

The Sultan spent the winter months in the Punjab⁷ and returned to Ghazna in the beginning of spring⁸ (March-April 1022).

1 GardizI, p. 73. Probably it was during this expedition that some of the rajas of the south-western Kashmir hills submitted to the Sultan. Cf. 'Utbi, p. 304.

2 Probably north of Mendola, a few miles south-west of Poonch, where the waters of the rivers TausI and Swan join.

3 Ibn Jawzi, f. 162 b; Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 181; and *Atharu'l-Wuzara* f. 98 a.

4 GardizI, p. 73.

5 *Ibid.* p. 79. In E. and D. ii, 464, the date is incorrectly given as 413 (1022-23).

6 GardizI, p. 79.

7 GardizI, p. 79, says that the Sultan returned to "Lahur and Takeshar". Takeshar was the name by which the sub-Himalayan region of the Punjab from the Chinab westward was known. Cf also al-Blruni, 1, 208; and *Adabu'l-Muluk*, as quoted by the author in *JRAS.* July 1927, pp. 486-91.

8 GardizI, p. 79. In E. and D. ii, p. 466, this expedition is mentioned as a sequel to the one against the valleys or the rivers Nur and Qlrat, but there is no authority for doing so.

5. INVASION OF THE GANGES DOAB AND THE CAPTURE OF MUTTRA AND KANAUJ

The way into the Ganges Doab, i.e. the land between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, having been cleared by recent victories, the Sultan resolved to lead an expedition to Kanauj. He set out from Ghazna on Saturday, 13th Jumadi i, 409¹ (27th September, 1018), with about 11,000 regulars² and 20,000 volunteers,³ and marching along the sub-Himalayan range where the rivers are fordable* with Janki, son of Shahi, son of Bamhi, Raja of Kalanjar, in the southern Kashmir hills,⁵ as his guide, he crossed the river Jumna on 20th Rajab, 409⁶ (2nd December, 1018).

The progress of the Sultan through the Doab was a round of sieges, assaults and victories following each other in quick succession. The fame of his name ran on before him and made conquest easy. Shortly after crossing the Jumna he laid siege to the fort of Sirsawa.? The Raja took to flight and the garrison capitulated.

1 Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 166 b; GardM, p. 74; and Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 149 a. Ibnu'l-Athlir incorrectly gives this expedition under A.H. 407.

2 The number of troops is inferred from Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 205 a.

3 'Utbi, p. 304.

4 *Ibid.* p. 305. Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 205 a, mentions the names of the Punjab rivers which the Sultan crossed during his march.

5 'Utbi, p. 305. Baihaqi occasionally refers to this Janki on pp. 67, 169, 2 ii, 664 as the ruler of Kalanjar in the Kashmir Pass, and from what he says it is obvious that Kalanjar was not far to the north of Jhelum. Dr M. Iqbal, Rawandl, pp. 478-9, has failed to locate it because he started with the wrong assumption that it was near Multan. Sir Aurel Stein, Kalhana, ii, p. 433, has correctly identified it with Kotli, Lat. 33° 33' N., Long. 73° 58' E. See also *Atharu'l-Wuzara*, f. 105 b.

6 'Utbi, p. 305.

7 Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 205 a; and 'Unsurl, p. 141. For its antiquity, see Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, xiv, 79-

The booty consisted of 30 elephants and 1,000,000 *dirhems*.¹

The Sultan then marched to Baran or Bulandshahr.² Hardat, Raja of Baran, offered submission and is said to have embraced Islam with 10,000 of his followers.³

The Sultan next proceeded to the fort of Mahaban* which was situated on the river Jumna. KulchancJ, the Raja, drew up his army and his elephants in a thick forest and waited for an attack. He was defeated by the advance-guard of the Sultan and forced to flee. The fugitives threw themselves into the river to cross over to the other side but some of them were carried away by the current and the rest were taken prisoners or slain. Kulchand finding all avenues of escape closed, first slew his wife and then plunged the dagger in his own breast. Rich spoils were captured including 185 elephants.⁵

The Sultan now advanced to Muttra which was the reputed birthplace of the deified hero Krishna and one of the most celebrated seats of Hindu religion and learning. Muttra was well protected and was surrounded by a stone wall with two gates opening on the river Jumna,⁶ but on the approach of the Sultan the garrison surrendered the place without offering any resistance.⁷ The town was teeming with imposing temples, the glittering spires of which towered above the house-tops. The Sultan was so struck with their

1 Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 205 a; and Unsurl, p. 141.

2 'Utbi, p. 305; and 'Unsurl, p. 141. Firishta, p. 29, incorrectly reads Meerut. Baran was the old name of Bulandshahr, see *I.G.I.* vi, 428, and A. Fuhrer, *Archaeological Survey of India* > N.W. Provinces and Oudh, p. 5.

3 'Utbi, p. 305; and 'Unsurl, p. 141. Gardlzi, p. 75, however, says that the raja fled.

4 Gardizi, p. 75; and 'Unsuri, p. 141. Mahaban is situated 6 miles south-east of Muttra, near the left bank of the river Jumna.

5 'Utbi, pp. 306-7; Gardlzi, p. 75; and 'Unsurl, p. 142.

6 'Utbi, p. 307.

7 Gardlzi, p. 75.

massive beauty that in the letter of victory to his *amirs* at Ghazna, he gave effusive expression to his appreciation of Hindu architecture, but this did not diminish his iconoclastic zeal, and, after they had been stripped of all their treasures, he ordered them to be burned to the ground.¹

The booty captured included five idols of gold,² one of which was set with two rubies of the value of 50,000 *dinars*, 200 idols of silver, and a sapphire of unusually large size. 3

Leaving the bulk of his army behind, the Sultan next proceeded to Kanauj, which was the seat of the government of the Pratihara princes who were looked upon as lords paramount of northern India. 4 The Sultan arrived there on 8th Sha'ban, 409 5 (20th December, 1018). Hearing news of his approach, Rajyapal, Raja of Kanauj,⁶ crossed the Ganges and fled? to Bar!.⁸ The Sultan laid siege to the fort and captured all its fortifications in a single day. The town was given up to plunder and thousands of Hindus were taken prisoners or put to the sword.⁹

1 'Utbi, p. 308; and Gardlzl, p. 75.

2 'Utbi, p. 308, says that these idols were suspended in air without any support.

3 'Utbi, p. 308, and Gardlzl, p. 76, say that this sapphire weighed 450 *mithqals* which is an impossible weight for a precious stone.

4 'Utbi, p. 309.

5 *Ibid*, and Gardlzl, p. 76.

6 'Utbi, p. 309; and *JRAS.* 1908, p. 791. In E. and D. ii, 45, he is wrongly called "Ral Jaipal". Sir W. Haig, p. 19, gives him the name of Jaichand, probably in confusion with the Rathor raja of that name who fought with Muhammad b. Sam, the Ghurid.

7 'Utbi, p. 309.

8 Bar! was situated about 40 miles to the east of Kanauj but its exact situation is not known. See al-Blruni, i, 200-201.

9 'Utbi, p. 309. Gardizis account is very much confused, Amin Ahmad Razi, *Haft Iqlim*, f. 137a (Bankipur MS) says: "When Sultan Mahmud took Kanauj in A.H. 409 he granted Srlnagar, afterwards known as Bilgram, as a jagir to my ancestor Muhammad Yusuf and appointed him his deputy at Lahur".

The main object of the expedition, viz., the conquest of Kanauj, was thus accomplished. The Sultan then started on his return march. On his way back, he passed by the fort of Munj¹ which was known as the fort of the Brahmins. He laid siege to it and captured it after some resistance. The garrison tried to escape by throwing themselves from the battlements but most of them perished in the attempt.²

The Sultan next came to the fort of Asai³ which was surrounded by a dense jungle. The Raja of Asai, named Chandar Pal Bhur,⁴ fled and the Sultan captured his five forts. The place was then plundered and the garrison were taken prisoners or put to the sword.⁵

From Asai the Sultan marched straight north till he came to the fort of Sharwa.⁶ The Raja of this place named Chandar Ray made preparations for resistance but

1 Munj is situated 14 miles north-east of Etawah. See *Dist. Ga%.* U.P. xi, 219. In E. and D. it has been identified with Manjhawan, 10 miles south of Cawnpur. Major Vost, *I.G.I.* xxiv, 426, suggests Zafarabad in District Jaunpur and has been followed by Sir W. Haig, p. 133.

2 'Utbl, p. 310.

3 'Utbl says Asl, which is written like Asai in Arabic script. Asai is situated on the left bank of the river Jumna, 6 miles west of Etawah. It is said by tradition to have been one of the gates of Kanauj. See Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 339, who has discussed its locality in the light of al-Biruni's itineraries. Cf. also A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.* p. 89. In E. and D. ii, 458, Asai is identified with Asm, 10 miles north-east from Fathpur, on the river Ganges.

4 *Utbl, p. 310. Ibnu'l-Athl, ix, 186, says Chandpal.

5 'Utbl, p. 310.

6 I think that Sharwa was the name of the modern town Sarawa, 13 miles due south of Meerut. In E. and D. ii, 459, two places, Seunra and Sriswagarh in Bundhelkhand are suggested, but they are too far out of the way. The Raja of Sharwa was evidently a neighbour of Trilochanpal, son of Anandpal, who held sway in the Siwalik hills. Gardl, p. 76, says that the treasure of Chandar Ray fell into the hands of the Sultan during his return march from Kanauj. This statement taken together with Trilochanpal's frequent wars with the Raja of Sharwa (see *supra*, p. 93) clearly shows that Sharwa could not be situated as far south as Seunra or Sriswagarh.

on the approach of the Sultan he fled to the hills on the advice of his son-in-law Bhlmpal, son of Trilochanpal.^x The Sultan followed him in pursuit and overtook him at a distance of about 50 miles at midnight on 25 th Sha'ban² (6th January, 1019). The Raja disposed his army in battle array and defended himself bravely but was defeated. His camp was plundered and rich spoils, including a large number of elephants, were captured.³

The Sultan now resumed his march to Ghazna. The total value of the booty was reckoned at about 3,000,000 *dirhems* besides 55,000 slaves and 350 elephants.⁴

6. EXPEDITION AGAINST TRILOCHANPAL OF KANAUJ AND BARI, AND GANDA OF KALINJAR

Shortly after the departure of Sultan Mahmud in Sha'ban 409, Ganda the Chandel Raja of Kalinjar, reproached Rajyapal of Kanauj for his pusillanimous flight from Sultan Mahmud 5 and formed a league against him with the neighbouring rajas including Ar j an, Raja of Gwalior. The allied forces were placed under the command of Vidhyadhara, the Chandel crown

1 'Utbi, p. 312. See also *supra*, pp. 93-4.

2 'Utbi, p. 313. The Sultan must have acted with wonderful rapidity. He entered the Doab on 20th Rajab and crossed the Jumna on his way back, probably a few days after 25 th Sha'ban. The total time that he spent in achieving these numerous victories was therefore not more than about 40 days. Firishta however makes the Sultan stay much longer.

3 'Utbi, p. 313. Gardizl, p. 76, says that one of the elephants of Chandar Ray which Sultan Mahmud was willing to buy for any price or to exchange for 50 elephants, came of itself to his camp and was named Khuda-dad, or Godsend, for this reason.

4 'Utbi, p. 313; and Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 205 a.

5 'Utbi, p. 309; Gardizl, p. 76; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 218. Nizamud-Din and Firishta incorrectly say that Rajyapal had submitted to Sultan Mahmud, and they have been followed by Smith, p. 383, Sir W. Haig, p. 21, and other modern historians.

prince,¹ and sent against Rajyapal. Rajyapal was slain in battle² and Trilochanpal, presumably a son of Rajyapal, 3 was raised to the throne. This success considerably increased the power of Ganda, so much so that he promised to help Trilochanpal, son of Anandpal, in winning back his ancestral kingdom from Sultan Mahmud.⁴

On getting news of these events, the Sultan marched from Ghazna in the beginning of autumn 410 5 (October 1019) to crush the power of Ganda and his ally, the new Raja of Kanauj and Bari, and crossed the river Ganges somewhere below Hardwar.⁶

In the meantime, hearing news of the Sultan's advance, Trilochanpal, son of Anandpal, marched south to join forces with his namesake, the ruler of Kanauj and Bari. The Sultan pushed forward in pursuit and overtook him near the bank of the river Ruhut or Ramganga but Trilochanpal crossed over to the other side and tried to prevent the passage of the river. The Sultan, however, managed to cross, and after inflicting a crushing defeat on him, 7 continued his march to Ban. On his approach, Trilochanpal, Raja of Bari, and all the inhabitants of the town took to flight.⁸ The Sultan ordered the deserted town to be levelled to the ground.⁹

The Sultan now turned his attention to Ganda who, with an army said to have been swelled to the huge number of 145,000 foot, 36,000 horse and 640

1 Smith, *JRAS.* 1909, p. 278.

2 GardM, p. 76; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 218.

3 Smith, p. 383.

4 GardM, p. 76; Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 218; and *Adabu'l-Muluk* (Brit. Mus. MS Add. 16,853), f. 184 a.

5 GardM, p. 76; and 'Utbl, p. 318. Ibnu'l-Athir and Firishta wrongly place this expedition in 409 (1018-19) and 412 (1021-22) respectively.

6 Inferred from Farrukhl, f. 16 a.

7 See *supra*, pp. 94-5.

8 GardM, p. 77; Farrukhl, f. 16 b; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 218.

9 Gardizi, p. 77; and Farrukhl, f. 16 b.

elephants¹ by the contingents of his feudatories, advanced to meet the invader. The Sultan marshalled his army in battle array and sent an ambassador to Ganda calling upon him to accept Islam or pay tribute but Ganda indignantly rejected the proposal and prepared for battle.²

The Sultan now ascended an eminence to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, and his eyes met with a spectacle which for once shook his courage. He saw before him, as far as eye could reach, an imposing panorama of camps, pavilions and embankments and he regretted having ventured so far. In his distress, he prostrated himself in prayer to seek divine assistance, which restored his drooping spirits,³ and in the evening a successful engagement of Abu 'Abdu'liah Muhammad at-Ta'I, commander of the advance-guard, with a detachment of Ganda, dispelled the remaining gloom.⁴ The following morning Sultan Mahmud despatched his ambassador to Ganda, but he returned to report that the enemy's camp was deserted. Ganda, unaccountably stricken with panic, had fled from the field under cover of night. The sacrifice of Rajyapal had evidently not improved the morale of his chief persecutor.⁵

The Sultan thanked God for this unexpected good luck and, after making sure that no ambush had been laid, he gave orders for the plundering of the camp of the enemy who had left behind all their valuables.⁶ The fugitives were followed for some distance and many of them were captured or killed, but Ganda himself managed to escape.⁷

i Gardlzl, p. 77; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 218. Farrukhl, f. 17 a, says that he had 135,000 foot, 36,000 horse, and 900 elephants.

2 Gardlzl, p. 77.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 218; and Farrukhl, f. 2 b.

5 Gardlzl, p. 77; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 218.

6 Gardlzl, p. 78; Farrukhl, f. 2 b; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 218.

7 Ibnul-Athir, ix, 218.

The Sultan then returned to Ghazna.¹ On his way back 580 elephants of Ganda fell into his hands.²

7. EXPEDITION AGAINST GWALIOR
AND KALINJAR

The power of Ganda had not been broken in the expedition against him in 410 (1019-20) and he still openly defied the Sultan. In 4133 (1022), therefore, the Sultan again marched to Kalinjar to reduce him to submission. On his way thither the Sultan passed the fort of Gwalior, the Raja of which, named Arjan, was a feudatory of Ganda. This fort was built on the summit of a stupendous rock and was reputed to be impregnable. The Sultan stormed the fort, but failed to capture it. The Raja, despite his successful resistance, was so alarmed that after four days he sued for peace, and made a present of 35 elephants.⁴

The Sultan then marched to the fort of Kalinjar which was situated on the lofty crag of a precipitous rock of hard stone and was deemed impregnable. It is said that the fort provided accommodation for " 500,000 men, 20,000 head of cattle and 500 elephants and contained sufficient provisions, weapons and other requirements ".⁵ The Sultan laid siege to it and closed all the

1 Faslhi, f. 322 a, incorrectly prolongs the stay of the Sultan in India for four years.

2 Gardlzi, p. 77; and Farrukhl, f. 2 b. A long account of this battle is given in *Majma'tfl-Ansab*, but the text is so corrupt that it is difficult to make anything out of it.

3 Gardlzl, p. 79.

4 *Ibid.* In *The Sjriac Chronicle*, pp. 211-12, an account is given of the interview of the Sultan's ambassador with the Raja* and of the ceremony which marked the settlement of the terms of peace. A translation of this passage from the original Syriac is given in Appendix L.

5 Ibn Ziflr, f. 149b; and Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzl (Bodl. MS 370), under A. H. 414. Ibn Zafir further adds that the Hindus believed that the founder of this fort was the first raja to capture and ride elephants and that other rajas followed his example.

approaches to the fort in order to starve the garrison into submission. Ganda made overtures for peace,¹ and promised to pay annual tribute and to deliver 300 elephants.² The Sultan accepted the terms and raised the siege. After this Ganda composed a verse in Hindi in praise of Sultan Mahmud, who was so pleased with it that he conferred on him the government of fifteen forts, a robe of honour and rich presents.³

The Sultan then returned to Ghazna about the close of the year 413* (March-April 1023).

1 Ibn Zafir, f. 149 b, says that one of the ceremonies of peace among the Hindus was that the defeated monarch had to cut off the tip of one of his fingers, which the victor kept as a trophy, and that "for this reason the Sultan had a number of the finger-tips of the Hindu rajas whom he had defeated". Ganda had, therefore, to cut off one of his finger-tips and give it to the Sultan. See also Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 133; and Appendix L.

2 Gardlzl, p. 80; and Ibn Zafir, f. 149 b. Gardlzl, p. 80, adds that Ganda sent these elephants without riders to test the bravery of the Sultan's warriors, who, however, seized them and brought them to their camp; but there is no authority for a statement in E. and D. ii, 467, note 2, that these elephants had previously been intoxicated.

3 Gardizl, p. 80; and Ibn Zafir, f. 149 b. Ibnu'l-Athlir has incorrectly made this expedition a sequel to the one against Multan in 396 (1005-6); and has been followed by Ibn Khaldun and Abu'l-Fida. Some details of this expedition are also given in *Majma'tf'l-Ansab*, f. 234 a, but they are not corroborated by any of the earlier authorities.

4 Ibn Zafir, f. 150 a, however, says that after the submission of Ganda, "when Kabakan, the Raja of a neighbouring kingdom and master of 1000 elephants, who was commonly known as Tahdah (or Najdah, according to the Gotha MS), learnt how well the Sultan had treated Ganda, he sent an ambassador to the Sultan and offered allegiance". He is said to have sent many presents to the Sultan, including two extraordinary things, namely, a bird resembling a dove, one of the qualities of which was that if it fluttered above a table on which poisonous food was laid out its eyes filled with tears, and a stone, a touch of which could heal deep wounds. These extraordinary presents are also mentioned by Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 234; and Sibṭ Ibnu'l-Jawzī (Bodl. MS 570) under the events of A. H. 414.

8. EXPEDITION TO SOMNATH

"When Yamlnu'd-Dawlah was gaining victories and demolishing temples in India, the Hindus said that Somnath¹ was displeased with these idols, and that if it had been satisfied with them no one could have destroyed or injured them. When Yamlnu'd-Dawlah heard this, he resolved upon making a campaign to destroy this idol",² and left Ghazna on the morning of Monday, 22nd Sha'ban, 4163 (18th October, 1025) with an army of 30,000 regular cavalry and hundreds of volunteers.⁴ He reached Multan about 15th Ramadan⁵ (9th November) and halted there to enquire into the conditions of travel across the desert and to make necessary preparations for the journey.⁶ Provision of water was the chief concern of the Sultan. Each trooper was provided with two camels to carry water for him, and the Sultan supplemented individual arrangements by loading his own establishment of 20,000 camels with water as a measure of precaution for the desert march.⁷ He left Multan on 2nd Shawwal⁸ (26th November) and plunged into the unknown desert.

The first place of importance that fell before the

1 For the origin and sacredness of this idol, see Appendix M.

2 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 241.

3 Ibn Zafir, f. 150 a, and Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 215 a, but Ibnu'l-Athlr, *ib.* gives 10th Sha'ban which is probably a copyist's error.

4 Ibn Jawzi, f. 175 b; and Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 241. Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 215 a, adds that the Sultan distributed 50,000 *dinars* among the volunteers for their expenses.

5 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 241; and Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 215 a.

6 Farrukhl, f. 18 b, describes the hardships of the journey. Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 215 a, says that the difficulties experienced on the way were beyond expectation, and that the troopers suffered immensely.

7 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 241.

8 Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 215 a.

aplтан in the desert was the strong fort of Lodorva,¹ the capital of the Bhati Jadons. From there he continued his march along the ridge that traverses the Jaisalmir state and Mallani and probably passing close to the Chiklodar Mata hill,² he reached Anhalwara in the beginning of Dhu'l-Qa'da³ (end of December) after a march of one month across the desert. The Solankhl ruler of Anhalwara, named Bhimdeva, fled to the strong fort of Kanthkot⁴ in Cutch, leaving the town in the hands of the Sultan. 5 After replenishing his stores of water and provisions, the Sultan continued his march southwards. At Mundher or Mudhera,⁶ the Hindus made a determined attempt to check his advance and 20,000 warriors mustered under their chiefs to try conclusions with the invader, but they were defeated and scattered.⁷ The Sultan then marched straight to Delvada near Una, where the people, believing that the god Somnath itself would annihilate the Muslims, did not offer any resistance, so that the place was taken without much trouble.⁸

Somnath was at last within sight. The Sultan arrived there on Thursday, 14th Dhu'l-Qa'da, 416⁹ (6th

1 See Appendix M.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 241.

4 Kanthkot is 16 miles south-west from Rao and 36 miles north-east from An jar. See J. Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, ix, 13. It has been incorrectly identified with Gandhavl, a few miles north-east of Miyani in the north-west of Kathiawar in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, viii, 280; and with Beyt Shankhodhar, at the north-western extremity of the peninsula of Kathiawar, by Sir W. Haig, p. 25. Cf. also E. and D. i, 445, and ii, 473, note 1.

5 Gardizl, p. 86.

6 See Appendix M.

7 Ibnu'l-AthJr, ix, 241-2.

8 Farrukhl, f. 18 b; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 242. Sibti Ibmi'l-Jawzl, f. 215 a, says that at one of these places a thick fog set in and excluded the sun. The Hindus believed that it had been caused by the idol of Somnath in order to annihilate the Muslims.

9 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 242.

January, 1026), and beheld a strong fortress¹ built on the seashore. Its ramparts were crowded with incredulous Brahmins, who mocked at the invaders and boasted that the mighty Someshwar had drawn the Muslims thither to avenge the accumulated insults against the gods of India. The commander of the fort, however, probably as sceptical of his ability to withstand the invaders as of the power of the idol to decimate them, escaped to an island and did not return till the Sultan had left the country.²

The Sultan laid siege to the fort of Somnath. The garrison, assisted by the Brahmins and the devotees of the idol, defended it with the courage and desperation of fanatics, but on the following morning, Friday, 15 th Dhu'l-Qa'da (7th January) the Muslims assailed them with such a deadly shower of arrows that they were forced to abandon their posts on the battlements. In the afternoon, about the time of the *Juma'* prayer, the Muslims escalated the walls of the fort and proclaimed their success by sounding the call to prayer. 3 The Hindus entered the temple, cast themselves before the idol, besought it for victory and, with revived hopes and courage, delivered a desperate attack on their assailants. The Muslims were staggered by the fury of the charge and before evening the Hindus had expelled them from the position which they had captured.*

The next morning, Saturday, 16th Dhu'l-Qa'da⁵ (8th January, 1026), the Muslims renewed the attack with greater vigour, captured the fortifications and drove the Hindus to the gates of the shrine which became the scene of a dreadful *melee*. Band after band of Hindus entered the temple, passionately invoked the assistance

1 This fortress had been built about 100 years before its capture by Sultan Mahmud. See al-Biruni, i i, 105.

2 Gardlzi, p. 86.

3 *Ibid.* Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 242; and Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 215 b.

4 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 242.

5 *Ibid.*

of the idol and then rushed upon the assailants.¹ But Hindu fanaticism was no match for Muslim valour and good generalship. The Sultan pushed his advantage and captured the fort. A terrible drama of bloodshed and carnage was then enacted, and no less than 50,000 devotees are said to have laid down their lives in the defence of their deity.² The survivors tried to escape in boats but they were followed and drowned or slain by a guard which the Sultan had posted along the sea-coast.³

The Sultan now entered the temple.⁴ When he saw the idol, he ordered the upper part to be disfigured with pick-axes and a fire to be lighted round it so as to break it into small pieces.⁵ The temple was then divested of its wealth, which is said to have amounted to 20,000,000 *dinars* ** and was burned to the ground.⁷

The Sultan did not stay there for more than a fortnight and started on his return march to Ghazna,⁸ but

1 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix. 242. Firishta, p. 32, gives some details which, though not improbable, are not corroborated by earlier writers. I have therefore omitted them from this account.

2 Ibn Zafir, f. 151a; and Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 216 a.

3 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 242; and Firishta, p. 32.

4 For the structure of the temple and its ancient site, see Appendix M.

5 Gardlzl, p. 86; Farrukhl, ff. 20 a, 21a; and Ibn Zafir, f. 151a. Some portions of this idol were sent to Mecca and Baghdad, and some were thrown in front of the Jami' Masjid at Ghazna and the palace of the Sultan. See al-Biruni, ii, 103; and Ibn Zafir, f. 151a.

6 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 242. In *Rawdah*, p. 741, it is said that this was the value of the Sultan's share alone, which was one-fifth of the total spoils. As the d+++++ 64*8 grains in weight, the approximate value of the spoils in present money would equal £10,500,000.

7 Ibn Jawzi, f. 175 b; Farrukhl, ff. 20 a, 21 a; and Ibn Zafir, f. 151a. They further add that the fire spread to the fort which was burned to the ground.

8 It is not stated by any authority that the Sultan left a governor at Somnath, as mentioned in *Wasaya-i-Nizamu'l 'Mulk, Rawdah and Firishta*. The editor of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, viii, 607, is evidently wrong in stating in an authoritative manner that the Sultan left a governor.

the destruction of the idol had sent a wave of indignation among the Hindus, and by that time the neighbouring chieftains were advancing in force under Raja Paramdeva of Abu¹ to block the passage of the Sultan across the narrow neck of land that lies between the Aravalli hills and the Rann of Cutch. With a view to avoid a conflict, the Sultan resolved to take a more westerly route through Cutch and Sind² and marched north till he came to the shallow arm of the sea that runs like a wedge between Kathiawar and Cutch. 3 Not willing to be stopped by such an obstacle, the Sultan plunged his horse into the sea at low tide, followed by the whole army, and crossed over to the other side in safety.⁴ When Bhimdeva heard the news of the Sultan's approach he fled from the fort of Kanthkot where he had taken refuge. The Sultan took the fort, gave it up to plunder⁵ and resumed his march across Cutch.⁶ Here he was led astray by a devotee of Somnath who had offered to act as a guide, but, to avenge the desecration of his deity, had intentionally brought the army to a place where water could not be procured. After a few days of hopeless wandering, the Sultan was able to extricate his army from this perilous situation and cross over to Sind in safety. ?

1 Gardizi, p. 87; and the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt i, p. 168.

2 Gardizi, p. 87; and Farrukhl, f. 20 b.

3 *Ibid.*; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 242.

4 Farrukhl, f. 20 b. He further says that it took the Sultan two days to cross it, and that "besides soldiers, more than 200,000 horses, camels and other beasts of burden crossed this arm of the sea".

5 *Ibid.* Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 242, adds that this fort was at a distance of 40 *farsakh* or about 140 miles from Somnath.

6 Firishta, p. 33, takes the Sultan from here again to Anhalwara, but this is contradicted by Gardizi, Farrukhl and Ibnu'l-Athir.

7 Farrukhl, f. 25 a; 'Awfl, f. 179 a; *Majma'sf I-Ansab*, f. 239 a; *Tab. Nds.* p. 82; and *FutiibtSs-Saltdin*, f. 38 b. See also the *Bombay Gazetteer*, v, 14.

The Sultan then marched to Mansura.¹ Khafif,² the Carmathian ruler, fled across the river and took refuge in a date-palm forest. The Sultan sent some of his officers after him, who surrounded his camp and put many of his followers to death.³

The Sultan then continued his march along the river Indus to Multan but owing to the barren nature of the country and the hostility of the Jats who inhabited the surrounding country and hung upon his rear, his army suffered great hardships and many of the soldiers and beasts of burden perished.⁴ After a long and weary march, the Sultan reached Ghazna on 10th Safar, 417 5 (2nd April, 1026),

The expedition to Somnath is one of the greatest feats of military adventure in the history of Islam. The news of this victory sent a wave of joy all over the Muslim world, and the delighted Caliph heaped titles and honours on the Sultan, his sons and his brother.⁶ Like many other heroes, Sultan Mahmud became transformed into an almost mythical figure and generations of enthusiastic authors surrounded his name with a huge literature of fanciful stories which were intended to glorify him as a king and a warrior.⁷ The

1 Mansura was founded on the old site of the town of Brahmanabad, about 43 miles north-east of Haidarabad, Sind. See *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, 1903-4, pp. 132 *et seq.*

2 Farrukhl, f. 21 a, is the only contemporary writer to mention his name. See also E. and D. i, 216.

3 *Ibid.*; and Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 242. It is alleged in *Tubfatu'l-Kirdm* (E. and D. i, 482) that 'Abdu'r-Razzaq, wazir of Sultan Mahmud, conquered Bhakkar, Siwistan and Thatta and turned the Arabs out of Sind, but there is no authority for this statement. None of the wazirs of the Sultan was named 'Abdu'r-Razzaq.

4 Gardlzl, p. 87.

5 Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 243.

6 Gardlzl, op. 87-8. Sultan Mahmud received the tide of *Kabfu'd-Dawlah wal-Islam*, Mas'ud Sbibtu'd-Dawlab wa Jamalul-Miflab, Muhammad, Jaldlu'd-Dawlab wa Jamalul-Millah, and Yusuf, 'Adudu'd-Dawlah wa Mu'ayyidu'l-Millah.

7 See Appendix M for some of these stories. See also *Hadiqah of Hakim Sana'i*, *Kulliyat of 'Attar*, 'Awfis *Jawami'u'l-Hikayat*, and other story books.

idol of Somnath itself perished but it immortalised the name of Sultan Mahmud.¹

9. A PUNITIVE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE JATS

In the beginning of the year 418² (March 1027), Sultan Mahmud set out for Multan to punish the Jats, 3 who had harassed his army during his return march from Somnath. He resolved to fight them on the river and ordered the construction of 1400 boats, each of which was armed with three iron spikes, projecting one from the prow and two from the sides. Each boat carried 20 archers, who, besides bows, arrows and shields, were armed with hand-grenades and naphtha-balls. This flotilla was launched on the river Indus.⁴

1 Dlwān Ranchodji Amarji, Dlwān of Junagadh State, in his work entitled *Ta'rikh-i-Sorath*, J. Burgess's translation, p. i n, says that when Sultan Mahmud demolished the temple of Somnath, "it so offended the Maharaja Mandalika, who was a protector of his own religion, that he marched with Bhim Deva, the Raja of Gujarat, in pursuit... . The Muhammadans did not make a stand and fled; many of them were slain by Hindu scymitars and prostrated by Rajput war-clubs, and when the sun of the Raja's fortune culminated, Shah Mahmud took to his heels in dismay and saved his life, but many of his followers of both sexes were captured... ".

This account is not based on any work known to exist, and is, on the face of it, fictitious.

2 Gardlzi, p. 88. Almost all the later writers who mention this expedition place it in the year 417 (1026). Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 243, has erroneously made this expedition a sequel to the one against Somnath.

3 According to al-Biruni, ii, 104, these Jats were the worshippers of the *linga*. In E. and D. ii, 477, they are incorrectly called the inhabitants of the Jud hills, i.e. the Salt Range in the Punjab. According to J. Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, ii, 194, they were the Bhatias of Bhatnair who had migrated to Sind. M. Reinaud, *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 272 (E. and D. ii, 477), quotes a passage from Ibnu'l-Athir to the effect that these Jats had invaded the principality of Mansura and had forced the Muslim ruler of that place to abjure his religion, but there is no authority for this statement in the original.

4 Gardizi, p. 88.

The Jats also made great preparations for the struggle and, after sending their families and effects to a distant island in the river, they are said to have brought 4000 boats¹ properly manned and equipped for the fight. The Sultan blocked the upper course of the river with his *fiotilh* of boats and posted two strong detachments of cavalry supported by elephants to guard the banks of the river. The two fleets met and a desperate conflict ensued. The Jats fought bravely but most of their boats that approached the Muslim fleet were overturned and sunk on their first impact with the projecting spikes.² The Sultan gained the day and the Jats were beaten. Some of them tried to escape by land, but on approaching the banks of the river, they were assailed by the Turkomans whom the Sultan had posted there and were driven back into the river. The victors now followed them to the places where they had deposited their valuables, killed many of them and captured large spoils.

The Sultan returned to Ghazna about the beginning of summer 418⁴ (June-July 1027).

1 The number of boats seems to be exaggerated.

2 So in Gardizi, p. 89, but it is difficult to understand how they could overturn the boats of the enemy without overturning their own boats.

3 Gardizi is the only contemporary author to give an account of this expedition. Farrukhi, f. 36 a, has a passing reference to this expedition, thus:

"I have seen the catching of water-fowls and fish in the river, (but) thou hast hunted black lions (the Jats) in the river this year."

CHAPTER IX
THE CLOSING DAYS

THE strong constitution of Sultan Mahmud was weakened by the constant strain of intense fatigue and hardships to which he had been exposing himself in his numerous wars, particularly his summer campaigns in India. It appears that he contracted malaria during his expedition against the Jats in 418¹ (1027). This became chronic and developed into consumption accompanied by diarrhoea.² For two years he suffered from this malady, 3 but he would not yield to *it* and endeavoured to conceal his ill-health from his people. In spite of the warning of physicians who advised complete rest, he persisted in carrying on his daily routine. He held court as usual, and gave audience twice a day.⁴ He chased the Seljuks out of Khurasan, proceeded against Raiy, and by swift marches repressed the insubordination of Mlnuchihr. He did not miss even his annual tour in the empire, and spent the summer of 420 (1029) in Khurasan and the following winter at Balkh. 5 The climate of Balkh, however, did not agree with him and he returned to Ghazna. He arrived there about the middle of Rabr ii 421⁶ (about 22nd April, 1030), but the change of climate did not effect any improvement in his condition, and after a week of

1 Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 220 a, says that he contracted his last illness during one of his expeditions to India.

2 *Ibid.* Gardlzi, p. 92, says that the Sultan had consumption (Jj). It is probable that his malaria developed into tuberculosis of the intestines.

3 Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 281.

4 *Ibid.*; Gardlzi, p. 92; and Farrukhi, f. 41 b.

5 Gardra, p. 92.

6 *Ibid.*

suffering, he passed away at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, on Thursday, 23rd Rabf ii, 421¹ (30th April, 1030), at the age of fifty-nine years.² He was buried the same evening at the time of the 'asha prayer in the Firuzl garden, which was his favourite pleasure-resort. 3

During his long illness, the Sultan showed marvellous powers of endurance, and refused to lie in bed like a sick man. He sat day and night propped up with pillows, and breathed his last in this posture.⁴

The end of Sultan Mahmud was in harmony with his life—a monument of self-reliance, personal intrepidity, contempt of danger and defiance of obstacles. He died as he had lived. He defied even Death.

A short time before his death, the Sultan ordered the royal jewels and precious stones to be displayed in his presence. He saw before him seventy *rails* of them

1 Baihaqi, p. 12; Gardizi, p. 92; and Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 220 a. This date is inscribed on the sarcophagus of Sultan Mahmud. See *Syria*, vi, 61-90; and *JASB.* xii, 76-7.

2 Sixty-one years, according to lunar reckoning.

3 Baihaqi, p. 12; and Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 220 a.

Sultan Mas'ud erected a magnificent mausoleum over the tomb of his father and settled rich endowments on it. See Baihaqi, p. 310. The memory of the Sultan was cherished with great reverence, and even 'Ala'u'd-Dln, "the world-incendiary", spared his tomb from the indiscriminate devastation with which he visited Ghazna in the following century. His tomb has, however, suffered from the ravages of his Muslim admirers, who for ages have resorted to it for the purpose of seeking divine grace and have carried away to their homes fragments of wood or handfuls of earth as keepsakes; from the sacrilege of the savage hordes of Hulagu Khan; and, in more recent times, from the misguided enthusiasm of Lord Ellenborough, who, believing that its gates were those of the temple of Somnath which the Sultan was supposed to have carried away, ordered them to be removed and brought back to India. The dilapidated ruins of what was once a grand edifice stand out on the plain, about one mile from the town of Ghazna, and bear silent testimony to the mutability of human greatness.

4 Gardizi, p. 92; Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 281; and Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 220 a.

(about as many pounds avoirdupois) arranged in glittering rows;¹ and, possibly the terrible drama of a lifetime—the burning towns, the ruined castles, the fields of battle seething with blood, the yells of frightened fugitives and the groans of dying wretches mingled with the clatter of victorious arms—all rose in a ghastly vision before his troubled soul. A pang of remorse shot through his heart; tears trickled down his cheeks; and he wept bitterly.*

His dying moments must have been rendered more painful by a presentiment that the huge empire, built up at the cost of so much suffering and bloodshed, was tottering to its fall. On the distant horizon, his keen eye could discern a dark cloud, the harbinger of a threatening storm: for the Seljuks, whom in a moment of weakness he had permitted to settle in Khurasan, 3 were gathering force with ominous rapidity. The stupendous achievement of a life of vigorous warfare appeared to be crumbling away as the great Sultan lay on his death-bed.

1 Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 220 a.

2 Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 220 a, citing as-Sabi's *Dhail*, says that when the Sultan saw the precious stones he wept bitterly. Later writers, like Mirkhond, attribute this weeping to the pangs of sorrow which they suppose the Sultan felt at the prospect of leaving all these treasures behind and accuse him of a sordid love of mammon for not having given away a portion of these precious stones to the poor; but as the Sultan was well-known among his contemporaries for his generosity, my interpretation of his grief is more probable because it is more consistent with the facts of his life.

3 *Tab. Nds.* p. 119.

Part Three

CHAPTER X

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SULTAN MAHMUD

THE key-note of the new social and political order that Islam created was the principle which affirmed the indefeasible equality of man and man. This principle was maintained in practice by the immediate successors of the Prophet Muhammad, but, with the extension of the boundaries of Islam, it underwent a sad metamorphosis by the interaction of the political theories of the conquered races, so that eventually the democratic government of the early days of Islam was superseded by an absolute and hereditary monarchy based on the model of the one which the Arab arms had overthrown in Persia; and although a mockery of an election was still held when a new Caliph ascended the throne, Muslim government henceforth became synonymous with autocracy and despotism.

THE SULTAN

Sultan Mahmud, like his former overlords, the Samanids of Bukhara, was an autocrat of the most absolute kind: "the Shadow of God on Earth". He was the supreme legislative, judicial and executive authority in the empire and had the power of life and death over his subjects.¹

The position of the Sultan was no sinecure since the

i 'Utbi, p. 5. For the powers of a king see BaihaqI, pp. 108-120; 'Utbi, p. 5; ath-Tha'alibi, *Arba Rasa'il*, p. 160; Ibn Qutaiba, *Uyunu'l-Akhar*, p. 3; and *Siyasat Namah*, p. no.

SYSTEM OF SULTAN MAHMUD

stability and efficient working of a medieval state depended to a great extent on the personality of the autocrat at its head. The whole life of Sultan Mahmud was an untiring application to hard work, and although the wazir was officially responsible for the smooth running of the machinery of the state, the Sultan nevertheless personally supervised every department of government,¹ and was, by his extraordinary ability, able to control and check the laxity in administration which was habitual to his officers. Whenever any act of tyranny, speculation or extortion was brought to his notice, he inflicted punishment on the offenders. His frequent marches across the length and breadth of his empire continually reminded his distant provincial officers of their vigilant master at Ghazna. The Sultan kept a watchful eye on the doings of the high dignitaries of the empire, particularly his military commanders; and being only too familiar with what ambition could dictate to a warrior who had at his command the revenue of a province and the mercenary valour of Turkistan, he did not allow them to hatch dubious designs in the isolation of their distant provinces. It was thus only by means of ceaseless energy that the Sultan could maintain peace and order in his vast empire and keep under control his haughty and restless nobility, in an age when, by the frequency of its occurrence and the success which had usually attended it, rebellion had acquired the sanctity of a well-established custom.

The Sultan was his own commander-in-chief and either personally led all the campaigns or directed them from the capital. He constituted the highest court of appeal for his empire and dealt out impartial justice to high and low alike.² He exercised a general supervision over the working of an efficient and well-organised system of spies and news-writers who kept

i 'Utbi, p. 304.

2 Baihaqi, p. 182.

him informed of the doings of the state officials and provincial governors. The Sultan personally directed foreign policy and himself dictated all important correspondence. He himself made all the higher appointments and consulted the ministers only as an additional source of information regarding the candidates. He was a keen judge of merit in men as is shown by the subsequent career of numerous officers of his choice.

The Sultan was also a judge of literary merit, and, surrounded by a host of poets and men of letters, he distributed money unstintingly among them in proportion to their worth. He was, in short, the centre round which revolved all the activities of the state.

THE COUNCIL

The Sultan was not bound to consult his ministers in state affairs,¹ but in practice he followed the divine commandment which bids Muslims consult each other in all matters.² Whenever he was confronted with a serious situation, he called a council of all the important civil and military officers to hear their opinion and advice. The proceedings of the council which he called to consider the situation created by the assassination of his brother-in-law, Abu'l-' Abbas, the Khwarizmshah, have been preserved and furnish an excellent specimen of the arbitrary ways of the Sultan. When all the important civil and military officers were assembled, the Sultan addressed them thus:

"What should be done in regard to Khwarizm, the people of which have behaved outrageously by assassinating my brother-in-law, their king? Unless the regicides are apprehended and punished, I cannot escape the reproaches of the neighbouring monarchs, who will cease to put any faith in my friendship. To declare war on the regicides is to run great risks, as they have a

i Baihaqi, p. 266.

2 *Siyasat Namab*, p. 84.

large and well-equipped army, and the chances of battle might go against us. On the other hand, if Khwarizm is conquered, it will have to be placed under a trustworthy officer, as it is a vast country and is contiguous to the territory of our enemies; but in that case the meagre revenue of Khwarizm will not suffice for the expenses of administration. I am unable to decide in this dilemma: what say you?"¹

The wazir was expected to speak first but being afraid of declaring his mind before the Sultan, he endeavoured to shift the responsibility to the commanders of the army on the plea of their better knowledge of military affairs. They in their turn waived the responsibility by contending that their duty was "to do and die" in the service of their lord, the Sultan. Thus cornered, the wazir tried to evade the question. The Sultan was furious and unceremoniously dismissed his counsellors, thus: "Avaunt, you cowards. It is not your desire that my kingdom should expand. I will myself decide upon the best course of action".¹

The Sultan was prepared to hear only that advice which was acceptable to him,² while his counsellors, afraid of provoking his anger if their advice proved disastrous, spoke in a guarded manner. Thus the council was nothing more than a deliberative and consultative body at best, and the Sultan was not bound either to ask or accept its advice.³ The prerogative of an Eastern prince was "not circumscribed, either in right or in fact, by the power of the nobles, the freedom of the commons, the privileges of the church,.. or the memory of a free constitution".

1 *Atharu'l-Wuzara*, ff. 95 b-99 a.

2 Baihaqi, p. 330. In *Chahar Maqdla*, p. 58, kings are compared to children, and it is laid down as a condition of service under them that one should speak according to their wish.

3 Baihaqi, p. 266.

THE FIVE MINISTERS

The kingdom of Ghazna, being a dependency of Bukhara in its earlier days, was administered as a part of the Samanid empire. Sultan Mahmud adopted and continued the system of administration which was already in operation, without making any appreciable alterations or improvements in it. He had five important ministers,¹ who were in charge of (a) Diwan-i-Wizarat or Finance Department, (b) Diwan-i-^cArd or War Department, (c) Diwan-i-Risalat or Correspondence Department, (d) Diwan-i-Shughl-i-Jshraf-i-Mamlukat or Secret Service Department, and (e) Diwan-i-Wikalat or Household Department.²

METHOD OF THEIR APPOINTMENT

Every appointment in the state was a matter of contract, and before assuming charge of his office an officer had to enter into a *muwdda'a*, or covenant, with his royal master. ³ The terms of the covenant differed with the nature and importance of the office. On his appointment as wazlr in 422 (1031) Ahmad b. Hasan al-Maimandi prepared the draft of his *muwada'a*,⁴

i Narshakhl, p. 24, gives a list of some of the Diwans under the Samanids, e.g. the Diwans of 'Amldu'l-Mulk, Sahib-i-Shurta, Mamluka-i-Khas, Muhtasib, etc., but Diwan-i-'Ard is omitted from this list.

2 See *Subhu'l-A'sha*, ii. 455-92, iv, 14-67, for the constitution of the different Diwans in the Muslim states of a later period.

3 Baihaqi, p. 326.

4 This *muwadaa* contained the following important conditions: (a) That the Sultan would overlook Ahmad's bona-fide errors of judgment in the execution of his duties, (b) that the Sultan would not give credence to evil reports against him, (c) that the War and the Household Departments would work under his general supervision, (d) that the Sultan would not allow the deputies of princes and provincial governors to extort money from his subjects, and (e) that the Sultan would leave to Ahmad the appointment of the deputies of the chief Secret Agents and

in which he specified his own rights as against the Sultan and other ministers and high officials, and tried to secure a promise from Sultan Mas'ud to allow him a free hand in the administration of the country. After this he submitted it to Sultan Mas'ud, who appended a note of approval to each clause and promised to support him in all administrative measures. Ahmad then wrote at the bottom of this document an elaborate oath of loyalty to Sultan Mas'ud and handed it over to the Dawat-Dar (Record Keeper) for safe custody. After this formal ceremony Mas'ud invested Ahmad with the robes of his office and declared him his deputy in all matters.¹ Other ministers were appointed in the same manner in consultation with the wazlr, after careful consideration of the relative merits of the candidates.²

The important offices in the state were not the monopoly of any particular class and were open to any one who had the necessary qualifications.³ The Sultan did not maintain the distinction which Nizamu'l-Mulk later advised, of never giving an office to Nadims (boon-companions),⁴ some of whom rose to the highest positions in the state. A regular hierarchy of officials was thus established and a man who entered the service as a clerk might rise to the position of a wazlr in the course of time.⁵

the Masters of the Post. See *Atharu' l-Wuzara*, ff. 107 a-i 11 a; and Fasihi, ff. 340 b-344 b. Cf. also Baihaql, pp. 820-1, for another *muwdda'a* between Sultan Mas'ud and his wazir Ahmad b. 'Abdu's-Samad.

1 Baihaql, pp. 177-8.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 416, 453, 504.

3 As a matter of fact, however, the Persians had complete control of the civil administration of the empire, which sometimes annoyed the Sultan (*Athdru'l-Wuzara*, f. 1 o 1 a), but neither the fiery Arab nor the illiterate Turkoman was a serious rival to the diligent and obsequious Persian. Consequently all the wazlrs and heads of different *Dlwans* were of that nationality.

4 *Sty as at Namah*, p. 82.

5 Baihaql, p. 166.

THE WAZIR: HIS QUALIFICATIONS

The qualifications requisite for a wazir were a fertile brain and a facile pen, coupled with *kifayat*, i.e. competency to deal with a situation as it arose, and vast experience of administrative work.¹ Ahmad b. Hasan al-Maimandi, the famous wazir of Sultan Mahmud, was at different times Tax-collector, Head of the Correspondence Department, Accountant General, and Head of the War Department, before his elevation to this important office.²

DUTIES OF THE WAZIR

The wazir was directly in charge of the Diwan-i-Wizarat or Finance Department. 3 He usually appointed the 'Amils for different provinces⁴ who collected the state revenue with the help of a large staff of officials and deposited it in the provincial treasury without making any deductions from it for salary, etc. 5 The revenue for each province and its sub-divisions was assessed beforehand and when the 'Amils had paid their collections, the balance, if any, was debited to them. After the payment of the salary of the local army and of any cheques issued by the Sultan or the wazir, the surplus in the local treasury was transferred by the Sahib-i-Diwan, who was the chief civil officer in the province, into the central treasury at Ghazna, and a copy of the balance-sheet was kept in the Dar-i-Istifa⁶ or Account Office. The Mustawfi-i-Mamalik, or the Accountant General, was responsible to the wazir and kept an account of all the items of income and expenditure.

i *Adabu'l-Muluk*, f. 36 b.

2 'Utbi, p. 271; and *Atharu'l-Wuzara*, f. 88 a.

3 Baihaql, p. 663; and *Adabu'l-Muliik*, f. 36 a.

4 *Atharu'l-Wuzara*, f. 89 a.

5 *Siyasat Namah*, p. 206.

6 Baihaql, p. 145; and *Atbdru'l-Wuzarda* f. 114 b.

The revenue was usually collected in cash but payments in kind were also permitted. The huge quantities of grain and large numbers of sheep which were thus collected¹ were stocked for the use of the Sultan when he travelled through the empire,² or were distributed among the sufferers in times of famine. 3

All revenue due to the state was considered to be the first charge on the property of every individual concerned in its collection or payment, and no measure was regarded as too severe when the balance had to be recovered from a defaulting 'Amil or a fraudulent Sahib-i-Diwan, As the ultimate responsibility for the collection of the revenue rested with the wazir, he exacted the government dues in case of defalcation by torture or by the sale of the defaulter's property. 4 If the wazir himself incurred the displeasure of the Sultan, all such arrears were recovered from him in a similar manner. 5

The chief permanent sources of income were the land revenue, the *zakat* or 2½ per cent, tax on property,⁶ tribute and presents from the feudatory princes, the produce of the gold⁷ and silver mines⁸ and the duties

1 BaihaqI, pp. 144-5.

²Ibid

P- 146

3 'Utbi, p. 247.

4 BaihaqI, p. 146. Farrukhl, f. 185 a, in a *qasida* in praise of Hasanak, wazir of Sultan Mahmud, says : "Tomorrow when he (the wazir) demands an account from the Sultan's 'Amils, their extortions will become manifest. The money which they have embezzled, he will recover from them to the last *dang*, and will send them to prison". The defaulting 'Amils were lashed, placed on the rack, or had their hands and feet amputated, and sometimes soldiers were ordered to recover the arrears from them. The only justification for such harsh and even brutal measures was that, in those days of slow communication, it would have otherwise been impossible for the government to make itself feared by dishonest officials in remote parts of the empire.

5 *Atharu'l-Wuzara*, f. 89 a.

6 *Siydsat Namah*, p. 20.

7 There was a gold mine in Sis tan (*Guzida*, p. 395), to which there is also a reference in *Shahndmah*.

8 There were some silver mines in the vicinity of Panjhir.

on the huge amount of trade that passed between China, Turkistan and India, and Khurasan, 'Iraq and Syria.¹ This income, which could have barely sufficed for the expenses of government and the magnificent court of the Sultan, was supplemented by the rich spoils captured in successful wars, especially the expeditions to India.

In times of drought or when a province was harried by the enemy, the wazir usually remitted the land revenue² and issued loans to the cultivators to enable them to buy seed and cattle. 3

As the deputy of the Sultan, the wazir exercised a general supervision over all the departments of government and the administration of justice.⁴ He held court daily, till the time of the afternoon prayer, for the redress of grievances 5 and constituted the court of first instance in all cases involving important fiscal questions.⁶

THE POSITION OF THE WAZIR

Sultan Mahmud is credited with the statement that wazirs are the enemies of kings;? and, if a wazir was not an enemy, he soon came to be regarded as such by reason of the jealousy and suspicion which a domineering monarch naturally felt for an ambitious minister.⁸ The position of the wazir was precarious

i Most of the articles of luxury used by the Sultan and his noblemen were imported from abroad. Al-Maqdisi gives a list of the chief imports and exports of the Islamic countries. The vastness of the empire itself gave great impetus to trade, because there were fewer rulers to whom the merchants passing through their territories had to pay duties on merchandise.

2 *Chahar Maqala*, pp. 18-19.

3 'UtbI, p. 321; ana *Siyasat Namah*, p. 18.

4 *Adabu'l-Muluk* f. 36 b.

5 *BaihaqI*, pp. 181, 297.

6 *Chahar Maqala*, pp. 18-19.

7 *Atharu'l-Wuzar*, f. 94 a.

8 *Adabu'l-Muluk*, f. 39 a.

and beset with danger. He was invariably the scape-goat of the Sultan's wrath at the failure of any of his schemes. He was a buffer between the Sultan and his people, and had to bear the caprices of the one and the hatred of the other. A competent wazir was particularly disliked by the nobility of the empire because he exercised a check on their ambition, and consequently they availed themselves of every opportunity to bring him into disgrace with the Sultan. The unpopularity of the wazir was thus usually in direct proportion to his efficiency and enthusiasm in safeguarding the interests of his master.

THE WAZIRS OF THE SULTAN

Abu'l'Abbas Fadl b. Ahmad, the first wazir of Sultan Mahmud, was the Sahib-Barid of Marv under the Samanids. At the request of Subuktigin, Amir Nuh sent him to Nishapur in 385 (995) as wazir of Mahmud, who at that time was in command of the troops of Khurasan. Fadl managed the affairs of the expanding empire of Sultan Mahmud with great tact and ability. He was not, however, a great scholar, and during his wazirate all official correspondence was carried on in Persian.¹ About 404 (1013) he was charged with extortion, but instead of answering the charge he voluntarily went to prison, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends. The Sultan was so annoyed at this that he let him remain there. He died the same year during the absence of the Sultan on the expedition to Nandana.²

Shamsu'l-Kufat Abu'l-Qasim Ahmad b. Hasan al-Maimandi, the successor of Abu'l-'Abbas Fadl, was a man of great scholarship and vast experience in the work of administration. He was a foster-brother of Sultan Mahmud and had been brought up with him. 3

1 'Utbi, p. 273; and *Atharu'l-Wuzara*, ff. 88 a, 90 a.

2 'Utbi, pp. 265-71; and *Atbarul-Wuzara*, ff. 88 a-89 b.

3 *Atharu'l-Wuzara*, f. 89 b.

Before his elevation to the wazirate in 405 (1014), he had occupied at different times the important posts of sahib-i-Diwan-i-Khurasan, Mustawfi-i-Mamalik and 'Amil of the provinces of Bust and Rukhkhaj. Shortly after taking office he ordered Persian to be replaced by Arabic in all official correspondence.¹ He was a strict disciplinarian and did not tolerate any evasion of duty or departure from the usual official procedure.² He was very exacting in his dealings with the dignitaries of the empire,³ with the result that many of them became his enemies and intrigued to bring about his fall. In 416 (1025) he was dismissed and sent as a prisoner to the fort of Kalanjar in southern Kashmir hills.⁴ After the death of Sultan Mahmud, Mas'ud again appointed him wazir in 422 (1031). He died in Muharram 424⁵ (December 1032).

Ahmad was a scholar of great reputation and some of his official endorsements have passed into proverbs for their terseness.⁶

Ahmad was succeeded in office by Abu 'All Hasan b. Muhammad b. "Abbas, commonly known as Hasanak. He had been in the service of Sultan Mahmud since his childhood and had gradually risen to the position of *ra'is* of Nishapur.⁷ In 414 (1023) he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca⁸ and while returning received a *khil'at* from the Fatimid Caliph al-Zahir, which so offended al-Qadir Bi'llah the 'Abbasid Caliph that he denounced him as a Carmathian and demanded his execution, but the Sultan appeased the Caliph by

1 'UtbI, pp. 272-3; and *Atharul-Wuzara*, ff. 88 a-89 b.

2 *Siydsat Namah*, p. 206.

3 *Ibid.*

4 BaihaqI, p. 211; *Athartfl-Wuzara*, f. 105 b.

5 BaihaqI, pp. 447-51; and Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 294.

6 *Chahar maqala*, p. 19. For an account of his life, see my article "Al-Maimandi" in *Ency. of Islam*,

7 'UtbI, pp. 329-33.

8 BaihaqI, pp. 209-12; Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 239; and Ibn Jawzi, f. 172 a. Cf. *injra*, p. 165.

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sending the *kbi'at* to Baghdad to be burnt. In 416^{1*} (1025) the Sultan appointed him wazir in place of Ahmad. The Sultan was well-disposed towards him,² and so great was his power that he occasionally offended and sometimes even insulted prince Mas'ud with impunity.³ When Mas'ud ascended the throne Hasanak was tried on the old charge of being a Carmathian and was put to death in 422⁴ (1031).

THE 'ARID: HIS QUALIFICATIONS

The next important minister of the Sultan was the 'Arid or Sahib-i-Diwan-i-'Ard,⁵ who was the head of the Military Department. He was generally an officer of distinction and proved merit. The qualifications requisite for this post were those of a civilian rather than a general, viz. capacity for organisation and executive work and general familiarity with military affairs.

PEACE-TIME DUTIES OF THE 'ARID

Besides the wazir, the 'Arid was the chief adviser of the Sultan in military matters.⁶ His main duty was to look after the welfare of the soldiers and to see that the army was maintained at a high standard of efficiency. He annually reviewed the army in the plain of Shabahar in the vicinity of Ghazna,⁷ when all the cavalry in full armour, the infantry under its commanders and the elephants in their rich trappings, passed in a line before him.⁸ The Sultan himself occasionally attended these reviews to satisfy himself that the army was properly looked after.⁹ The 'Arid or his

1 BaihaqI, pp. 210-11.

2 *Atharu'l-Wuzara*, f. III a.

3 BaihaqI, pp. 208, 210.

4 *Ibid.* pp. 208-10.

5 In E. and D. ii, 73, *Shughl-i-'Ard* is incorrectly translated "the business of reporting matters".

6 BaihaqI, p. 100.

7 *Ibid.* pp. 329-30, 625.

8 Farrukhi, f. 41 b.

9 Gardlzl, p. 80.

assistant, the Na'ib-i-'Ard, paid the *bistgdni*, i.e. quarterly salary, to the troops from the provincial treasury and submitted the accounts to the wazir through the Dar-i-Istifa.¹ The 'Arid kept a muster-roll of the soldiers showing all losses by illness, retirement or war.² A copy of the muster-roll was deposited in the Correspondence Department for ready reference.³ The 'Arid was further required to see that when the Sultan travelled through the empire his camp was well supplied with provisions, fodder and other requirements of the journey.⁴

WAR-TIME DUTIES OF THE 'ARID

In times of war, the 'Arid acted as the Quarter-master-General of the army. At different halting stations he provided facilities to enable soldiers to make necessary arrangements for provisions and transport. After a victory, the 'Arid supervised the collection of the booty which was divided in the presence of the Sultan. 5 Articles of different kinds were brought in lots, valued by experts and distributed among officers and soldiers in proportion to their ranks,⁶ but precious stones, gold and silver, arms and elephants to the value of one-fifth of the total spoils, were set apart for the Sultan in accordance with the Muslim Law.⁷

i GardM, pp. 23-4; BaihaqI, pp. 402, 484, 619, 644, 685, 818; and *Siyasat Namah*, pp. 92-3. The *bistganl* was paid in cash every quarter, and sometimes annually.

2 BaihaqI, p. 532.

3 *Ibid.* p. 332.

4 Usually traders accompanied the army and catered for the soldiers. See 'Awfi, f. 166 b; and *Siyasat Namah*, p. 91.

5 Farrukhl, f. 26 b.

6 *Ibid.* In *Addb'u'l-Muluk*, f. 113 a, it is stated that the share of a foot-soldier was half of that of a mounted soldier.

7 Farrukhl, f. 16 b.

THE ARMY

The army of the Sultan consisted of cavalry, a majority of which were two-horse troopers,¹ infantry, the number of which was small because it was not so swift and mobile, the body-guard of the Sultan, and elephants.

The body-guard of the Sultan consisted chiefly of slaves,² who, from the nature of their position, were considered to be more devoted to their master than any other class of soldiers. They were under the personal supervision of the Sultan and had their own separate commanders and administrative officers.³ Their banner had the distinctive device of a lion and spears.⁴

The elephants, too, were under the direct control of the Sultan. ⁵ The elephant-drivers were mostly Hindus and their commander was called Muqaddam-i-Pilbanan.⁶ The Sultan personally reviewed the elephants every year and ordered lean and thin ones to be sent to India to recover their weight and strength.⁷ Almost all the elephants had either been captured *in* Indian wars or received as tribute from Hindu rajas.⁸

NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMY

For lack of proper records it is impossible to ascertain exactly the numerical strength of the Sultan's

1 Baihaqi, p. 313; *Siydsat Namah*, p. 106; and *Athdru'l-Wuzara* f. 100 a.

2 The slaves formed a pampered class in the state. They had many opportunities of coming under the notice of the Sultan and of giving proof of their merit. Whenever any important appointment had to be made they were the first to be considered. Most of the commanders in the service of the Sultan, like Altuntash, Arslan Jadhîb and Qaratigln-i-DawatI, were either his own slaves or those of his father.

3 Baihaqi, p. 488.

4 *Ibid.* p. 329.

5 *Ibid.* p. 488.

6 *Ibid.* pp. 29, 709.

7 Farrukhl, ff. 41 b, 97 b.

8 Baihaqi, p. 709, gives 100,000 *dirbems* as the price of an elephant.

army. In 389 (999), when Mahmud defeated 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Nuh, the Samanid, at Marv, he was in command of at least 32,000 horse.¹ In 406 (1015-16) he advanced to Balkh at the head of an army said to have numbered 100,000 soldiers,² while in 414 (1023), when he reviewed his army in the plain of Shabahar, "it was 54,000 in number, besides the garrisons in the outposts of the empire" to guard the long frontier. The strength of his army, therefore, in times of peace can be placed roughly at 100,000, including both the cavalry and infantry. ³ In times of war, however, the number was greatly swelled by the contingents supplied by feudatory princes, fresh recruits, volunteers and local militia.⁴

The total number of the slaves was about 4000,⁵ but it is not known how many of these formed the body-guard of the Sultan. The number of elephants in his army was approximately 1700.⁶

The army was mainly recruited from Transoxiana, but as the preponderance of any one element would have been fraught with danger, Arabs, Afghans, Dailamites, Khurasanis, Ghuris and Indians were also enlisted.⁷ This not only acted as a check on the insubordination of any one of the different sections but also served to create a spirit of emulation among them to

1 See *supra*, p. 44.

2 BaihaqI, p. 846.

3 Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 219 b, on the authority of as-SabI.

4 BaihaqI, p. 332; and *Athdru' l-Wuzara*, f. 99 b.

5 BaihaqI, p. 652; *Tab. Nas.* p. 83; and *Futuhu's-SalatIn*, f. 35 b.

6 Farrukhl, f. 3 b. GardM, p. 80, says that their number in 414 (1023) was 1300. *Futuhis-Saldfn*, f. 35 b, says 2000. Farrukhl, f. 7 a, also gives the names of some of the important elephants of the Sultan.

Every horse and camel in state service was branded to prevent fraudulent musters. See BaihaqI, p. 752; and *Cbahar Maqata*, p. 36.

7 There was a large number of Hindus in the Sultan's army and they lived in a separate quarter of Ghazna. Al-Ma'arrI, *RislatuU-Ghufrdn** p. 153, describes the scene of a Hindu woman's *jati* in Ghazna.

excel each other in courage and valour on the field of battle.¹

ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE ARMY

The military service under the Sultan was highly organised. The Sultan was his own commander-in-chief. The next highest office under him was that of the Commander of the troops of Khurasan, which was held throughout his reign by his brothers Nasr and Yusuf successively. Besides this every province had a commander of the local troops, who was usually a Turkoman. His duties were chiefly military but if the province happened to be on the frontier, he was also required to collect the tribute from the neighbouring feudatory rulers.² The 'Arid was appointed in the same manner as the wazlr, but as an additional precaution he was required to leave a son as a hostage at the court of the Sultan before he was invested with the insignia of his office. 3 —

Every provincial army had its own 'Arid* whose duties were on a small scale similar to those of the Sahib-i-Diwan-i-'Ard. He had an assistant called Na'ib-i-'Ard and a Kat-khuda,⁵ i.e. Quarter-master, to help him in the administration of the army. The 'Arid or his assistant drew money from the local treasury to disburse *bistgdni* to the troops.⁶ There was a Sahib-Barid, or Master of the Post, attached to every army and his duty was to report to the Sultan all matters of importance that occurred within his knowledge.⁷

Service in the army was graded. The lowest officer was the Khail-tash, who was probably the commander

1 *Siyasat Namah*, p. 92; and *Qabus Namah*, p. 176.

2 *Baihaqi*, p. 325.

3 *Ibid*, pp. 328-9.

4 *Ibid*. pp. 145, 619.

5 *Ibid*. p. 421.

6 *Ibid*. pp. 619, 818.

7 *Ibid*. pp. 332, 423.

of ten horse. Above him were the Qa'id, who commanded a *khwh* probably of one-hundred horse, the Sarhang, who was the commander of five-hundred horse, and the Hajib, who was the officer commanding the *jaish* or army,¹ while all the troops in a province were, as already stated, under the command of the provincial Sipah-Salar. Promotion was given on the strict principle of merit and efficiency, and even a trooper could rise to the position of a commander in course of time.

When proceeding on an expedition, every soldier was required to make his own commissariat arrangements² and received his salary in advance for the purpose, but if the expedition was directed to a distant country, the Sultan, as a measure of precaution, made additional arrangements for the requirements of the journey.³

Every army had a separate magazine and armoury*, and arms were distributed among the soldiery shortly before the battle. 5

THE CORRESPONDENCE DEPARTMENT

The Diwan-i-Risalat or Correspondence Department, which has been called "the repository of secrets",⁶ was placed under the charge of a tried and trusted servant

i The grades in the army are not given by any contemporary writer. I have taken these details from occasional hints in BaihaqI, pp. 23, 24, 36, 149, 332, 345, 353, 396, 397, 420, etc.; *Siyasat NSmab*; and as-Subkl, *Kitab Mttidifn-Nfamy* pp. 57 et seq.

1 BaihaqI, pp. 629, 808; and Farrukhl, f. in b.

3 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 241.

4 BaihaqI, p. 6. It is implied from Gardizi, p. 82, that at the time of battle a separate armoury was placed behind each wing.

j BaihaqI, p. 130. Farrukhl, f. 41 b, seems to suggest that the soldiers were supplied with a uniform at the expense of the state.

6 JurbadhqanI, p. 30; and *Atbdru'l-Wuzara* f. 88 a.

of advanced age and ripe experience.¹ He was usually a man of high literary attainments and great diplomacy and tact. The nature of his duties was such as to make him many enemies but he was invariably able to win the regard of his fellow-officers by civility and complacent behaviour.²

The chief duty of the Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Risalat, or head of the Correspondence Department, was to write the Sultan's letters to the Caliph, foreign princes, local governors and other state dignitaries. Important correspondence was dictated by the Sultan himself, but in ordinary matters he gave oral instructions to the head of the Correspondence Department who communicated them to the officers concerned. The confidential reports of the governors, commanders, Mushrifs and Sahib-Barids were deciphered by the Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Risalat and submitted to the Sultan. 3

The Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Risalat had an assistant and a numerous staff of Dabirs or clerks who received handsome salaries.⁴ The sons of Dabirs and Mustawfis were usually taken into the office as unpaid probationers.⁵ Service in this department was graded and vacancies were filled by promotions from lower ranks.⁶

The usual office hours were from 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning to about 3 in the afternoon. 7 Tuesday and

1 Abu'l-Fadl BaihaqI, the author of *Ta'rlkb-i-Mas'udh* was considered too young for this post at the age of forty-five. See BaihaqI, p. 753.

2 See *Chahdr Maqala*, pp. 12-13, for the qualifications of a secretary.

3 Before proceeding to his post, every important officer was supplied with a code language by the Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Risalat. See BaihaqI, pp. 541, 821.

4 BaihaqI, p. 166.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Abu'l-Fadl BaihaqI entered the office as a **Dablr and rose** to the position of Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Risalat in course of time.

7 BaihaqI, p. 297.

Friday were observed as holidays.¹ One clerk, however, always remained on duty to deal with cases of emergency.² Even when the Sultan went out on a pleasure trip, a clerk from the Correspondence Department was in attendance on him.³

THE DEPARTMENT OF SECRET INTELLIGENCE

The Diwan-i-Shughl-i-Ishraf-i-Mamlukat, or Department of Secret Intelligence/ was another important branch of administration. 5 The head of this department had numerous agents, called Mushrifs, all over the country. He was invariably able, by lavish grants of money and promise of future favours, to induce the trusted slaves and servants of important officers and foreign princes to spy on their own lords.⁶ Persons of both sexes served as spies and travelled to foreign lands in disguise to collect useful information for the Sultan.⁷ Sometimes an officer who had incurred the displeasure of the Sultan and had taken refuge at a foreign court was received back into favour if he consented to act as spy on the confiding prince.⁸

A large number of Mushrifs, called Mushrifan-i-Dargah, were attached to the court and their duty was to

i BaihaqI, pp. 186, 581; and 'AwfI, f. 356a, who calls Tuesday "the navel of the week".

2 BaihaqI, p. 191.

3 Ibid.

4 In E. and D. ii, 74, *Sjwghl-i-Ishrdf-i-Mamlukat* is incorrectly translated "the duty of controlling the financial affairs", and Mushrif, "an accountant". The term *ishrdf* literally means "observation from an eminence".

5 BaihaqI, p. 416, says that it was more important than Diwan-i-'Ard. In *Siydsat Ndmab*, p. 57, and *Adabul-Muluk*, f. 40 b, honesty and clear judgment are given as the qualifications requisite for a Mushrif. See also Barthold, p. 231.

6 BaihaqI, p. 846, says that the spies of Sultan Mahmud "counted the very breaths of the Khans of Turkistan".

7 Ibid. pp. 493, 522; and *Siydsat Namah*, p. 68.

8 BaihaqI, p. 609.

keep a sharp look-out on the doings of ministers and courtiers.¹ Even the sons of the Sultan did not escape this secret surveillance and their most trusted slaves and servants were usually in the pay of this department,* but sometimes the Sultan was outwitted by the princes who also had their secret agents among the confidential servants of their father. 3 There were numerous spies in the household of the Sultan and their reports were taken down by special Mushrifs.⁴

This system of spying played some part in the daily court-life. When the Sultan wanted to communicate a verbal order to an officer, he usually sent two men, one of them being a *mushrif* on the other, to guarantee that the message and its reply were correctly delivered, s

The Mushrifs were appointed by the Sultan in consultation with the SaHb-i-Diwan-i-Ishraf-i-Mamlukat, while their assistants were nominated by the wazir from among those in whose loyalty and integrity he had full confidence.⁶ They were paid handsome salaries to preclude the danger of their being tempted to accept the gold of the officers whose indiscretions they were expected to report. 7

THE POSTAL SYSTEM AND OFFICIAL NEWS-WRITERS

To assist in the transmission of news and reports of spies, there was a regular official postal service throughout the empire. The Sahib-Barld or Master of the Post

1 *Atharu'l-Wuzara*, f. 96 b. The Sultan used to receive information of even the private meetings of his ministers.

2 *Baihaqi*, p. 135.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 135-8, 164-5.

4 *Ibid.* p. 331.

5 *Ibid.* p. 812. In *Addbu'-'Mu'uk*, f. 41 a, it is stated that there used to be Mushrifs whose duty was to see that provisions were not stolen from the royal kitchen.

6 *Atharu'l-Wu%ara*, f. no a.

7 *Siydsat Namah*, p. 57.

at the headquarters of every province¹ was the official news-writer and his duty was to keep the Sultan in touch with everything of importance that happened in the province, particularly the doings of the local officers and commanders.² It was a position of great trust and responsibility and some of the wazirs, like Abu'l-'Abbas Fadl b. Ahmad and Abu 'Ali Hasan b. Muhammad, had held this post before their elevation to the wazirate.³ Like the Mushrifs, and for the same reasons, the Sahib-Barid and his assistants were paid handsome salaries in cash.⁴ The Sahib-Barid submitted his reports in a cipher which he had previously arranged with the Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Risalat.⁵

All official correspondence, including the reports of the Barids and Mushrifs, was conveyed by Askudars or mounted couriers,⁶ but important communications were conveyed by special messengers⁷ who were usually Arab horsemen. But this postal arrangement failed when a local commander defied the central authority. In order to gain time, the rebel either forced the local Sahib-Barid to send false reports or waylaid the official courier and destroyed implicating documents.⁸ In such circumstances, the Sahib-Barid managed to send information through secret agents who, disguised as travellers, traders, Sufis or apothecaries, carried the news-letter sewn into the saddle-cloth, or hidden in the soles of their shoes or the handles of implements of daily use specially made hollow for this purpose.⁹

i Baihaqi, pp. 165, 423, 627.

2 *Ibid.* p. 346; *Siyasat Namah*, pp. 57, 58, 65; and 'Awfl, f. 319 a.

3 Baihaqi, p. 166; and Jurbadhqani, p. 356.

4 *Siyasat Namah*, pp. 57-8.

5 Baihaqi, pp. 541, 821.

6 *Ibid.* pp. 425, 494. The important officers enjoyed the privilege of using this service for their private communications.

7 Baihaqi, p. 139. These couriers were paid for each journey in addition to their usual salary.

8 *Ibid.* p. 854.

9 *Ibid.* pp. 27, 493, 522, 523; and *Siyasat Ndmah*, p. 68.

THE COMPTROLLER OF THE HOUSEHOLD

The Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Wikalat, or the Comptroller of the Household,¹ was a man of established reputation for honesty and integrity * Very little is mentioned about him by the contemporary authors^ probably because the nature of his duties did not bring him much in contact with the court and courtiers of the Sultan. The Wakil, as he was sometimes called, exercised supervision over the Master of the Revels, the Royal Kitchen, the Royal Stables and the numerous staff attached to the Sultan's palace.* The Wakil was also in charge of the private treasury of the Sultan, and distributed rations and salaries to his personal staff and his body-guard. \$ Sometimes the Wakil also administered the private estate of the Sultan (*diya'-i-khas*) which was usually under a separate officer.⁶

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

In an Islamic state the administration of justice was theoretically the duty of the Caliph as the successor of the Prophet. The Caliph was supposed to have delegated his powers to the rulers of different states who, in their turn, appointed Qadis to assist them in this work by their expert knowledge of Muslim Law. 7 Justice was thus administered on similar lines all over the Muslim world. There was a Qadi for every town and a QadFi-Qudat or Chief Qadi for every province.⁸ As there are four important schools of jurisconsults

1 BaihaqI, p. 620; and Farrukhl, ff. 171 b, 192 b.

2 *Athdrul- Wuzara*, f. 109 a; *Siyasat Namah*^ p. 81; and *Addbu'l-Muluk*, f. 42 b.

3 For his qualifications and duties, see *Addbul~Muluk*, f. 42 b; and *Inshd*, f. 10 a, as given in Bart hold, *Texts*, p. 23.

4 BaihaqI, p. 173; *Siydsat Namah*, p. 81.

5 Farrukhl, f. 171 b.

6 BaihaqI, p. 308.

7 *Siydsat Ndmahy* p. 54.

8 BaihaqI, p. 246.

among "the followers of the Sunna", sometimes, when their number justified such a course, additional Qadis representing each school were appointed to adjudicate disputes between the followers of their particular school of law.

The position of a Qadi was of particular importance in the state. He was said to have power over "the life and property of the Muslims".¹ The Qadis were paid handsome salaries² and were not removed from office except for misconduct in the discharge of their duties. The Qadi's sentence was executed by officers of the local governor and disobedience to his summons was severely punished.³

The procedure at the court of a Qadi was very simple. There were no pleaders or lawyers, and the Qadi himself was the judge of the fact as well as of the law. The parties to a case and their witnesses made their statements, and the Qadi formulated his judgment after careful consideration of the question. If the law was not clear on the point at issue, the Qadi was guided by equity, commonsense and precedents.

Sultan Mahmud took great interest in the administration of justice in his empire⁴, and chose his Qadis from among Muftis and Faqihs of established reputation for learning and probity of character. When a Qadi was suspected of malpractices or partiality, the Sultan personally investigated the matter and, if the charge was proved, immediately dismissed the offender.⁵

Besides the Qadis, almost all the princes, wazlrs, commanders of the provincial armies and other high officials⁶ decided cases which were either connected with their own departments or did not involve any

i *Siyasat Namah*, p. 38.

2 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.* p. 40. For the numerous duties of a Qadi, besides the administration of justice, see *Sulukstl-Muluk*, f. 42 a.

4 *Siyasat Namah*, p. 65.

5 *Ibid.* p. 77.

6 Baihaqi, pp. 40, 181.

intricate questions requiring expert knowledge of the law. The Sultan himself held court daily and dealt out impartial justice to all alike without distinction of rank or position. He was accessible on such occasions even to the humblest of his subjects and did all he could to redress their grievances.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

The details of the provincial government are given very sparingly, and all that can be gleaned from the contemporary writers has been mentioned in the preceding pages. Generally speaking, the provincial government was based on the model of the central administration.

There were three important branches of administration in a province: civil, military, and judicial. The chief civil officer was called *Sahib-i-Dlwan*.¹ He was in charge of the collection of revenue and was directly responsible to the *wazir*.² Under him were numerous 'Amils whose duty was to collect revenue from the subdivisions of the province. 3

The highest military officer in the province was the commander of the provincial army.⁴ His duties and functions have already been mentioned. The provincial commander and the *Sahib-i-Dlwan* worked independently of each other but in case of need one was required to help the other. 5

The highest judicial officer in a province was the *Qadl-Qudat*, who besides his duties as a judge supervised the administration of justice within his jurisdiction and saw that the Qadis in the outlying towns carried out their judicial functions satisfactorily.⁶

1 *Baihaql*, pp. 447, 559.

2 *Siydsat Namah*, p. 150.

3 *Baihaql*, pp. 352, 488; *Farrukhl*, f. 41 a; and *Siyasat Namah*, pp. 18, 149-

4 *Baihaql*, p. 496.

5 *Ibid.* pp. 325, 327.

6 *Ibid.* p. 246. Besides their judicial duties, the Qadis acted as trustees of the property of orphans and of persons going abroad on travels. See *Siydsat Ndmab*, pp. 77-8.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE TOWNS

Very little is known about the village institutions and the government of the towns in the time of Sultan Mahmud. Every town was protected by a fort, and the commander of the fort, called Kotwal, was the chief military officer in the locality,¹ The chief civil officer in a town was the Muhtasib or Shihna who, in addition to keeping peace and order within his jurisdiction, was required to see that the foodstuffs were not adulterated, that weights and measures were correct according to the legal standard, that the artisans carried on their trades without molestation, and that the Muslim Law regarding public morality was not violated.² Offenders were apprehended and sent to the Amir-i-Haras,³ or the Chief Jailor, for safe custody till they could be brought for trial before a competent authority. There was a paid Khatib whose duty was to lead the Muslims in prayer and to read the *khutha* in the name of the Sultan.⁴ Although municipal government was not known in those times, there is evidence to show that the officials and notables of the town were consulted in all matters of importance concerning the town. 5

The religious and educational endowments in each town were administered by a separate office called Ishraf-i-Awqaf.⁶ The head of this office supervised the collection and expenditure of the income from endowments,

i Baihaql, pp. 4, 5, 8, 288.

2 *Ibid.* p. 664; 'Utbl, p. 332; and *Siyasat Namah*, p. 41.

3 Baihaql, pp. 189, 197, 271, 538; and *Siydsat Namah*, p. 121.

4 Baihaqi, pp. 4, 5.

5 *Ibid.* p. 19.

6 *Ibid.* p. 308.

CHAPTER XI

SULTAN MAHMUD AND HIS WORK

SULTAN MAHMUD, like other great men in history, has his admirers as well as his detractors. Muslim writers have attempted to elevate him to the position of a saint and have even gone the length of attributing miraculous powers to him, while some modern historians, who had a very superficial knowledge of his career, have tried to depict him in such lurid colours as to give him the character of a brigand chief who took delight in plunder and bloodshed. Mahmud was neither the one nor the other. He was endowed with remarkable qualities and an extraordinary military genius.

Sultan Mahmud was a man of medium height, and of a powerful and symmetrical build. He had a fine complexion, handsome face, small eyes and a firm, round chin which was covered with a scanty beard.¹

The Sultan was affectionate by nature as is shown by the care that he bestowed on the education and proper training of his sons, and the generosity with which he treated his brothers. In spite of his inflexible sternness, he was very considerate to his officers; and after his death they spoke of him in terms of affection.² Those who incurred his displeasure, and even rebels, were treated kindly and were not punished with anything worse than imprisonment.³ But his kind nature never betrayed him into favouritism, and there is nothing on record to suggest that he ever chose his ministers for any other reason but their abilities.

i Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 284; and Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 220 a, who gives it as a quotation from as-Sabl. There is thus no truth in the story about the ugly looks of the Sultan as given in *Siydsat Namah* p. 44; and *Guzida*, p. 395.

2 Baihaql, pp. 69, 99.

3 *Ibid.* p. 84.

Sultan Mahmud was very kind to his relatives, Isma'il, his brother and rival to the throne, enjoyed every consideration consistent with his position till he was found to have been concerned in a plot against the life of the Sultan; and then he was only sent away from Ghazna to Juzjanan where he ended his days in peace. His second brother Abu'l-Muzaffar Nasr was given the highest military office in the empire, viz. the command of the troops of Khurasan, and the governorship of the province of Sistan, both of which he held till his death in 412¹ (1021-22). His third brother Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, who was still a child at the death of Subuktigin, was brought up and educated with Mas'ud and Muhammad² and, after the death of Nasr, was elevated to his rank and position.³ In 417 (1026) the Caliph conferred on Yusuf, probably at the instance of the Sultan, the title of **Adudu'd-Dawlah wa Mu'ayyidu'l-Millah*⁴ Sultan Mahmud had Mas'ud, Abu Ahmad Muhammad, Sulaiman, Isma'il, Nasr, Ibrahim and Abu Mansur 'Abdu'r-Rashid,⁵ and at least three daughters, one of whom was given in marriage to Mlnuchihr, ruler of Tabaristan,⁶ another named Zainab to Yaghantigin, son of Qadir Khan of Kashghar,⁷ and the third to 'Unsuru'l-Ma'ali Kaika'us b. Dara b. Qabus, the author of *the Qabus Namah*.*

The Sultan bestowed great care on the proper training of his sons and exercised strict supervision over their private life. His secret agents reported to him their youthful peccadilloes, for which they were severely reprimanded. ⁹ Besides the usual literary education, they were trained in the military arts of the times, and, to give them experience of administrative work, they were

1 GardM, p. 79.

2 BaihaqI, pp. 123-4.

5 Farrukhl, f. 119 a; and Gardlzl, p. 93.

4 GardM, p. 88.

5 *Jab. Nas.* p. 88. 'Abdu'r-Rashid was the ruler of Ghazna from 441 to 444 (1049-52).

6 'Utbl, t̃. 279; and BaihaqI, p. 245.

7 BaihaqI, p. 655.

8 *Qabus Namahy* p. 4.

9 BaihaqI, pp. 134-7.

placed in charge of important provinces with capable men as their wazlrs. In 408 (1017-18) Mas'ud was appointed governor of Herat¹ and in 420 (1029) was placed in charge of the newly conquered province of Raiy.² Muhammad was appointed governor of Juz-janan after the death of Abu Nasr Muhammad, the ruler of that province,³ and in 409 (1018) was entrusted with the administration of the empire during the Sultan's absence on the expedition to Kanauj.⁴

Very little is known about the private life of Sultan Mahmud, but it can be stated with certainty that he was not tainted with the licentious sensuality which often disgraced the life of Oriental despots. He lived more or less in accordance with the Muslim code of morality. He does not seem to have exceeded the prescribed limit with regard to the number of wives.⁵ He, however, indulged in wine-drinking as a pastime and not as a besotting habit. His drinking bouts were limited to a select circle, and the merry winebibbers had to walk out sober for fear of being apprehended and punished by the Muhtasib.⁶ The proverbial attachment of the Sultan to his handsome Turkoman slave Abu'n-Najm Ayaz b. Uymaq was due to the extraordinary devotion of Ayaz rather than to his good looks. This point has been clearly brought out by Farrukhi in one of his *qastdasj* and by Nizami Samarqandi and Shaikh Faridu'd-Din 'Attar in the stories in which they have mentioned this affair.⁸ The existence of such a tender sentiment between a king and his slave soon captured the fancy of poets and story-tellers who developed it into an exciting love-romance.⁹

1 GardM, p. 74; and BaihaqI, p. 256.

2 BaihaqI, pp. 258, 359.

3 See Appendix C

4 'Awfl, *Lubdb*, pt i, pp. 25-6.

5 *Mtgmary* f. 262 b; and Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 262.

6 *Siydsat Ndmah*, pp. 41-2.

7 Farrukhi, ff. 148 b-149 b.

8 *Cbahdr Maqdla*, pp. 54-6; and *Kulliyjdt-i-'Aftdr*.

9 See e.g. Zulalfs *Mahmud wa Ayd%*.

The Sultan was self-willed, stubborn and impatient of contradiction¹—the usual defects of great conquerors. He could not brook opposition to his will even when he was conscious of his error, but it is to his credit that, after some show of petulance, he had usually the grace to acknowledge his mistakes ? He is never stated to have let momentary anger get the better of his reason. Hafi? Abru quotes, from the lost portion of Baihaqf s *Mujalladdt*, a characteristic story³ of a splendid garden made by the orders of Sultan Mahmud at Balkh, the upkeep of which had been made obligatory on the people of Balkh, who groaned under this unnecessary burden. Abu Nasr-i- Mushkani brought this matter to the notice of the Sultan, who was so angered that he did not speak to him for some days, but he soon realised his mistake and issued an order releasing the inhabitants of Balkh from the obligation of maintaining the garden.

That the Sultan was physically brave is shown by his fearless bearing in war. He fought in the front ranks of his army and usually plunged into the thickest part of the battle.⁴ He is said to have received seventy-two cuts and wounds during his numerous wars.⁵ At the siege of Multan he killed so many of the enemy that his hand was stuck fast to the hilt of his sword with congealed blood and had to be immersed in a bath of hot water before it could be loosened.⁶ It was the Sultan's personal valour and fearlessness of danger which inspired his soldiers with confidence and enthusiasm even in moments of extreme despair.

i BaihaqI, p. 495.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Hafiz Abru, f. 184 a; and *AwfI, f. 173 a.

4 'Utbi, p. 129; and Farrukhf, f. 8 b.

5 *Majmdtfl-Ansdby* f. 246 a. It is stated in *Adabu* I-Muluk*%, f. 80 a, that the sword was the favourite weapon of the Sultan and that he was skilled in the use of the bow and arrow.

6 *Adabu'l-Muluk*, f. 80 a.

Sultan Mahmud was endowed with a genius for war. He was a scientific general, skilful in planning and thorough in executing. His brilliant victories equal the exploits of Alexander the Great in the East. His field of action extended from 'Iraq to the Ganges Doab, and from Khwarizm to Kathiawar; and within this wide arena, he moved and fought for thirty-three years with matchless energy and success, sometimes fighting against the whole might of Turkistan and sometimes bidding defiance to the united prowess of northern India. Sultan Mahmud is not said to have invented anything, neither a new formation nor a new principle of attack and defence. He accepted what he found ready to his hands, viz. the tactics of the old royal armies of the Samanids in which he had served his apprenticeship, but he infused into the old system a new life with his energy. His armies, consisting of such heterogeneous elements as Arabs, Khaljis, Afghans, Turkomans, Dailamites and Hindus, were, under his iron discipline, welded together into one invincible whole.

Inglorious ease was little to the warrior's taste. He exposed his body to all the fatigues of marching, bivouacking and skirmishing on the borderland of his extensive empire. His summers were usually occupied with campaigns in Central Asia, while his winters were frequently spent on the plains of India. Neither heat nor cold, nor even the natural barriers could prevent him from waging a desperate war. The inaccessible mountains of Ghur, the snow-clad hill-passes of Kashmir, the foaming rivers and the torrential rains of India, the alkaline wastes of the Punjab, the parched desert of Rajputana—nothing stood in the way of his indomitable will. His rapid marches surprised his enemies. He thundered at the gates of Multan while the rebel Sukhpal was slumbering in security, and he surrounded the town of Qusdar before its ruler was well aware of **his approach**. Even when he was in the grip of his

fatal malady, the swiftness of his movements surprised Minuchihr and forced the Seljuks to clear out of Khurasan.

Sultan Mahmud was strict in the administration of justice.¹ He enforced respect for law by all the means at his disposal and within his empire nobody could plead rank or birth as an excuse for leniency or exceptional treatment. When sued for debts by a merchant of Ghazna, prince Mas'ud could escape being summoned before a Qadi only by an immediate settlement of the claim ;² and 'All Nushtigl, a high military officer, was arrested and lashed in public for open defiance of the Muslim Law. 3

The story-tellers and other Muslim writers credit Sultan Mahmud with a strong sense of responsibility towards his subjects and would make us believe that he did his best to protect their life and property. It is said that at the complaint of a woman who had been robbed by a gang of highwaymen in a remote part of the empire, the Sultan took effectual measures for their extermination,* and that at the appeal of another woman the 'Amil of Nishapur, who had seized her property, was flogged and dismissed. 5 When there was a serious famine in Khurasan in 401 (1010-11) owing to early frost, the Sultan tried his best to alleviate distress and ordered money and corn to be distributed among the sufferers all over the affected area.⁶

Sultan Mahmud was a poet and scholar of some reputation.⁷ He is said to have been the author of a book named *Taftrdu'/-Furu'* which was regarded as a

1 *Siydsat Namah*, p. 44.

2 *Ibid.* p. 208.

3 *Ibid.* p. 41.

4 *Ibid.* p. 58.

5 *Ibid.* p. 66.

6 'Utbl, p. 247; and Ibn Funduq, f. 102 a.

7 'AwfI, *Lubdb>* pt i, p. 24, where a few specimens of his poetical compositions are also given.

standard work on Fiqh.¹ He took part in the religious and literary discussions of the scholars at his court, not with the morbid scepticism of Akbar, the Great Mogul, but with the healthy interest of a learned Muslim.²

The Sultan was a great patron of learning and his court was the rendezvous of scholars from all parts of the Muslim world.³ Crowds of poets sang his praises,⁴ and he is said to have spent on them 400,000 *dinars* annually. ⁵ The most celebrated of them were Abu'l-

1 Hajji Khalifa, ii, 327, on the authority of Imam Mas'ud b. Shaiban.

In a *qasida* of 'Asjadi, in praise of the Sultan (quoted in full in a MS in the 'Aligarh Muslim University, named the *Hikayatus-Salafti*), it is stated that

بر دادن صلوات کتابی بکرد شاه
چونانکه بو حنیفه کتاب صلوات کرد

"The Shah (Mahmud) wrote a book on the giving of rewards, Like Bu Hanlfa who wrote the Book of Prayers."

In the introduction of *Majmu'a-i-Sultani* (I.O. MS No. 508), which is a work on Fiqh, it is stated that it was composed at the desire of Sultan Mahmud by eminent jurisconsults; but this statement does not seem to be true. There are references to Delhi as the capital of a Muslim empire, on ff. 96 a, 96 b, and to the famous sixth-century work named *Hidaya*, on f. 99 a. It was not, however, unusual for the Sultan to ask scholars to compose books. See *Tarjuma-i-Fada'il-i-Balkh* (f. 198^{re}) by Abu Bakr 'Abdu'llah b. 'Umar b. Muhammad b. Da'ud ai-Wa'iz.

z *Minhdju's-Salatin*, f. 112b.

3 Barthold, p. 289, says that Sultan Mahmud's patronage of poets and scholars was due to an ostentatious desire to make his court the centre of all brilliance and distinction and not to sincere love of enlightenment. The Sultan may have been influenced by the former motive, but being himself a poet and scholar, it cannot be denied that in his encouragement of learning he must also have been actuated by love of enlightenment. In any case the great services which he rendered to Persian literature by his patronage of learning ought not to be ignored.

4 Dawlat Shah, p. 44, says that there were 400 poets at his court. For an account of some of these, see ath-Tha'alibi, *Yatima 'Awfi*, *Lubdb*; and Browne, vols, i and ii. 'Utbi also mentions the names of several poets who wrote in praise of the Sultan.

5 *Guzida*, p. 395.

Qasim Firdawsi, Abu'l-Qasim Hasan b. Ahmad 'Unsurī, Farrukhī, 'Asjadi and Ghada'irī. Firdawsi composed a large portion of his immortal *Shdhndmah* at his court, and probably at his request, but his merit did not receive proper recognition because 'Unsurī, the poet-laureate, being jealous of his genius, used his influence in order to bring him into disgrace with the Sultan.¹ Mahmud had a great passion for collecting scholars at Ghazna, and any man or woman of remarkable intellectual gifts was at once sent for to adorn his court.² He founded a university at Ghazna containing a vast collection of valuable books on all branches of literature, and when a town was captured all rare volumes found in its libraries were transported to Ghazna to enrich the store of learning already accumulated there.³

The Sultan was very generous to scholars and his liberality in this respect has rarely been surpassed. His meanest rewards were calculated in thousands of *dinars*,⁴ and the later generations of poets cherished his memory chiefly as a giver of "elephant-loads" of gold and silver.⁵ His treatment of Firdawsi and al-Biruni does

i *Majma'tfl-Ansdb*, ff. 246 b-247 b. The subject of Firdawsi and his relations with Sultan Mahmud, together with many other matters of literary and historical interest, has been dealt with exhaustively in a series of scholarly articles by Professor Mahmud Khan Shiran! in the quarterly journal *Urdu*, 1921-3. Professor Shiran! has conclusively proved that the reputed satire of Firdaws! is a cento made up of 01 verses which occur elsewhere in the *Shahnamah*.

2 Baihaqī, pp. 232-3, 245, 247; and Ibn Balkhl, p. 118. The famous story that the Sultan demanded al-Biruni, Bu 'All Sina and other scholars from Abu'l-'Abbas Khwarizmshah, is unfounded, as shown by Mirza Muhammad, *Chahdr Maqdla*, pp. 193-7, 243.

3 Ibn Jawzl, f. 178 a; Ibnu'l-'Athlī, ix, 262; and *supra*, p. 83.

4 *Chahdr Maqdla*, pp. 35, 37, where it is stated that as a reward for a few verses composed by the poet 'Unsurī, Sultan Mahmud ordered his mouth to be filled thrice with precious stones. See also Dawlat Shah, p. 33.

5 *Ta'rfkh Fakhrū'd-Dw Mubdrakshdh*, p. 52, and the lexicon *Bahar-i 'Ajam*, under the word *Ptlwdr*.

not accord with his habitual generosity, but as he may have been influenced by their jealous rivals, it is doubtful whether the whole blame should be put on him alone.¹

The Sultan was respectful to genuine piety.² He undertook a long journey to visit the famous saint Abu'l-Hasan Kharraqani;³ and he used to advance and welcome another saint Abu Sa'Id 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Abu 'Uthman Muhammad b. Ibrahim al-Khargushi whenever he came to his court.⁴

Sultan Mahmud was a follower of the Hanafite school of law, but shortly after his accession to the throne he showed an inclination towards the Karramite sect which ascribed "substantiality" to God,⁵ and he ultimately changed over to the ShafTite school of law.⁶ These frequent changes of belief in matters of religious detail go to show that he was imbued with a spirit of enquiry in religion.⁷

The Sultan was punctilious in the performance of his religious duties. He offered the usual prayers regularly and read the *Qur'an* daily.⁸ In the month of Ramadan he set apart the *zakat* or 2½ per cent, tax on property, which usually amounted to a large sum, and spent it in alleviating distress. In addition to this, he daily distributed alms among the poor and settled handsome allowances on scholars and disabled persons in the empire.⁹ He usually gave monetary help to the volunteers who accompanied him on his Indian expeditions.¹⁰

i See *supra*, p. 158.

2 Baihaqi, p. 233.

3 As-Sam'anl, f. 194 b; and 'Attar, *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliya*, pt ii, p. 209.

4 Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 247; and as-Sam'anl, f. 195 b.

5 'Utbi, pp. 324-33.

6 *Mughithu'l-Khalq* f 14 b.

7 *Sty as at Namah*, p. 44. 8 Farrukhl, ff. 22 a, 23 a.

o Baihaqi, p. 330; *Majma'u'l-Ansab*, f. 246 a; and *Rabi'u'l-Abrar*, f. 195 a.

10 SibT Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 215 a.

Even in the din and bustle of battle, he found time to implore divine assistance. He wished to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca¹ but could not do so on account of political reasons. He, however, tried his best to provide facilities for the pilgrims and offered liberal subsidies to the Beduins of the desert if they allowed their caravans to pass unmolested.²

The Sultan did not tolerate any deviation from belief in the orthodox Sunni sect. He instituted a censorship of the religious beliefs of his Muslim subjects, and appointed an officer to punish those accused of moral delinquency or heresy. 3 The followers of the Carmathian and Batinl sects were rigorously persecuted everywhere in the empire. They were captured, imprisoned and, if they did not recant, were sometimes brutally murdered and burnt. Even the literature dealing with their doctrines did not escape the fury of the persecutor. When the town of Raiy was taken, Mahmud ordered all the books on Carmathian doctrines, or those in any way savouring of heresy, to be cast into the flames. An invaluable store of learning, which the liberal policy and scholarly zeal of the Buwaihids had accumulated in the course of years, was thus consumed in an instant to satisfy the enthusiasm of the puritan warrior.⁴

But the Sultan was not a fanatic. 5 He believed in the religious unity of the state,⁶ and severely punished all dissenters. His hostility to the Carmathians was accentuated by the intolerant attitude of the Caliph of Baghdad

i Farrukhl, f. 34 b.

2 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 229.

3 Farrukhl, f. 165 a; and *Majma'u'l-Ansab*, f. 245 b.

4 Ibn Jawzi, f. 178a; Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 262; and *Mujmal*, f. 262 b.

j Sachau, *al-BIruni*, ii, 268-9. Barthold, p. 287, however, accuses him of fanaticism, apparently on inadequate grounds.

6 'Utbi, p. 5; and *al-BIruni*, i, 99.

towards them. In the third century A. H. the Fatimids, who claimed descent from Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet and the spouse of 'All, had established themselves in the north of Africa. About the middle of the following century they extended their power to Egypt, and, not contented with the influence which they commanded in the West, they initiated a long and bitter struggle with the 'Abbasids of Baghdad for the allegiance of "the Faithful" in the East. They despatched their emissaries to different countries to induce the rulers to recognise their claims to the overlordship of the Muslim world. The 'Abbasids took up the struggle in right earnest and Sultan Mahmud, being their most powerful vassal, was naturally drawn into it.

The secular power of the 'Abbasids had declined with the establishment of the Tahirid Dynasty in Khurasan, but the religious character of their office became more prominent as their political power decreased. The Caliph was regarded as the successor of the Prophet, and, although he himself occupied a precarious throne, he was supposed to possess the right to bestow any part of the Muslim world on whomsoever he pleased, while sovereigns who had trampled powerful monarchies under their feet quailed before his hollow majesty. The Caliph was thus a useful ally for a warrior who was burning with a desire for expansion; and, to maintain and strengthen the alliance with him, the Sultan placed the resources of his empire at the service of the Caliph in his war against the Carmathians.

The political colour which the rivalry between the Caliphs of Baghdad and Cairo lends to the Sultan's persecution of the Carmathians, takes much of the fanatic out of him. When his mind was not biassed by any such considerations, he showed a laudable spirit of toleration for religious differences. In India, for example, he is not said to have forced any Hindu to

abjure his religion¹, or to have put any person to death for the sake of his conscience. He had, however, the missionary spirit in him, and the preacher invariably followed in the wake of his victorious army. Mosques were erected all over the conquered country and preachers were appointed to instruct the Hindus in the simple faith of their conquerors.² Some Hindu rajas are said to have embraced Islam, but they did so most probably as a political shift to escape the fury of the conqueror and returned to their faith as soon as his back was turned on them. Some critics hold that "a burning hatred" for Islam was created in the Hindu mind because Islam was presented "in the guise of plundering armies".³ This view, however, is not convincing. The Hindus rejected Islam as their national religion because of the fundamental and irreconcilable differences between Islam and Hinduism.* Islam, with its definite articles of faith, could not appeal to the average Hindu to whom religion had never meant any specified set of doctrines. To regard an idol as a helpless piece of stone, instead of a source of life and death, and to believe in one Omnipotent God, instead of myriads of deities one of which could be played off against the other, was diametrically opposed to Hindu ways of thinking. To this fundamental difference was added the hostility of the Brahmin, whose keen eye must have foreseen that the propagation of the democratic principles of Islam would undoubtedly bring about a social revolution and breakdown of the caste

i On one occasion the Sultan is stated to have offered the alternatives of Islam, tribute or the sword to a Hindu raja (*supra*, *fh* 112), but this does not imply that he forced the raja to accept Islam.

2 Gardlzl, p. 72.

3 Mawlavi Dhaka VUah Khan, *Ta'rikihi-Hindustan*, p. 304. His argument has been adopted and amplified by Professor M. Hablb in his *Sultan Mahmud of Gbaznin*, p. 81.

4 Al-BIrunI, i, 100.

system on which depended his own exclusive privileges. The Brahmins therefore as a class must have thrown the whole weight of their position against the spread of Islam. Besides this, hatred of change inherent in the Hindu mind would in any case have offered strong though passive resistance to the onward march of Islam. In spite of this, Islam did make some headway in the Punjab, but the time was not yet ripe for missionary work, which requires settled government. The period of Sultan Mahmud was essentially a period of conquest.

The Hindus enjoyed toleration under the Sultan. They were given separate quarters in Ghazna and were permitted free observance of their religious ceremonies.¹ The critics who accuse the Sultan of wanton bloodshed and reckless spoliation of Hindu temples, forget that these so-called barbarities were committed in the course of legitimate warfare, when such acts are sanctioned by the practice of all the great conquerors of the world. Spoils captured from a defeated enemy have always been considered the lawful property of the victorious army. In India, however, wealth was accumulated, not only in the coffers of the kings, as in other countries, but also in the vaults of the temples which were consecrated to the service of various deities. The consequence was that, while elsewhere the capture of the defeated monarch's treasury usually gratified the conqueror's lust for mammon, in India temples were also ransacked to secure the piles of gold and precious stones in them. The Sultan is never said to have demolished a temple in times of peace. If he harassed the Hindu rajas of India, he did not spare the Muslim sovereigns of Iran and Transoxiana. The drama of plunder and bloodshed that was enacted in the sacred Ganges Doab was

1 Al-Ma'arri, *BJsalatu'I-Gbufran*, p. 153.

repeated with no less virulence on the slopes of the Mount Damawand and the banks of the river Oxus. Religious considerations rarely carry weight with a conqueror, and the Sultan does not appear to have been influenced by them in his schemes of conquest.

In his relations with the Caliph al-Qadir Bi'llah, Sultan Mahmud was guided by religious as well as political motives.¹ When the Caliph at-Ta'i was deposed in 381 (991), the Samanid Amir Nuh b. Mansur did not recognise his successor al-Qadir and continued to read the *khutba* in the name of the deposed Caliph. Mahmud defeated 'Abdu'l-Malik, the Samanid, at Marv in 389 (999), conquered Khurasan and ordered the *khutba* to be read in the name of al-Qadir,² who promptly granted to him the patent of the sovereignty of Khurasan and bestowed on him the honorific title of *Yamntf d-Dawlah wa Atnmif 1-Millah*.³ Mahmud henceforth maintained a very respectful attitude towards al-Qadir. About 391 (1001) Wathiql, who was a descendant of the Caliph Wathiq (227-32/842-7), claimed the Caliphate and secured the assistance of the Khans of Turkistan, but when he came to Khurasan, Mahmud had him arrested and sent to a fort where he remained till his death.* In 403 (1012-13) al-Hakim, the Fatimid Caliph of Cairo, sent a letter to Sultan Mahmud, probably with a view to securing his allegiance, but the Sultan forwarded it to Baghdad where it was burnt in public. 5 A little later in the same year al-Hakim despatched an emissary, called Taharti, with the same object, but the Sultan, in compliance with a religious injunction of eminent theologians, ordered him to be put to death.⁶ On such evidence of devotion, al-Qadir further honoured the Sultan by bestowing on

1 'Utbi, pp. 296-7.

2 *Tajariby* iii, 341.

3 'Utbi, p. 133.

4 *Tajariby* iii, 393.

5 Ibn Jawzi, f. 159 a.

6 'Utbi, p. 299; and Gardizi, p. 71.

him the title of *Ni%dmu'd-Din*. But as time passed, and the name of the Sultan was surrounded by a halo of glory, the moral support of the Caliph became less important. The Sultan became less obsequious towards him and sometimes months passed before Baghdad was officially informed of his victories.¹ In 414 (1023), however, a serious rupture occurred in their relations. Abu 'Ali Hasan, known as Hasanak, afterwards the wazir of the Sultan, while returning from his pilgrimage to Mecca, received a *khil'at* from the Fatimid Caliph az-Zahir. Suspecting that he had done so at the command of the Sultan, al-Qadir addressed a strongly worded letter to him in which he charged Hasanak with belief in the Carmathian doctrines and demanded his execution. The Sultan was at first enraged with the Caliph, but he soon adopted his usual reverential attitude and despatched the offending *khil'at* to Baghdad, where it was burnt in the public square.² This satisfied the Caliph, who, in Shawwal 417 (November-December 1026), expressed his appreciation of the Sultan's victory of Somnath by bestowing on him the title of *Kahjud-Dawlah wa'l-Islam*, and other titles on his sons Mas'ud and Muhammad and his brother Yusuf.³

About the close of his reign, the Sultan appears to have resolved to bring the Caliph under his sway. When he left Mas'ud at Raiy in 420 (1029), he instructed him to conquer Isfahan and to release the Caliph from the bondage of the Buwaihids, but he died before his plans could materialise.⁴

1 Cf. the Sultan's letters to the Caliph, preserved in *Tajarib*, iii, 341-4, and Sibṭ Ibnu'l-Jawzī, f. 204 b. The tone and the form of address of these letters indicate that, during the last years of his reign, the Sultan's attitude towards the Caliph had considerably changed.

2 Baihaqi, pp. 211-12; Ibn Jawzī, f. 172 a; and Ibnu'l-Athlir, ix, 239.

3 Gardlzl, pp. 87-8.

4 Baihaqi, pp. 8 j, 359.

The Sultan had a great fondness for architecture. The wealth accumulated by successful wars was spent in beautifying the capital and provincial towns. Before proceeding on his expedition to Kanauj in 409 (1018), he ordered the construction of a magnificent mosque at Ghazna, of marble and granite and of exquisite design and workmanship. Attached to this mosque was a splendid library which was enriched by works of rare value collected from all parts of the empire, and a university on which rich endowments were settled for current expenses and for salaries and stipends to professors and students. The nobles were not slow in following the lead of the Sultan, and vied with each other in the magnificence of their private and public buildings.¹ The result was that, within a short time, Ghazna and the provincial capitals were ornamented with palaces, mosques, porches, gardens, reservoirs and aqueducts.²

Very little is known about the public works of the Sultan. A market at Balkh,³ a bridge over the river Oxus,⁴ and the Band-i-Sultan (the Sultan's Dam) across the river Nawar,⁵ about 18 miles to the north of Ghazna,⁶ are almost all that have been mentioned by historians. Of these only the Band-i-Sultan has survived and, though much out of repair, is still in use. It was constructed to supply water for irrigation purposes, during dry seasons, to the district round Ghazna. The mouth of the narrow gorge, through which the river Nawar debouches into the plains, was closed with a dam of rough stone-work, about 200

1 'Utbi, pp. 314-17- * *Ibid.* p. 333. 3 Baihaqi, p. 688.

4 Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 219 b, says that it was constructed at the cost of 2,000,000 *dinar* which appears to be a highly exaggerated figure.

5 It is commonly called the Ghazna river.

6 Babur's *Memoirs*, ii, 219; and Vigne, pp. 138, 202. This dam was destroyed by 'Ala'ud-Din, the world-incendiary, in 550 (1155), and was repaired by order of Babur in 932 (1525-6).

yards in length and 25 feet above the sheet of water formed by it. There were two flood-gates, one at the top of the dam and the other at the foot, to regulate the flow of the stream.¹

The only architectural remains of the time of the Sultan are, firstly, his mausoleum which is situated in a little village named Rawda-i-Sultan (the Sultan's Tomb) about two miles to the north of the present town of Ghazna. The tomb is in a dilapidated condition and stands in a rude chamber with a dome of clay. The sarcophagus is a triangular prism of white marble, standing on a plinth of the same material and bearing a Cufic inscription praying the mercy of God on the Sultan and recording his glorious titles.² Secondly, two minarets, about 400 yards apart and each 144 feet in height, which mark the site of the ancient town of Ghazna. They are exquisite specimens of brick-work. The section of the lower part of each minaret, for about one-third of its height, is a star with eight points. The upper part is round like the third and fourth storeys of the Qutb Minar at Delhi. They are hollow, and a winding stair, which is much damaged, leads to the top. Beautiful ornaments and Cufic inscriptions are placed in different parts of the minarets. The northern minaret was constructed by Sultan Mahmud and the southern by his son Mas'ud.³

The settlement of the succession early occupied the attention of the Sultan. In 406 (1015-16) he nominated his eldest son Mas'ud as his heir-apparent and made all the noblemen take an oath of loyalty to him.* In 408 (1017-18) he appointed him governor of the province of Herat with Abu Sahl Muhammad b. Husain az-

1 Vigne, pp. 138, 202.

2 *Syria* > vi, 61-90; and *JASB.* xii, 76-7.

3 Vigne, p. 129; and Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* > ii, 194.

4 Baihaqi, p. 256.

Zawzani as his wazir.¹ The stubborn nature and haughty temperament of Mas'ud, however, soon brought him into disgrace with his father. He was exiled to Multan in 412 (1021),^a but a little later he was recalled and restored to his post. In the meantime, Prince Muhammad, governor of Juzjanan, won his way into the favour of the Sultan who, on his departure for Kanauj in 409 (1018), left him as his deputy in Ghazna,³ and asked the Caliph to give precedence to his name over that of Mas'ud in official correspondence.* The rivalry between the brothers led to the formation of parties at the court which carried on bitter propaganda against each other.

The Ghaznawid empire, which was by far the largest empire established after the dissolution of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, attained to its greatest extent under Sultan Mahmud. When Mahmud ascended the throne in 388 (998), he was the ruler of the provinces of Ghazna, Bust and Balkh, which he held as a vassal of the Samanids of Bukhara. Before the end of the following year, he conquered the province of Khurasan from his overlord Amir 'Abdu'l-Malik, threw off the allegiance which he had hitherto paid to him, and, like other independent sovereigns, established direct relations with "the Commander of the Faithful". After this, he gradually added the provinces of Sistan, Ghur, Gharshistan, Khwarizm, Kafiristan, Raiy, Jibal and Isfahan to his kingdom, and was recognised as suzerain by the rulers of Qusdar, Mukran, Tabaristan and Jurjan, Khutlan, Saghaniyan and Qubadiyan. Besides this, he conquered the Hindu-shahiyya kingdom, which extended from Lamaghan to the river Biyas, and the provinces of Multan and Bhatinda, and received the allegiance of the rajas of the southern Kashmir hill states, Narayanpur, Kanauj, Gwalior, Kalinjar, and of many other petty states in the

1 BaihaqI, p. 256; and GatdizI, p. 74. 1 Ibnu'l-Ajhlr, ix, 28}.

3 See *supra*, p. 153, note 4.

4 BaihaqI, p. 258; and *Jab. Nas.* p. 91.

Ganges Doab. Thus the empire of Sultan Mahmud, at the height of his power, included the vast territories from 'Iraq and the Caspian Sea to the river Ganges, and from the Aral Sea and Transoxiana to the Indian Ocean, Sind and the Rajputana desert. Its greatest length from east to west was about 2000 miles and its greatest width from north to south was about 1400 miles.

The Sultan realised that it would be almost impossible for his successor to control the unwieldy empire from Ghazna. He therefore divided it between his sons Mas'ud and Muhammad, giving the well-established provinces of Khurasan, Ghazna, Balkh and Northern India to Muhammad, and the recently conquered and more or less disturbed kingdom of Raiy to Mas'ud.¹ This unequal division naturally annoyed Mas'ud and accentuated the differences between the rival parties at court, so much so that some of the Sultan's slaves formed a plot to take him prisoner and raise Mas'ud to the throne. Mas'ud emphatically refused in words which are a fitting tribute to the greatness of the Sultan: "Beware of the consequences of your action," he said to the conspirators; "I will not be a party to any vile plots against my father. I cannot bear to see him come to grief. His reprimands are agreeable to me. He is a king whose peer you will not find in the whole world".² The bitterness of the Sultan towards Mas'ud, however, increased, and shortly before his death the Sultan disinherited him and left the whole empire to Muhammad.³

In his settlement of the succession, the Sultan cannot escape the blame of short-sightedness and imprudence. The division of the empire was a wise step in itself **but** its value was considerably diminished by the inequality of the shares of the two brothers. The nomina-

x BaihaqI, p. 258. Baidawi, *NiTamu't-TawdrJkb* (E. and D. ii, 256), however, says that Mas'ud was given Raiy, 'Iraq and IChurSan. and Muhammad the rest of the empire,

z BaihaqI, p. 151.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 27-8.

tion of Muhammad as successor was a serious mistake because Mas'ud, even in the opinion of Sultan Mahmud himself,¹ was more fit to govern in the troubled times that were approaching. A fierce fratricidal war, which would have been the consequence of this ill-advised measure, was averted only by the desertion of Muhammad's army when Mas'ud approached Ghazna to contest the throne with him.

This is a brief sketch of the private life and public career of Sultan Mahmud. As a man, he was affectionate, just, pure, kind, generous, devout and religious—a truly great and admirable character. As a conqueror, he stands conspicuous among the greatest warriors of the world; for, throughout the long period of thirty-three years of active warfare, he never was beaten. As an encourager of learning, he deserves the fulsome praises which Oriental writers have lavished on him, for he did more than any other sovereign before him towards forming and developing a national Persian literature. As an administrator, he deserves to be mentioned with respect, for even during his long and frequent absences on distant expeditions, he was able to keep good order in his vast empire. As the founder of a dynasty, however, he failed, because he extended the area of his empire beyond the capacity of one person to control and keep intact. But in spite of his shortcomings he deserves to be ranked among the greatest rulers and conquerors of the world. In the words of his son Mas'ud:²

Peace be on him! No mother shall give
birth to another one like Mahmud.

i *Tab. Nas.* pp. 91-3.

2 *BaihaqI*, p. 28.

APPENDIX A

PARALLEL passages from some Oriental historians are given below to show the extent of their indebtedness to each other.

()

ذکر غزوه مولتان

ابو الفتوح والی مولتان
 بنخبث نخلت و فساد دخلت و
 دحس اعتقاد و قبح الحاد
 موصوف و معروف بود و اهل
 خطه مولتانرا برای و هوای
 خویش دعوت میکرد و خلق را در
 مزله ضلالت و مهلكه جهالت
 می انداخت - حال او سلطان
 انها کردند حمیت اسلام و
 غیرت دین اورا بر کفایت
 مضرت و حسر ماده معرفت او
 باعث و محرض شد و در این
 باب استخاره کرد و همت بر
 این مهر دینی گماشت و آماده
 کار شد و از اولیای دین و
 مطوعه اسلام حشمی بسیار و
 لشکری جرار فراهم آورد و چون
 نقاش ربیع نقشهای بدیع بر
 اطراف کوه و هامون نگاشت
 آهنگ ناحیت مولتان کرد
 و بحکم آنکه راه مهتج و

ذکر غزو مولتان

ابو الفتوح والی مولتان بر
 دحس اعتقاد و قبح الحاد
 موصوف بود و اهل خطه مولتان
 را برای و هوای خویش
 دعوت می کرد و خلایق را در
 مزله ضلالت و مهلكه جهالت می
 انداخت حال او سلطان انها
 کردند حمیت اسلام و غیرت
 دین اورا بر کفایت و حسر ماده
 معرفت او باعث و محرض شد
 درمهر این کار استخارت کرد و
 همت بر این کار دینی گماشت
 و آماده کار شد و لشکری بسیار
 جرار جمع کرد . چون نقاش
 ربیع نقشهای بدیع باطراف
 کوه و هامون نگاشت آهنگ
 ناحیت مولتان جزم کرد و
 باندبال بادشاه هند کس فرستاد
 تادر واسطه مملکت خویش راه
 دهد تا لشکر اسلام بگذرد او
 دست رد بر روی التماس سلطان

نهاد و راه تهمرد پیش گرفت سلطان ازین سبب در خشم شد و نیت غزو مثنی کرد و در يك پرده دو نوا آغاز کرد و جازم شد که بیضه ملك و آشیانه دولت او بصرصر قهر بر باد دهد بفرمود

متعذر شده باندبال که شاه هند بود کس فرستاد تادر واسطه مملکت خویش راه دهد تا لشکر اسلام بگذرد و او دست رد بر روی التماس سلطان گذاشت و راه تهمرد پیش گرفت و سلطان ازین سبب در خشم شد و نیت غزو مثنی کرد و در يك پرده دو نوا آغاز نهاد و جازم شد که اول..... بیضه ملك و آشیانه دولت او بصرصر قهر بر باد دهد بفرمود

Jurbādhqānī, pp. 289-90.

Jāmi' u't-Tawārikh, f. 228 a.

(2)

تا بدان رسید که نطق اسمعیل از اعتناق آن بتنگ آمد و از ضعف طبعیت بشرایط سیادت و سیاست قیام نتوانست نمود چون سیف الدولة از واقعه پدر خبر یافت مراسم عزا بجای آورد و بهرادر تعزیت نامه نوشت و ابو الحسن حمولی را برسالت نزد او فرستاد و پیغام داد که امیر ناصر الدین افاض الله علیه شایب الغفران که جهنه نوائب و عمده ظهور حوادث بود رحلت نمود و مرا امروز در همه جهان گرامی تر

و او خزائن جهان بر ایشان تفرقه کرد و نطق او از اعتناق آن منصب تنگ آمد و ضعف منت و خور طبعیت او ظاهر شد و بشرائط سیادت و سیاست قیام نتوانست نمود..... چون سیف الدولة از حادثه پدر خبر یافت بشرائط عزا قیام نمود و بهرادر تعزیت نامه نوشت و ابو الحسن حمولی را بسفارت بدو فرستاد و پیغام داد که پدر که جهنه نوائب و عمده حوادث بود رفت و مرا امروز در همه جهان از تو گرامی تر کس

از تو کس نیست از جان شهین و از جان شهین و
 روشنائی چشم عزیز روشنائی چشم عزیز
 تری هر آنچه متمنی تو باشد آنچه بمراد و تمنای تست بتو باز
 از حکم و فرمان و خزائن و خواهد گشت از حکم و فرمان
 مهالك و ساز و لشکر دریغ نیست و مهالك و ساز و لشکر
 اما کبر سن و تجربه ایام و دریغ نیست اما کبر سن و
 وقوف بر دقائق سرداری و تجارب ایام و قدرت بر دقائق
 معرفت مقادیر حشر در ثبات سرداری و معرفت مقادیر
 ملک و دوام دولت اصل مبین حشر و ارتیاض بآداب جهانبانی
 و حبل متین است. در استنبات ملک و استدامت
 دولت اصلی مبین و حبل متین است.

Jurbādhqānī, pp. 187-9.

Rawḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafā, p. 734.

(3)

در اوائل این سال عزیمت چون سلطان ازان غزا فارغ
 تسخیر ملتان نمود چه از والی آن شد عزیمت ملتان نمود چه از
 مملکت که ابو الفتح والی آن مملکت که ابو الفتح
 داشت حرکات ناپسندیده بسمع نام داشت حرکات نا مناسب
 سلطان رسانیده بودند چون بسمع سلطان رسانیده بودند
 ایام بهار بود و بواسطه کثرت چون ایام بهار بود و اعبار از
 میاه گذشتن از بعضی راهها بعضی طرق بواسطه کثرت
 متعذر بود سلطان به جیهال که میاه متعذر می نمود سلطان
 پادشاه معظم بلاد هندوستان بجیهال که پادشاه معظم مهالك
 بود کس فرستاد که از میان هند بود کس فرستاد و التماس
 مملکت خویش راه دهد تا لشکر کرد که در واسطه مملکت
 اسلام بگذرد جیهال دست رد خویش راه دهد تا لشکر اسلام
 بر سینه ملتمس سلطان نهاده بگذرد جیهال دست رد بر سینه
 طریقه ترمذ و عصیان پیش گرفت ملتمس سلطان نهاده ترمذ پیش

همین الدولة محمود ازین معنی گرفت سیف الدولة محمود
 در خشر شد و فرمود تا سپاه او ازینصورت درخشر شد و نیت غزو
 دست بقتل و غارت بلاد ملک مثنی کرده در یک پرده دو
 جیپال دراز کرده دمار از روزگار نوا آغاز نهاد فرمانداد تا دست
 ایشان بر آوردند و جیپال خود نهب و ارهاق و هدم و احتراق
 را به نواحی کشمیر انداخته از صدمات قهر سلطان محمود
 خلاص شد و چون ابو الفتح انداختند تا به نواحی کشمیر
 والی ملتان مشاهده نمود که افتاد و ابو الفتح والی ملتان
 مقدم ملوک هند را چه پیش آمد چون مشاهده نمود که معظم
 خزان و دفائن ملوک هند را چه پیش آمد خزان
 و دفائن

Rawdatu's-Safā, p. 731.

Ta'rīkh-i-Alfī, f. 372 a.

APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PREDECESSORS OF SUBUKTIGIN

MOST historians do not mention the predecessors of Subuktigin even by name. Gardizi gives some details about Alptigin and his rise to power, but he has ignored Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, Bilkatigin, Piritigin and even Subuktigin. 'Utbi has omitted them except for a very vague reference. *Sijdsat Namah* contains numerous details about Alptigin but they are not trustworthy. The brief notice of these rulers in *Tabaqdt-i-Ndsiri* is valuable as it is a quotation from the lost portion of Baihaqfs *Mujalladat*. *Majmdttl-Ansdb* contains a brief account of these rulers, but unfortunately the reign of Bilkatigin is left blank in the only manuscript in which the chapter on the Ghaznawids has been preserved. Besides these, some works of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.H. like *Jahdn Ard*, *ZinatuH-Majdlis*, *Subh-i-Sadiq* and *Jannatu'l-Firdaws* give an account of these rulers in varying degrees of detail, but their authorities are not specified.

I have been able to determine the precise dates of the predecessors of Subuktigin by a critical comparison of the authorities. It is stated in Ibnu'l-Athir, viii, 404, and *TajdribtSl-Umam*, ii, 192, that Alptigin defeated the forces of Amir Mansur in the middle of Rabi' i 351 (23rd April, 962). After this he turned his attention to Ghazna and conquered it in four months, i.e. about the dose of the year 351 and probably in Dhul-Hajja (January 963), as stated in *Jahdn Ard* and elsewhere.¹ Alptigin died on 20th Sha'ban, 352 (13th September,

¹ See *supra*, p. 2\$, note 6.

963), after a reign of eight months¹ and was succeeded by his son Abu Ishaq Ibrahim.

The date of the death of Ibrahim or of the accession of Bilkatigin is determined by the statement in *Tabaqdt-i-Ndsin*, p. 76, that Sultan Mahmud was born in the seventh year of the reign of Bilkatigin. As the Sultan was born in Muharram 361 (November 971), Bilkatigin must have ascended the throne in 355 (966) on the death of Ibrahim, whose rule therefore lasted from 352 to 361 (963-66). Bilkatigin ruled for ten years* and died in 364 (974-5). His successor Piritigin ruled from 364 (974-5) to the accession of Subuktigin in Sha'ban 366 (April 977),

1 Not "eight years" as given in Raverty's translation of *Tabaqdt-i-Ndsirt*. If eight years is taken to be the period of Alptigin's reign, either Alptigin himself or Ibrahim would have been the ruler of Ghazna in 359 (969-70), which is the date on one of the coins of Bilkatigin (*JRAS*, xvii, pp. 142-3). The words *sal*, meaning "year", and *mah*, meaning "month", are very easily interchangeable if written carelessly in Arabic script.

2 Not "two" as given in Raverty's translation of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. A very old MS of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Brit. Mus. Add. 26,189, f. 97 b) gives ten years. Moreover, Sultan Mahmud's birth could not have fallen within the reign of Bilkatigin, as stated above, if Bilkatigin had reigned only for two years. The words *du*, meaning "two", and *dab*, meaning "ten", are easily confused in Arabic script.

APPENDIX C

THE FARIGHUNIDS

THE Farighunids were the hereditary rulers of Juz-janan¹ under the overlordship of the Samanids. The first ruler of this dynasty mentioned by Muslim historians was Ahmad b. Farighun, who about 285 (898) is said to have done homage to Isma'il b. Ahmad the Samanid.² In 365 (975-6) Nuh b. Mansur, the Samanid, entered into a matrimonial alliance with Abu'l-Harith Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Farighiin, ruler of Juzjanan.³ In 372 (982-3) a geographical treatise entitled *HududuV- 'Alam* was written for him by an unknown author.⁴ Some time after this, Muhammad was succeeded by his son Abu'l-Harith Ahmad who, in 380 (990-1) and again in 384 (994), helped his suzerain Amir Nuh b. Mansur to crush the power of his rebellious noblemen, Abu 'Ali Slmjuri and Fa'iq. Ahmad was on terms of friendship with Subuktigln, and in 385 (995) assisted him in turning out Abu 'All Slmjuri from Khurasan.⁵ A little later, these relations were strengthened by a matrimonial alliance. Ahmad gave one of his daughters in marriage to Mahmud, son of Subuktigln, and Subuktigln gave one of his to Abu Nasr Muhammad, son of Ahmad.⁶

In the struggle for the throne that followed the death of Subuktigln, Ahmad took up the cause of his son-in-law Mahmud against Isma'il and, after the overthrow of the Samanid power, recognised him as his overlord.⁷

Ahmad died some time between 390 and 398 (1000-

1 Juzjanan is written Gusganan in Persian works.

2 Narshakhi, p. 8j.

3 Gardlzl, p. 48.

4 Barthold, p. 13.

5 'Utbi, pp. 69, 78, 88.

6 *Ibid.* p. 227.

7 *Ibid.* p. 116.

1008), and was succeeded by his son Abu Nasr Muhammad, who accompanied the Sultan on some of his expeditions to India and elsewhere.¹ He gave one of his daughters in marriage to prince Abu Ahmad Muhammad, son of Sultan Mahmud.² Abu Nasr Muhammad died in 401 (1010-11),³ leaving a son named Hasan,⁴ who being probably too young to succeed to the throne the province of Juzjanan was placed under the governorship of Abu Ahmad Muhammad. 5

The Farighunids were well-known for their noble character and love of learning, and their court was the resort of poets and scholars.*'

1 'Utbi, pp. 218,225.

2 *Ibid.* p. 295; and 'Awfi, *Lubab*, pt i, p. 25.

3 'Utbi, p. 227; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 159.

4 Baihaqi, p. 125.

5 'Utbi, p. 295; and 'Awfi, *Lubab*, pt i, pp. 25-6.

6 'Utbi, p. 228; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 159.

APPENDIX D

MAHMUD'S TITLE TO THE THRONE

MAHMUD's repeated attempts at reconciliation with his brother Isma'il have been misinterpreted by Elphinstone (*History of India*, p. 316), to signify the "consciousness of a weak title" to the throne. Mahmud seems to have been the heir-apparent, and although there is no direct reference to this, it is borne out by sufficient circumstantial evidence. From his childhood—when Subuktigin is said to have left him as his deputy at Ghazna and given him charge of the province of Zamin Dawar—on to his youth—when he showed conspicuous skill and energy in the contests with Raja Jaipal and Abu 'Ali Simjuri—he had always been associated with his father in the administration of the country and the conduct of the wars, so that when Amir Nuh recognised the services of Subuktigin, Mahmud too received a title and the command of the troops of Khurasan which was the highest office in the empire; while the name of Ismail is not mentioned in any connection whatsoever. It is highly improbable that Ismail would have been kept so much in the background if he had been the heir-apparent. Moreover, Subuktigin showed his eagerness to advance the interests of Mahmud by securing for him the hand of a princess of the Farighunid house which was connected by marriage with the Samanids.

Thus it appears that Mahmud had tacitly enjoyed the honours due to a heir-apparent, and Isma'il's nomination to the succession was probably only a freak of the dying man's capricious temperament. Mahmud's repeated attempts at reconciliation were not therefore due to any weakness of his title to the throne but to a genuine desire, as stated by 'Utbi, p. 115, to avoid a fratricidal war.

APPENDIX E

THE SAMANIDS

SAMAN~I-KHUDAT, the founder of the Samanid Dynasty, was a Zoroastrian nobleman of Balkh who traced his descent from Bahram Chubin.¹ Saman embraced Islam at the hands of al-Ma'mun, son of the Caliph Harunu'r-Rashid, who was at that time governor of Khurasan under his brother al-Amin.² Asad, the eldest son of Saman, had four sons, named Abu Muhammad Nuh, Abu Nasr Ahmad, Abu VAbbas Yahya, and Abu'l-Fadl Uyas. They won the admiration of al-Ma'mun,³ who, after his accession to the Caliphate, commanded Ghassan b. 'Abbad, governor of Khurasan, to appoint each of the brothers to the government of a province. Accordingly in 204⁴ (819-20) Ghassan gave Samarqand to Nuh, Farghana to Ahmad, Shash and Ushrusana? to Yahya; and Herat to Ilyas.⁶

After the death of Nuh, Ahmad became the master of Samarqand, and within a few years added Kashghar to his kingdom. ⁷ Ahmad died in 249^s (863-4), and was succeeded by his son Abu'l-Hasan Nasr, who acquired

1 Gardlzi, p. 19, traces his genealogy to Gayumarth. See also *Mujmal*, f. 251 a; and *Gtqtda*, p. 379.

2 GardM, pp. 19-20. Narshakhi, pp. 57, 74, however, gives quite a different version which seems to be incorrect.

3 Gardlzi, p. 20. Narshakhi, p. 74, says that they had won his favour by assisting him in quelling the rebellion of Rafi* b. Laith.

4 Gardtzi, p. 20. Narshakhi, p. 75, incorrectly says 292 (905). See also Gardlzi (King's College MS), f. 81 a.

5 Modern Tashkand and Ura Tipa, see Le Strange, pp. 474, 481.

6 Gardlzi, p. 20. According to as-Sam'anl, f. 286 b, Nuh died in 227 (842), Yahya in 241 (855-6), Ilyas in 242 (856-7), and Ahmad in 250 (864).

7 *Tab** Nos. p. 29.

8 Narshakhi, p. 76; but *Mujma*/, f. 241 b, and *Tab. Nas.* p. 29, seem to suggest 261 (874-5).

Bukhara in 260 (873-4) and placed it in charge of his brother Abu Ibrahim Isma'il.¹ In the following year, the Caliph al-Mu'tamid granted to him the patent of the sovereignty of Transoxiana. In 275 (888-9), owing to some disagreement with his brother Isma'il, Nasr attacked Bukhara but was defeated and taken prisoner. Isma'il, however, treated him with respect and allowed him to return to his capital at Samarqand.²

Nasr died in 279 (892-3) and was succeeded by his brother Abu Ibrahim Isma'il, who was already in charge of Bukhara. Isma'il defeated 'Amr b. Laith at Balkh on 15th Rabi' i, 287 (20th March, 900), sent him a prisoner to Baghdad and annexed Khurasan.³ He then marched against Muhammad b. Zaid, the 'Alid ruler of Tabaristan and Jurjan, inflicted a crushing defeat on him and took possession of his kingdom.⁴

Isma'il died on 14th Safar, 295 (24th November, 907), and was succeeded by his son Abu Nasr Ahmad, who, during his short rule, added Sistan to his empire. Owing to his savage cruelty, he was put to death by his slaves on 23rd Jumadi ii, 301 (24th January, 914), and his son Abu'l-Hasan Nasr, who was only eight years of age, was raised to the throne. The governors of distant provinces frequently rose in rebellion against him, but he was usually successful in reducing them to obedience. After his death on 27th Rajab, 331 (6th April, 943), the Samanid empire went the inevitable round of decay and downfall. Disastrous wars with the Buwaihid sovereigns sapped the energy of his son and successor Abu Muhammad Nuh, and Raiy, Tabaristan and Jurjan fell off one by one from the empire. Nuh died on 19th Rabi' i, 343 (22nd August, 954), and was succeeded by his son Abu'l-Fawaris 'Abdu'l-Malik,⁵

1 Narshakhl, p. 77.

2 GardM, p. 20.

3 Tabarl, iii, 2194.

4 Gardizi, p. 21.

5 In *Siyasat Ndmab* his name is altogether omitted, but see Utbl, p. 149; and Narshakhl, p. 24.

who tried in vain to restore his influence in the West. He died of a fall from his horse while playing *chawgan* on nth Shawwal, 350 (23rd November, 961).

'Abdu'l-Malik was succeeded by his brother Abu Salih Mansur.¹ During his reign the provinces of Ghazna and Bust became independent under Alptigin, formerly commander of the troops of Khurasan,

Mansur died on nth Shawwal, 365 (12th June, 976), and was succeeded by his son Abu'l-Qasim Nuh, whose reign was marked by the mutual jealousies of a multitude of rebellious nobles. The most ambitious of them, Fa'iq and Abu 'Ali Simjuri, intrigued with Bughra Khan of Kashghar and invited him to attack Bukhara. The Khan accepted the invitation and advanced on the city. Amir Nuh fled at his approach, and Bughra Khan entered Bukhara in triumph in Rabr i 382* (May-June 992). The climate, however, did not agree with him and he returned to Kashghar in Jumadi i of the same year (July 992), leaving behind 'Abdu'l-'Aziz b. Nuh b. Nasr as his deputy. Amir Nuh hurried back, defeated 'Abdu'l-'Azis and occupied Bukhara on the 15th of Jumadi iis (18th August, 992).

Amir Nuh died on 13th Rajab, 387 (22nd July, 997). The whole period of his reign was an unending succession of intrigues, revolts, murders and civil wars. He had managed to maintain himself on the throne by a clever scheme of plots and counter-plots, by sowing dissension among the rebels, and by setting one rebel against another. Of all his vassals, Subuktigin alone

1 According to Maqdisi, p. 338, Nasr, son of 'Abdu'l-Malik, was recognised Amir for one day.

2 Al-Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 131; Gardizi, p. 53; and Baihaqi, p. 233. Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 70; Faslhl, f. 305 a; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 132; Sir H. H. Howorth, *IRAS*, 1898, p. 470; and Mirza Muhammad of Qazwin, *Cbahdr Maqdla*, p. 185, have made wrong statements with regard to the date of this event.

3 Gardizi, pp. 53-4; and Baihaqi, p. 234,

remained steadfast in his loyalty, and his devoted service brought for a short time a spark of life to the sinking house of Saman.

Nuh was succeeded by his son Abu'l-Harith Mansur. He lacked the capacity of his father for intrigue and was a mere puppet in the hands of his noblemen Fa'iq and Begtuzun who at first tried to embroil him with Mahmud and then thought it more convenient to put him aside. Consequently they deposed and blinded him on 12th Safar, 389 (2nd February, 999), and raised his brother 'Abdu'l-Malik to the throne.¹ But 'Abdul-Malik did not enjoy the honours of sovereignty for long. Ilak Khan, the successor of Bughra Khan, invaded Bukhara. 'Abdu'l-Malik, with a view to organising a national resistance, made an appeal to the people. It was read from the pulpit of the Friday Mosque in Bukhara but the congregation listened to it in sullen silence. The jurists of Bukhara voiced the popular opinion by declaring it unlawful to bear arms against the invader on the ground of his being one of "the Faithful".* Ilak Khan entered Bukhara unopposed on 10th Dhu'l-Qa'da, 389 (23rd October, 999). 'Abdu'l-Malik was taken prisoner and sent to Uzgend for safe custody. 3

But one of the princes, Abu Ibrahim Isma'il b. Nuh, known as al-Muntasir, managed to escape the vigilance of his guards, and for a period of six years, made spasmodic efforts to regain his lost inheritance. His wanderings from Raiy to Samarqand, sometimes at the head of a victorious army and sometimes in hasty flight before a triumphant rival or a treacherous ally, form a thrilling chapter in the history of those times. The unfortunate prince was murdered in Rabr i 395 (December 1004) by Ibn Buhaij, chief of the Arabs in the Ghuzz desert, with whom he had taken refuge.

1 'Utbi, p. 124; and BaihaqI, p. 804.

2 *Tajdrib*, iii, 373-4, but Ilak Khan has been confused with Bughra Khan,

3 'Utbf, p. 135; and Gardizf, p. 61.

APPENDIX F

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MA'MUNIDS

VERY little is known about the history of the Ma'munid Dynasty. Some Oriental historians like Hamdu'llah Mustawfi,¹ Ahmad Ghaffari, and Fasihl, and in modern times, Major Raverty² and his followers, have confused them with the Farlghunids who were the rulers of Juzjanan.³

Abu 'Ali Ma'mun b. Muhammad is the first ruler of this dynasty mentioned by the Muslim writers. He is first mentioned by 'Utbi in *Kitdbul-Yamini* in 382 (991-2).⁴ He was assassinated in 387 (997),⁵ and was succeeded by his son Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali. The date of his death and of the accession of his brother and successor, Abu VAbbas Ma'mun, is not mentioned. 'Utbi, p. 216, refers to him as the ruler of Khwarizm in 397 (1006-7); while in Baihaql, p. 838, it is implied that Abu'l-' Abbas had ruled for at least seven years before his assassination in 407 (1017), that is at least from 400 (1010). Thus Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali died between 397 and 400 (1006-10). Again, Baihaql, p. 838, says that Abu'l-' Abbas sent al-Biruni (who according to Baihaql, p. 838, had arrived at his court about 400) to meet half-way the messenger bringing a *khil'at* and a title which the Caliph had bestowed upon him. As *tides* and *khil'ats* were usually bestowed on the accession of a sovereign, and as al-Biruni could not have been sent on this business before 400 (1009-10), the probable conclusion is that Abu VAbbas had ascended the throne about the

1 *Gtqla*, p. 400.

2 *Tab*, *Nds*. p. 232, note.

3 See the note of Mirza Muhammad, *Chahdr Maqala*, p. 243.

4 'Utbi, p. 77; and Gardizi, p. 53.

5 *Ibid*. pp. 106, no.

year 399 (1008-9), th^{at} ^{1S}> ^a short time before the *khil'at* and the title were bestowed on him.¹

This date is corroborated by some of the later writers. In *Janndtu^l-Firdaws* it is mentioned that Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ruled for thirteen years, that is, from 387 to 399 (997-1009). In *Zinatiil-Majdlis* the date of his death is given as 400 (1009-10).

Abu'l-'Abbas was assassinated on 15 th Shawwal, 407 (17th March, 1017), and one of his sons was raised to the throne. He ruled for four months till the conquest of Khwarizm in Safar 408 (July 1017), when the dynasty came to an end.²

1 Faslhi, f. 310 b, places his death in 390 (1000) which is incorrect. Barthold, p. 147, note 4, mentions an inscription on a minaret in old Gurganj or Jurjaniyyah, dated 401 (1010-11), which was erected by Abu'l-'Abbas Ma'mun.

2 See also Barthold, pp. 147, 275-8.

APPENDIX G

THE SAFFARIDS

YA'QUB B. LAITH B. MU'ADDAL, a resident of Qarnin¹ in Sistan, left his native village and adopted the profession of a *saffar* or brazier; but his high spirits revolted at this peaceful occupation and he soon took to highway robbery.² By a freak of fortune, he was promoted in 237 (851-2) from the leadership of a band of outlaws to the government of Bust, by Salih b. Nadr, the Tahirid governor of Sistan. 3 Ya'qub consolidated his power, defeated Salih, took possession of Sistan, conquered Ghazna, Zabulistan and Gardlz, and in 253 (867), added the provinces of Herat, Balkh and Bamiyan to his empire. He then defeated Muhammad, the last of the Tahirids, in 259⁴ (872-3), and became the master of Khurasan. In the following year, he conquered Tabaristan from its 'Alid ruler and then marched on Baghdad.* Here his victorious arms received a check. He was defeated and forced to retire. He refused, however, to be reconciled to the Caliph⁶ and marched again on Baghdad, but he died on the way on 14th Shawwal, 265 (9th June, 879)⁷

'Amr, brother of Ya'qub,⁸ succeeded to the throne. He reconciled the Caliph but the latter, being afraid of

1 Gardlzl, p. 10. According to Yaqut, iv, 73, it was a village in the district of Neshak in Sistan.

2 Gardlzl, p. 11. *Gittfda*, p. 373, says that it was Laith who took to highway robbery.

3 Ibnu'l-Athlr, viii, 43; and *Tarikh-i-Sistdn* as quoted in *Kavah* (Berlin), vol. ii, No. 2, p. 14.

4 Tabari, iii, 1880.

5 *Ibid.* 1883.

6 *Guzida*, p. 434, says that the Saffarids were Shi'as.

7 Tabari, lii, 1883.

8 *Ibid.* iii, 1931; not son, as said by Muir, *The Caliphate*, P- 544.

his power, induced Isma'il b. Ahmad, the ruler of Transoxiana, to attack him. 'Amr was defeated near Balkh in Rabi' i 287 (March 900) and was sent a prisoner to Baghdad, where he died two years later.¹

The army then raised his grandson Tahir b. Muhammad b. 'Amr to the throne. His sway did not extend beyond Sistan. In 293 (905-6) Subkari,² a slave of 'Amr b. Laith, revolted against him, took him prisoner, and sent him to Baghdad. He was succeeded by Mu'addal b. 'All b. Laith. Ahmad b. Isma'U, the Samanid, defeated him in Rajab 2983 (March 911), sent him a prisoner to Baghdad and annexed Sistan. The people, however, rebelled against him, took his governor, Mansur b. Ishaq, prisoner and raised 'Amr, a great-grandson of 'Amr b. Laith, to the throne. 'Amr was defeated in Dhu'l-Hajja 300 (July 913), and sent as a prisoner to Bukhara. Sistan henceforth became a part of the Samanid empire and was placed under the command of Salmjur-i-Dawati.⁴

Some years after this, ⁵ the glories of the Saffarid house were to some extent revived in the person of Abu Ja'far Ahmad b. Muhammad, a grandson of Tahir b. Muhammad b. 'Amr, who had taken to the profession of a labourer to earn his living. His noble bearing attracted the notice of Amir Nasr b. Ahmad the Samanid, who was so moved to pity at his misfortune that he appointed him governor of Sistan and married him to a princess of his own house.⁶

Ahmad died about the year 353 (964) and was suc-

1 Tabarl, iii, 2208.

2 GardizI, p. 28. Major Raverty, *Tab. Nas.* p. 184, note, thinks that it is "SigizI", meaning the inhabitant of a range of hills in Zabulistan, known as Sigiz.

3 *Tajdriby* i, 19; and Ibnu'l-Athir, viii, 45.

4 GardizI, p. 24.

5 In *Zubdatu't-Tawarikh* it is mentioned in the year 309 (921-22).

6 *Guzida*, p. 382.

gccaca oy nib sun nuu ^inxirdu jynaiai.* in 354 VV^U5V> Khalaf went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and during his absence Tahir b. Husain won over the army and usurped the kingdom. Khalaf defeated Tahir with the help of Amir Mansur b. Nuh the Samanid, but shortly after that Tahir again invaded Sistan and forced Khalaf to take refuge at Bukhara. The Amir received him kindly and sent him back with the necessary reinforcements. Tahir having died in the meantime, his son Husain took up the defence. After some resistance, Husain offered submission to the Amir, delivered Sistan to Khalaf and retired to Bukhara. After some time, Khalaf himself revolted against the Amir, who now sent his old rival Husain against him. Khalaf took refuge in the strong fortress of Uk, and for seven years defied all the attempts of the besiegers to reduce him. In 371 (981-2), however, he evacuated the fortress at the request of his friend Abu'l-Hasan Slmjurl, and the province of Sistan was placed in charge of Husain b. Tahir; but Khalaf soon managed to oust Husain and make himself master of the province.²

Shortly after this, Khalaf came into conflict with Subuktigln. He occupied Bust during the absence of Subuktigln on his expedition against Jaipal in 376 (986-7). Subuktigln drove out the officers of Khalaf and made preparations for a counter-attack on Sistan, but Khalaf appeased Subuktigln by making profuse apologies for his conduct and surrendering the amount of the taxes that he had collected from Bust. 3

Khalaf now turned his attention to Kirman and sent his son 'Amr to conquer it. 'Amr was defeated in Muharram 382 (March 992) near Slrjan and forced to

1 According to adh-Dhahabi, f. 181 a; and *Jannatu'l-Firdaw*, i. 36 a, Khalaf was born in 326 (937-8), and came to the throne in 353 (964). See also *Cat. of Coins in the Brit. Mus.* by S. Lane-Poole, iii, 16; and Zambaur, pp. 200-1.

2 'Utbl, pp. 31-5.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 151-2.

return to Sistan. Khalaf became so furious at the failure of 'Amr that he had him arrested and put to death. He now devised a vile stratagem to create public enthusiasm for his enterprise against Kirman. He pretended to make peace with the governor of Kirman, and sent Qadi Abu Yusuf, who was greatly respected by the people, to settle the terms, but he secretly arranged his murder in such a manner that the crime could be imputed to the governor of Kirman. This was carried out; and, as expected, the people of Sistan were infuriated at the enormity of the outrage. Khalaf now despatched his son Tahir to avenge the alleged crime, but he was defeated and forced to fall back on Sistan.¹

After the failure of his plans of conquest, Khalaf established friendly relations with Subuktigln, and assisted him in his struggle with Abu 'Ali Simjuri in 385 (99j).² Soon after this, however, Khalaf turned against Subuktigln and when Ilak Khan threatened Bukhara in 386 (996), he invited him to attack Ghazna. Subuktigln now made preparations to invade Sistan, but Khalaf propitiated him by professing friendship and denying the reports against him.³ When Subuktigln died in 387 (997), Khalaf offended Mahmud by publicly rejoicing at his bereavement.⁴ Again, while Mahmud was engaged in his struggle for the throne with his brother, Khalaf took the province of Fushanj which formed part of the kingdom of Ghazna. This brought him into conflict with Mahmud and led to the conquest of Sistan.⁵

1 *Tajarib*, iii, 190-7.

2 'Utbi, pp. 88, 152.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 152-3.

4 *Ibid.* p. 154.

5 For the details of the relations of Khalaf with Sultan Mahmud, see *supra*, pp. 67-70.

APPENDIX H

THE BUWAIHIDS

ABU SHUJ A' BUWAIH, the ancestor of the Buwaihid sovereigns of Persia, was a resident of Kaya-Kalish¹ in the neighbourhood of Qazwin and claimed descent from the Sasanid monarch Bahram Gur.² When Makan b. Kaki conquered Tabaristan, Abu Shuja', with his three sons, 'All, Hasan and Ahmad, took up service under him. In 315 (927-8), however, Makan, was overthrown by Asfar b. Shirawaih and forced to take refuge in Khurasan. During his exile, Mardawij b. Ziyar put Asfar to death, 3 and proclaimed himself ruler of Tabaristan. The three sons of Buwaih now went over to the side of Mardawij, who appointed 'Ali, the eldest, to the governorship of Karaj,* where his brothers also accompanied him. 5 They now embarked on a career of conquest. 'Ali conquered Fars, and Hasan and Ahmad occupied Raiy and Iraq respectively. At the death of Mardawij in 323⁶ (934-5), 'All assumed independence, seized Isfahan and appointed his brothers Hasan and Ahmad to the governorship of the provinces which they had already conquered. In a short time, Ahmad extended his sway to Ahwaz and Wasit, and in 334 (945-6) obtained effective control of Baghdad itself. 7 The Caliph al-Mustakfi conferred the titles of *'Imadtid-Dawlah* on 'All, *Ruknu' d-Dawlah* on Hasan and *Mu'i-y^ti d-Dawlah* on Ahmad.⁸

1 *Guzida*, p. 414.

2 Al-Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 45, does not admit the genuineness of this claim.

3 *Tajdrib* i, 161, 275.

4 Kara j was situated near Hamadan, see Le Strange, p. 197.

j *Tajdrib*, i, 275; and *Gutfa*, p. 414.

6 *Tajdrib*, i, 310; and Ibnu'l-Athlir, viii, 222,

7 *Tajdrib*, ii, 8j.

8 *Ibid*.

'Imadu'd-Dawlah died in **Jumadi ii 338 (December 949)** and left his kingdom to Fannakhusraw, son of Ruknu'd-Dawlah. In Rabi' ii 356 (March 967) Mu'izzu'd-Dawlah died and was succeeded by his son 'Izzu'd-Dawlah Bakhtiyar, who recognised his uncle Ruknu'd-Dawlah as his suzerain. 'Izzu'd-Dawlah was beheaded in Shawwal 367 (May 978), and his kingdom passed on to 'Adudu'd-Dawlah. The sons of 'Izzu'd-Dawlah were taken prisoners and were beheaded in 383 (993-4) by the order of Samsamu'd-Dawlah.¹

Shortly before his death in Muharram 366 (September 976), Ruknu'd-Dawlah appointed his eldest son 'Adudu'd-Dawlah his successor, and left to his other two sons Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawlah and Fakhru'd-Dawlah the provinces of Isfahan, and Hamadan and Jibal respectively.² In the following year 'Adudu'd-Dawlah conquered Iraq from 'Izzu'd-Dawlah. The three brothers soon began to quarrel among themselves. Fakhru'd-Dawlah refused to do homage to 'Adudu'd-Dawlah, who attacked Fakhru'd-Dawlah in 370 (980-1), and forced him to leave Hamadan and take refuge with his father-in-law Qabus, ruler of Jurjan and Tabaristan. As Qabus refused to surrender Fakhru'd-Dawlah, 'Adudu'd-Dawlah sent against him his brother Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawlah who inflicted a defeat on Qabus at Astarabad in Jumadi i 371 (November 981) and forced him and his *protege* Fakhru'd-Dawlah to flee to Khurasan.³ When Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawlah died in Shaman 373 (January 984), Fakhru'd-Dawlah returned to Jurjan at the invitation of the Sahib b. 'Abbad, wazir of the late sovereign,* and within a few years extended his sway to Raiy and Hamadan. Fakhru'd-Dawlah died in Sha'ban 387⁵ (August 997) and was succeeded by his

1 *Tajarib* > iii, 248. 2 *Ibid*, ii, 362-3.

3 'Utbi, pp. 36-7; but cf. *Tajarib*, iii, 15-17.

4 'Utbi, pp. 49-50; and *Tajarib*, iii, 93.

j 'Utbi, p. 108; but Banakathi, f. 77 b, incorrectly says A. H. 413.

son Majdu'd-Dawlah, who was about nine years of age. About this time Qabus returned from Khurasan and took possession of Jurjan and Tabaristan. Majdu'd-Dawlah ruled till Jumadi i 420¹ (May 1029), when he was taken prisoner by Sultan Mahmud, and his kingdom was annexed to the Ghaznawid empire.²

'Adudu'd-Dawlah died in Ramadan 3 372 (February-March 983). His kingdom was divided between his sons Samsamu'd-Dawlah, who got the province of 'Iraq, and Sharafu'd-Dawlah, who received Kirman and Fars. The brothers soon began to quarrel between themselves, and in 376 (986-7) Sharafu'd-Dawlah defeated Samsamu'd-Dawlah, took him prisoner and annexed his kingdom. On the death of Sharafu'd-Dawlah in Jumadi ii 379 (September 989), Samsamu'd-Dawlah regained his freedom and took the province of Fars. He was put to death in Dhu'l-Hajja 388 (December 998). Sharafu'd-Dawlah was succeeded by his brother BahaVd-Dawlah,⁴ who strengthened his position by entering into an alliance with Sultan Mahmud. 5

Baha'u'd-Dawlah died in Jumadi ii 403 (December 1012) and was succeeded by his son Sultanu'd-Dawlah.⁶ In 4077 (1016-17) Qawamu'd-Dawlah, governor of Kirman, rebelled against his brother Sultanu'd-Dawlah, fled to Bust and implored the assistance of Sultan Mahmud. The Sultan sent Abu Sa^cd at-Ta'I at the head of a large army to reinstate him in Kirman, but when the Ghaznawid troops retired, Sultanu'd-Dawlah returned and forced him to flee.⁸ Later on, however, the

1 Gardizi, p. 91; but Banakathl, f. 77 b, incorrectly says A.H. 414.

2 See *supra*, pp. 80-2.

3 'Utbi, p. 235. Ibnu'l-Athlr, however, says Shawwal 372 (March-April 983).

4 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 13, 33, 42.

5 'Utbi, pp. 240-1; and *Gu%jday*, p. 430.

6 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 169.

7 *Ibid.* p. 207. 'Utbi, pp. 283-4, 290-1, seems to corroborate this date, but Gardizi, p. 71, says that these events took place in 403 (1012-13).

8 'Utbi, pp. 289-90; and Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 207.

brothers were reconciled and Sultanu'd-Dawlah restored the province of Kirman to Qawamu'd-Dawlah.¹ In Dhu'l-Haja 411 (March-April 1021) Musharrafu'd-Dawlah, son of Baha'Vd-Dawlah, deprived Sultanu'd-Dawlah of Iraq. Musharrafu'd-Dawlah died in Rabi' i 416 (May 1025) and was succeeded by his son Jalalu'd-Dawlah. On his death in Sha'ban 435 (March 1044), the kingdom of 'Iraq was conquered by Abu Kalinjar, son of Sultanu'd-Dawlah.²

Sultanu'd-Dawlah died in Shawwal 415 (December 1024) and was succeeded by his son Abu Kalinjar, who took Kirman on the death of Qawamu'd-Dawlah in Dhu'l-Qa'da 419 (November-December 1028), and 'Iraq in Sha'ban 435 (March 1044) on the death of Jalalu'd-Dawlah. Abu Kalinjar died in Jumadi i 440 (October 1048) and was succeeded by his son al-Maliku'r-Rahim. He was defeated and taken prisoner by Sultan Tughrilbek the Seljuk, in Ramadan 447 (December 1055P

1 Ibnu'-Athfr, ix, 208.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 224, 243, 352, 353-

3 *Ibid.* pp. 236, 259, 373, 420.

APPENDIX I

THE HINDUSHAHIIYYA DYNASTY OF WAIHAND

IN the tenth century A.D., a dynasty of Hindu princes, with their capital at Waihand,¹ ruled the territory from Lamaghan to the river Chinab² and from the southern Kashmir hills to the frontier of the kingdom of Multan. Lalliya,³ the founder of this dynasty, was the wazlr of the last sovereign of the Turki-shahiyya Dynasty,* named Lagaturman.⁵ In the last quarter of the ninth century A.D.,⁶ Lalliya deposed Lagaturman and usurped the throne, but on the death of Lalliya, a representative of the late Turkishahiyya Dynasty named Samantdeva,⁷ regained the throne. About A.D. 903 he was, however, defeated and deposed by Gopalvarman, Raja of Kashmir, who raised Tormina Kamaluka, son of Lalliya, to the throne.⁸ Kamaluka was succeeded by Bhim, possibly his son, who was the grandfather of the famous queen Didda, wife of Raja Kshemgupta and ruler of Kashmir from A.D. 980

1 Udabhandha of Kalhana, and modern Hund.

2 See my article in *JKAS.* (1927), pp. 485-6, and note the error of V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, p. 396.

3 Kalhana, ii, 336-9, Note J, in which Sir Aurel Stein has given a learned discussion of the various disputed points regarding the early history of this dynasty. Sir E. C. Bayley has made numerous misstatements in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Series, ii (1882), 128-65. According to al-Bīrūnī, ii, 13, the rulers of this dynasty were Brahmins, but in *Addu'l-Muluk*, f. 92 b, it is implied that Jaipal and his descendants were Bhatls.

4 They boasted descent from Raja Kanishka of the Kushan Dynasty.

j Al-Bīrūnī, ii, 13. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 55, prefers Kitorman.

6 Kalhana, ii, 336-9.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

to 1003.¹ **Bhim** was succeeded by **Jaipal**² about **AJD. 960.3** Jaipal soon came into conflict with the rulers of the neighbouring kingdom of Ghasna, one of whom, Subuktigin, defeated him in two pitched battles and annexed the whole territory up to Lamaghan.⁴

But Jaipal made up his losses in the west by territorial acquisitions in the east. About A.D. 991, Bharat, Raja of Lahore, invaded the kingdom of Jaipal, with a view to conquering the districts of Nandana and Jhelum, and, at the head of a formidable force, crossed the river Chinab which marked the boundary between the two kingdoms. Jaipal sent his son Anandpal, who scattered the army of Bharat and entered Lahore in triumph. The notables of the town, however, interceded on behalf of Bharat, and, on his promising to pay tribute, Anandpal reinstated him in his kingdom. 5

Shortly after the retirement of Anandpal, Bharat was deposed by his son Chandardat, who adopted a hostile attitude towards Jaipal. In 389 (999) Jaipal again sent Anandpal to punish him. Chandardat made great preparations for defence and advanced from Lahore to meet the invader, but one day, while he was hunting, he ventured too far out of his camp and was surprised and taken prisoner by an ambush which Anandpal had laid in a jungle close by. The sons of Chandardat escaped and took refuge with the Raja of Jalandhar.⁵

Jaipal annexed the kingdom of Chandardat which

1 Kalhana, i, 105.

2 Al-Biruni, ii, 13, mentions the name of Jaipal after that of Bhim in the list of the Hindushahiyya Rajas, which implies that Jaipal was the successor of Bhim, and most probably his son; but Firishhta, p. 19, says that Jaipal was the son of Ishtpal.

3 As Jaipal is said to have died at an advanced age ('Utbi, p. 158), this date is not too early for his accession to the throne.

4 For details of these battles, see *supra*, pp. 29-30.

5 *Addbu'l-Muluk*, as quoted by the author in *JR^AS*. (1927), pp. 486-93.

probably extended on the east to the river Biyas, and placed it under the governorship of Anandpal.¹

A little before this, in A.D. 997, Subuktigin died and was succeeded by his son Mahmud, who in A.D. 999 resolved to lead every year an expedition to India. The brunt of his invasions was borne by Jaipal and his descendants till the whole of the Hindushahiyya kingdom was gradually conquered and annexed to the Ghaznawid empire.²

1 *Adabtl-Muluk*) as quoted by the author in *JRAS.* (1927), pp. 486-93. 'Utbl, p. 158, also makes a reference to this fact.

2 See *supra*, pp. 86-96, for details of their relations with Sultan Mahmud.

Al-Biruni, ii, 13, pays a glowing tribute to the rulers of this dynasty for their noble sentiments. Kalhana, Bk vii, **11**. 66-9, refers in a pathetic manner to the vanished glory of this house.

APPENDIX J

i. Identification of "Bhatiya"

"T)HATIYA'', to which Sultan Mahmud led an expedition in 395 (1004-5), has been variously identified with Bhera,¹ Lat. 32° 28' N, Long. 72° 56' E., in the Punjab; with Uchh,² Lat. 29° 15' N., Long. 71° 6' E.; and with Bhatnair,³ Lat. 20° 35' N., Long. 74° 20' E., in the Bikanir state. Contemporary historians and geographers say very little about its position. 'Utbi, pp. 208-9, says that on his way to "Bhatiya" Sultan Mahmud crossed the river Indus in the neighbourhood of Multan, that the fort of "Bhatiya" was high and was surrounded by a deep and wide ditch, and that there was a jungle close to it in the direction of the mountains.

'Unsurl, the panegyrist of Sultan Mahmud, in one of his *qasidas*, says:

1 E. and D. ii, pp. 439-40. One of the reasons given in support of the identification of "Bhatiya" with Bhera is that *Kbuldsatsft-Tatvdrikh* and *Akhbdr-i-Mahabbat* composed about 1107 and 1190 (1695 and 1776) respectively, read Bhera. Both Elliot and Dowson failed to note that if "Bhatiya" were taken to stand for Bhera, the whole account of the expedition as given by 'Utbi and Firishta would become a tangled mass of confusion.

2 Raverty, *The Mibran of Sind*, in *JASB*. (1892), p. 247; and Sir W. Haig, p. 14.

3 J. Bird, in his translation of *Mir'at-i-Ahmads*, p. 21.

4 Other possible variants of Bhatiya that would suit the metre of the verse are Mahatila, Hayatila, Mahatiyah, Hayafiyah, etc.

اگرش گرگ بدرد بریزدش چنگال
 ورش عقاب گذارد بیفکنند همه پر
 سیاتپاش تو گفستی که کژدمانندی
 گره گره شده و خارها برو نشتر
 برون گذشته برو شاه شهریار چو باد

بـزور دین و بـآزار مذهب آذر
 And if I should speak of Bhatiya, you would be astounded
 (To know) how the king of Iraq (Mahmud) journeyed thither.
 The place, where it was, was like scattered
 heaps of thorns.

چنانش کرد خداوند خسروان زمین
 (؟) که نام او بنهبان گم شد است طول و قصر
 The wolf would lacerate its paws if it were to traverse that road,
 And (on account of the heat) the eagle would drop its pinions
 were it to soar above that tract.

Its (xerophytic) plants, you would say, are scorpions,
 Coiled and curled with thorns for stings.

The king of kings (Mahmud) crossed it like unto a blast of wind,
 By the strength of his faith, and to the detriment of idolatry.
 He subdued the country of Baji Ray and acquired his treasures,
 And with the blood of the enemy's warriors he irrigated the
 arid tract.

The lord of the kings of the earth (Mahmud) reduced the place
 so completely,
 That its very name has been forgotten.

'Unsurl thus implies that "Bhatiya" was situated in
 a barren country, and that on his way to it the Sultan
 crossed a sandy desert overgrown with thorny bushes.

i I have followed the text of the MS in the Asiatic Society
 of Bengal.

Al-Biruni, on p. 100 of his famous work named *Tahqiq ma l?l-Rind...*,* says that Bhati (or Bhatiya) lay between Narayan² (Narayanpur in Alwar state) and Multan; and between Narayan and Aror or Rohrl; and, on p. 82, that a particular alphabet called Ardhanagari was common both to "Bhatiya" and Sind. Again, in *Qanuntfl-Mas'udj*, f. 90 a, al-Biruni places "Bhatiya" in Lat. 29⁰ 40' N., the same as he gives for Multan. Thus, according to al-Biruni, "Bhatiya" was situated between Narayan and Rohrl, somewhere near Sind, in the same latitude as Multan.

Gardlzl, p. 66, says that the Sultan marched to "Bhatiya" by way of Walishtan³ (modern Sibi in Baluchistan), and again, on pp. 87-8, he says that the Jats of "Bhatiya" and Multan inhabited the region along the banks of the river Indus between Multan and Mansura. This shows that "Bhatiya" was also the name given to the country ruled by the Raja of "Bhatiya".

From the foregoing remarks of the writers contemporary with Sultan Mahmud, it is evident that "Bhatiya" could not possibly be Bhera, which is too far to the north of Multan, nor could it be Uchh which does not lie between Narayan and Multan, and to reach which the Sultan could not have crossed a sandy desert,

1 The references here are given to Sachau's edition of this work in Arabic, and not to his translation into English, because his translation of the passage from p. 100 cited above is misleading. The correct translation is as follows: "From Narayan (the original reads Bazana, but it should be Narana which, according to al-Biruni *Qanunu-Mas'udi*, f. 90 a, was called Narayan by the Muslims) towards the west, Multan is fifty *farsakh*, and Bhati (or Bhatiya) fifteen *farsakh*; and from Bhati towards the south-west, Aror is fifteen *farsakh*. It (i.e. Aror) is a township between the two arms of the river Sind."

z For its identification, see Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, pp. 337-40.

3 This was the usual way from Bust to Multan. See Baihaqi, p. 140.

as it is situated on the Panjnad.¹ Bhatnair seems to suit the brief indications given by the contemporary writers about the locality of "Bhatiya"; but firstly, "Bhatiya" is not an obvious corruption of Bhatnair; secondly, Bhatnair is not situated in the same latitude as given for "Bhatiya" and Multan; and thirdly, the authors of *Malfiqat-i-Tlmiiri* and *Zafar Namah*⁷, state that before the capture of Bhatnair by Timur in A.D. 1398 "no hostile army had ever penetrated thither/" or, in other words, these authors were not aware of the conquest of Bhatnair by Sultan Mahmud.

The only place of importance which satisfies the description of "Bhatiya" is Bhatinda, which is situated in Lat. 30° 15' N., that is, nearly the same as that of Multan. It lies between Narayan, or Narayanpur, and Multan, and to reach it the Sultan must have crossed the sandy desert to the east of the Sutlej. The fort of Bhatinda has always been famous for its strength and impregnability.³ There was also a dense jungle at a distance of about thirty miles from it in the direction of Sirhand.* Moreover, the whole stretch of country "lying between 29° 15' and 30° 15' N. and 74° 0' and 75° 45' E., and comprising the valley of the Ghaggar from Fatehabad in Hissar district to Bhatnair in the state of Bikaner, together with an undefined portion of the dry country stretching north-west of the Ghaggar towards the old bank of the Sutlej", has always been called "Bhattiana", that is, the land of the Bhattls,⁵ which was most probably under the

1 In *Addbu'I-Muluk*, f. 28 a, "Bhatiya" and Uchh are mentioned as two distinct places.

2 E. and D. iii, 422 and 488 respectively.

3 *Gazetteer of Bikaner* by Captain Powlett, p. 122; and *I.G.L* viii, 90. The modern fort is built 118 feet above the level ground, and is visible from a long distance. See also Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, xxiii, 2-5.

4 *Malfu%at-i-TJmuri* as translated in E. and D. iii, 427.

j *I.G.L* viii, 91.

Rajas of Bhatinda.¹ The kingdom of Bhatinda probably extended to the river Indus, as implied by Gardlzl.

Bhatinda was one of the four important forts² which were situated at the angles of a nearly square figure with a side about 40 miles long, thus forming a "quadrilateral" in the path of an invader from the north-west. The reduction of Bhatinda was necessary because it guarded the passage into the rich Ganges valley.³

The identification of "Bhatiya" with Bhatinda is supported by a very interesting derivation of the name Bhatinda given by Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India*, xxiii, 5. He says: " *Bhatti-da-nagara*, or 'the Bhatti's city', was, in all probability, the full form of this name, originally from *Bhatti*, the tribe, and *da*, largely used in the province as the genitive particle in lieu of *sa* or *ha*, of which it is merely a dialectic variation. Of the habit of omitting the final word *nagaraopura* (which merely signifies 'town' or 'city') and retaining the sign of the genitive case, numerous examples exist in which such terminations are *understood*, and the intermediate nasal may or may not be employed; indeed, the word is often pronounced by the people as *Bhatida*, seldom *Bhatinda* and never *Bhatinda*" Moreover, as the people of Bhatinda were known as Bhatīs before the Muslim conquest/ their town must have been called Bhati-da-nagara, or Bhatida. In conversation the Muslim conquerors, who were not probably

1 In the time of Sultan Mahmud, Bhatinda was situated on an affluent of the river Ghaggar, but the surrounding country was barren.

2 The other three forts were Bhatnair, Sirsa and Abohr.

3 Bhatinda was an important fortress on the road connecting Multan with India proper, see *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*; ii, 109, iii, 35.

4 *I.G.I.* xiii, 38. It is also stated there that those of the Bhatīs who accepted Islam called themselves Bhattīs to distinguish themselves from their Hindu fellow-tribesmen.

acquainted with the derivation of the word Bhatlda, must have dropped the hard *d* at the end and pronounced it as Bhatiya. In writing, the original form Bhatiya (AJI[^]) was changed to Bhatiya (<ul*^l[^]), for, when a word is Arabicised, the / (ɛ>) in it is usually changed to / (I*).¹

2. Date of the 'Expedition to Bhatinda

'Utbi does not mention the date of this expedition, but it can be ascertained from other circumstances mentioned by him. After his account of the rebellion in Sistan in Dhu'l-Hajja 393 (October 1003), he says, p. 170, that Sultan Mahmud went to Balkh to make preparations for "a holy war in Hind which shall be mentioned in its proper place". Again, on p. 208, he begins the account of the expedition to "Bhatiya" in the following words: "When the Sultan had settled the affairs of Sistan and the action of its beating pulse (i.e. rebellion) had subsided, and the dark clouds (of rebellion) had dispersed, he determined upon invading Bhatiya". This undoubtedly signifies that the phrase "a holy war in Hind" refers to the expedition to "Bhatiya". Thus 'Utbi makes this expedition subsequent to the year 393 (1003).

Again, according to 'Utbi, p. 169, after the final conquest of Sistan in Dhu'l-Hajja 393 (October 1003), the Sultan stayed there for some time to pacify the country. It was therefore probably after the winter that he proceeded to Balkh, as stated above, to make preparations for "a holy war in Hind" which could not have been undertaken before the following winter, i.e. before the end of 394 and the beginning of 395 (September-October 1004).

Gardlzi, pp. 66-7, places this expedition between

1 For example, Jatt (*c*m>*) is written Zutt (*hj*) in Tabari.

Rabl* ii and Dhu'l-Qa'da 393 (February-September 1003), which gives the Sultan no time to go to Balkh and make preparations for the expedition, as stated by 'Utbi. Almost all the later historians, with the exception of Nizamu'd-Din Ahmad, place this expedition in the year 395 (1004-5),

APPENDIX K

THE TWO TRILOCHANPALS

RAJATRILOCHANPAL, who prevented the passage of the river Ruhut or Ramganga in 410 (1019), was the son of Anandpal of the Hindushahiyya Dynasty, and not of Rajyapal of Kanauj, as stated by Sir V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, p. 398. Farrukhi has brought out this point very clearly. He says, f. 1 b:

شنیده که چه دید است رای ازو و چه دید

شہ مخالف بہراہ و گمہش گمراہ

Have you heard what treatment the Ray received from him (Mahmud), and what the Shah, the rebel, the misguided one who has lost both his wits and his ways?

and on f. 4 b:

شہ و نندا و رام و رای و کور از بہر شمشیرش

بدان جانند کاندہ گورشان خوشتر مکان باشد

زجنگ شاہ و جنگ رای نندا نام کی جوید

کسی گز جنگہا اورا کمینہ جنگ خان باشد

The Shah, Nanda, Ram, the Ray and Kur, from the fear of his (Mahmud's) sword, are in such a fright that they regard the grave as the safest place for themselves.

Why should he (Mahmud) seek glory from the fight with the Shah or with Ray Nanda, the least important of whose achievements is the fight with the Khan (of Turkistan)?

Again, on ff. 16a-16b, Farrukhi says that after crossing the Ganges,

خبر شنید کہ پیش ہی تو شاہ از گنگ

گذشت و پیل پس ہشت او قطار قطار

بچاشتگاه ملك با كمرگشان سپاه
 برفت بر دم او جنگجوی و كینه‌گذار
 وزان حصار سوی شاه رو بگرد و برفت

.....
 بيمك شبانروز از پای قلعه سربل
 برود راحت شد تازیان بيمك هنجار
 تروجهال سپهرا بشب گذاشته بود
 به پیل زاب وزان سو گرفته راهگذار
 شه سپهشكن جنگجوی پیش ملك
 میان بیشه كشن اندرون خزید چو مار
 درشت بود و چنان نرم شد كه روز دگر
 بصد شفیع همی خواست از ملك زهار
 چو شاهرا بزد و مال و پیل ازو بستد

.....
 ز جنگ شاه سپهرا بهجنگ رای كشید
 ز خواب خواست همی كرد رای را بیدار
 خبر دهنده خبر داد رای را كه ملك
 سوی تو آمده راه گریختن بر دار
 هنوز رای تمام این خبر شنیده نبود
 كه شد ز مملكت خویش پكسره بیزار
 چو شهریار زمانه بباری اندر شد
 خبر شنید كه رفت او و راه دویا بار

He (Mahmud) heard that shortly before him, the Shah had crossed the Ganges, followed by lines of elephants. The next morning the *malik* (Mahmud) with his army, followed him, intent upon fighting and taking vengeance.

{After this the Sultan takes the fort of Sarba/, and)

From that fort, he (Mahmud) turned his attention to the Shah,

After a day and night's rapid and continuous march from the fort of Sarbal, he reached the river Rahut.

Tirujipal (Trilochanpal) had crossed over with his army the preceding night, on elephants, and had made preparations to prevent the passage of the river.

The army-routing and fight-seeking Shah, before the *malik* (Mahmud) crept like a snake into the thick jungle.

He (the Shah) was very aggressive but became so meek (then) that on the following day, he sent a hundred intercessors to demand quarter.

When he (Mahmud) defeated the Shah and captured his riches and elephants, ...

After the fight with the Shah, the Sultan marched to give battle to the Ray, as he (Mahmud) wanted to rouse him (the Ray) from his slumber.

The messenger said to the Ray: The *malik* is advancing on you; take to flight.

And without waiting to hear all the news, the Ray renounced his kingdom (i.e. fled).

When the ruler of the world (Mahmud) entered Bari, he was told that the Ray had crossed the river.

The above extracts clearly show (i) that Shah and Ray were the titles of two distinct rajas, and (ii) that the Trilochanpal who tried to prevent the passage of the river Rahut or Ruhut was called the Shah, while the other raja bearing the same name, who fled from Ban, was known as the Ray. But as Shah was the title of the rulers of the Hindushahiyya Dynasty, Trilochanpal the Shah could not be the ruler of Bari or Kanauj, who was known as Ray.

Further, according to al-Blruni, ii, 13, and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 219, Trilochanpal of the Hindushahiyya Dynasty was killed in 412 (1021); while Trilochanpal, Ray of Kanauj, lived at least up to A.D. 1027, according to the Jhusi inscription (*Indian Antiquary*; xviii, 33-5), on which Sir V. A. Smith has chiefly based his conclusions.

APPENDIX L

i. *An extract from The Syriac Chronicle, pp. 211-12*

IN A.H. 414 Khwarizmshah Mahmud¹ again invaded India and captured many cities. When he had marched a distance of four months into the land he reached a castle named Kawakir where lived one of the Indian kings. He attacked *it* fiercely and then an Indian ambassador in a litter borne by four men came out to him and said: "My lord asks what manner of man you are". Mahmud replied: "I am a Muslim, I invite unbelievers to belief in God and persecute idolaters. You Hindus, either believe in our God, accept our law, and eat beef, or pay tribute—1000 elephants and 1000 *manns* of gold". The ambassador said: "We cannot eat beef. This religion of yours: send us a learned man to teach us your faith and if it is better than ours we will receive it". He sent with him a learned Arab who entered the castle and spoke with them through an interpreter. They said: "We will not change our religion and do not possess the gold you want but have much silver". They agreed to give 300 elephants, much silver, and valuable garments. Mahmud said: "I agree. But the king must put on our clothes, tie a sword and belt round his waist and, to ratify the oath, cut off the tip of his finger as is Indian custom". The Arab ambassador said: "When I came into the presence of the Indian king, I found a splendid youth of great beauty, glorious in blackness, on a silver throne, wearing a cloak and trousers of cloth,² with a turban on his head. When I saw him I clapped my hands violently and bowed over them as is their custom. I spoke of

1 Obviously a mistake for Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna.

2 The word in the original is not intelligible but it evidently means some kind of cloth.

the dress he was to wear and entreated him much (to wear it). He said: 'I beg you to excuse me from wearing it and tell your lord that I have put it on'; I replied: 'I cannot deceive my lord ', He only just put it on with the belt and girded on the sword. When he was so dressed I was ashamed to say to him, 'Cut off your finger'. I had only said, *Swear to us', when he answered: 'Our oath is by images and fire, which is not accepted by you. How shall I swear?' I said: 'You know how to swear'. At once he told a slave to bring him a razor. He took it in his right hand and cut off the tip of his left little finger without changing colour. He sprinkled some drug on it and tied it up. He washed the piece he had cut off, put it with camphor in a bag, and gave it to me with some clothes, silver, and two horses".¹

2. *An extract from Sibṭ Ibnū'l-Jawzī, f. 219 b, which is given as a quotation from as-SdbVs Dhail*

He (Mahmud) attacked a town and according to other reports the fort which we have already said contained 509,000 souls. He made peace with its master by accepting 500 elephants and 3000 cows. Mahmud sent to him a robe of honour, a turban, a belt, a gold caparisoned horse, and a ring with his (Mahmud's) name inscribed on it. According to the ceremony which ensured the observance of a compact among the Hindus, the Sultan ordered the small finger of the Raja to be cut off. Mahmud had thus numerous finger-tips of those who had made peace with him. The Raja put on the dress, took out the knife and cut off his little finger with it without changing colour. He then applied an ointment to the wound to stop bleeding.

1 For pointing out this passage and translating it from the original Syriac into English, the writer's grateful acknowledgments are due to Dr A. S. Tritton, Professor of Arabic in the Muslim University, *Aligarh.

i. *Authorities on the Expedition to Somnath*

I HAVE based my account of the expedition to Somnath on (i) Farrukhl, (ii) Gardlzl, (iii) Ibn Zafir, (iv) Sibte Ibnu'l-Jawzl, and (v) Ibnu'l-Athir. Firishta gives some details which are not improbable, but, as he has considerably diminished the value of his work by incorporating in his account of this expedition most of the extravagant stories connected with the conquest of Somnath as if they were sober history, I have left him out of consideration.

There are no Hindu sources to correct or supplement the account of the Muslim authors, and though Kathiawar can boast of many histories or more properly historical legends, by Jain monks, like the *Dwyashraya* of Hemchandra (A.D. 1089-1173), and the *Vichdrasreni* and *Prabandha Chintdmani* of Mirutunga, both of which were composed about the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D., none of them contains even the slightest reference to the destruction of the temple of Somnath.

2. *The Origin and Sanctity of the Idol of Somnath*

Nothing is known historically about the origin of the idol of Somnath. According to the Hindu legend, as quoted by al-Biruni, i i, 102-3, the Moon-god committed a sin in expiation of which he was required to raise the *linga* of Mahadeva as an object of worship. He did so, and the *linga* he raised was the stone of Somnath, for "soma" means the moon, and "natha" means master, so that the whole word means "the master of the moon". It was erected on the sea-coast, and each time when the moon rose and set, the water of the ocean rose in flood and covered the idol; when the moon reached the meridian of noon and

midnight, the water receded in the ebb and the idol became visible again. For this reason, it was believed that the moon was perpetually occupied in serving and bathing the idol.

Muslim writers give a different but an equally fanciful origin of this idol and try to establish connection between Somnath and Manat, one of the idols of the Ka'ba. They say that Manat was hidden by its worshippers and transported to a land "which had from times immemorial been the home of idolatry", namely Kathiawar, and set it up there as an object of worship. To account for its sudden appearance, it was given out that it had emerged from the sea. A temple was raised to accommodate it, and it was called "So-Manat" to perpetuate its old name Manat in a disguised form. As the Manat of the Ka'ba most probably had a human figure, the Muslims believed that the idol of Somnath too had human features.¹

But whatever the origin of the idol, it cannot be denied that it was of undoubted antiquity. Ibn Khallikan, hi, 333, says that the idol of Somnath had thirty rings round it, and on enquiry the Sultan was told that each ring represented a period of 1000 years for which it had been worshipped.² This would place the age of the idol at the evidently exaggerated figure of 30,000 years, but any way it serves to give an idea of its antiquity.³

The worship of the *linga* of Mahadeva was not confined to this temple. According to al-Biruni, ii, 104, there were numerous *lingas* in the temples in the south-west of Sind and Cutch, and the reason for the importance of this one in particular was that, the town

1 Farrukhf, f. 10 b; and Gardlzl, p. 86.

2 See also as-Subki, *Taba'qatu'sh-Shafityya*, iv, 15, and *Babjatu'l-Ikbwdn*, f. 23 a.

3 The discovery of /r/sr^-shaped stones at the prehistoric site of Mohen-jo-daro in Sind shows that *linga* worship was probably common in western India in very ancient times.

of Somnath being a port of call for ships sailing between Africa and China, its fame was carried to distant countries by the sailors who probably looked upon it as their patron god. In the time of Sultan Mahmud its fame had considerably increased for another reason. The devotees of this idol, probably thinking that Somnath was too far out of the way and was too well protected by the desert on one side and the sea on the other, had boasted that the only reason why the Sultan had been able to demolish other idols of India was that Somnath was displeased with them. This naturally increased the sanctity of the idol in the eyes of the pious Hindus who could not find any other reason for the desecration of their cherished idols at the hands of this invader from the north. The consequence was that thousands of pilgrims from all parts of India came to swell the crowds that already assembled there, especially at the time of lunar eclipse.¹

As stated by Muslim writers, the Hindus believed that the idol possessed divine powers, that it gave life and death, that after death spirits assembled before it and were re-allotted to different bodies, that it apportioned to human beings pleasure and pain, happiness and sorrow, and that it could cure all forms of disease. The idol reckoned among its devotees numerous rajas who either came personally, or sent their deputies to attend to its worship on their behalf.²

The temple of Somnath was very rich. It is said that it was endowed with 10,000 villages, the revenue of which was spent on its upkeep, that there were 1000 Brahmins to perform the elaborate ritual and to admit worshippers to the sanctuary, 300 musicians and dancers to sing and dance at the gates of the temple, 300 servants to look after the comfort of the pilgrims, and a large staff of couriers whose daily duty was to bring

1 Farrukhl, f. 20 a.

2 Ibn zafir, f. 150 b; and Sibti Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 214 a.

fresh Ganges water with which the idol was washed, and fresh Kashmir flowers with which it was garlanded. In addition to the revenue from these villages, the rich offerings of its devotees had filled the coffers of the temple with gold and precious stones of incalculable value.¹

3. *The Original Temple*

The original temple was a big edifice, spacious enough to accommodate a part at least of the staff attached to its service. It was situated on the sea-shore within the high-tide mark, so that its walls were washed by the waves.² Its foundation was laid on large blocks of stone,³ and the roof was raised on 56 columns of teak which had been imported from Africa.⁴ The temple had a pyramidal roof thirteen storeys high, the top of which was surmounted by fourteen spherical knobs of gold which glittered in the sun and were visible from a long distance.⁶ The floor was made of planks of teak, and the interstices were filled with lead. ?

The idol lodged in this temple was the phallic representation of the *linga* of Mahadeva. It was seven cubits in height of which two were hidden in the basement, and about three cubits in girth. It had a covering of rich material with figures of animals embroidered on it,⁸ and a crown set with precious stones was hung above it from the ceiling. 9 There were minor idols of gold and silver under its raised pedestal and along the ceiling, to signify that they were attendant on it.¹⁰ The

1 Ibn Jawzi, f 175 a; Ibn Zafir, f. 150 b; al-Biruni, ii, 103; Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 241; and Sibṭ Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f 215 a.

2 Al-Biruni, ii, p. 105; and Ibn Zafir, f. 150 b.

3 Ibn Zafir, 150 b; Sibṭ Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f 215 b.

4 Ibn Zafir, 150b; Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 241; Sibṭ Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f. 215 b.

5 Ibn Zafir, 150 b.

6 Ibn Zafir, 151a; Sibṭ Ibnu'l-Jawzi, f 215 b.

7 Ibn Zafir, 150 b.

8 Al-Biruni, ii, 105; Ibn Zafir, f 151 a; and Ibnu'l-Athir, ix, 241.

9 Farrukhi, f 19 b; and Ibn Zafir, f 151a.

10 Ibn Zafir, f 151 a.

idol-chamber was illuminated by exquisitely jewelled chandeliers,¹ and draped curtains of great value were hung over the doorway. All along the passage leading to this chamber there were standing posts for ushers who admitted the worshippers to the sanctuary.² In front of this chamber was suspended, from a massive chain of gold weighing 200 *manns*,³ a bell which was rung at specified times of worship. By the side of the chamber there was a repository in which jewels and idols of gold and silver were stored.⁴

4. *The Site of the Original Temple*

From the description given above it is evident that the ancient temple could not be identified with the one the ruins of which are shown to-day, 5 nor could it have stood on the same site. The question then arises: Where did the original temple stand? Al-Biruni, *ii*, 105, says that it was situated three miles to the west of the mouth of the river Saraswati. With this clue in mind, I searched for the site of the original temple during my visit to Somnath Patan, and about 200 yards to the west of the temple of Bhidia, about three miles from the mouth of the river Saraswati, I found the remains of large blocks of stone joined together with a whitish cement, partly buried in sand and partly washed over by the sea at high-tide. I believe that

1 Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 241.

2 Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 215 b.

3 A *man* was equal to 2 *ratls* or about 2 lb. See *JASB.* (1892), p. 192.

4 Sibt Ibnu'l-Jawzl, f. 215 b. Ibnu'l-Athlr, ix, 241, says that this repository was under the idol-chamber.

5 The present ruins measure 90 feet by 68 feet, and stand about 60 feet away from the sea, and about 40 feet above its level. They are the ruins of a one-storey building, with one dome in the centre and two smaller ones on its sides. This temple was constructed in A.D. 1169; ^{see} *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* (1898-0), p. 9; and J. Burgess, *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* (1885), p. 182.

this was the place where stood the temple which Sultan Mahmud captured and burnt. Midway between this site and the temple of Bhidia, a *linga* has been placed in the sea in ancient times, probably to commemorate the original site.

The whole sea coast around this site is littered with ruins. Every now and then the sea washes away the sand and exposes some of them to view. When I was at Somnath, the ruins of what looked like a small cell were thus uncovered close to Verawal. I am sure that if this site were excavated, some additional details regarding the size and plan of the ancient temple might be brought to light.¹

5. *The Date of the Expedition*

There is very little disagreement among the chief authorities with regard to the date of this expedition. Al-Biruni, GardM, Ibn Zafir, and Ibnu'l-Athlir place it in the year 416 (1025); but some later Arab chroniclers, like adh-Dhahabi and al-Yafi'I, have erroneously mentioned it among the events of the year 418 (1027); while a little vagueness of Firishta and a careless mistake of Elliot and Dowson in translating Ibnu'l-Athlir's account of this expedition have misled modern writers like Elphinstone, Colonel Malleeson, J. Burgess, and Sir W. Haig, to ascribe it to the years 414 (1023) or 41 j (1024).

1 Professor M. Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, p. 51, suggests that Somnath was situated at the mouth of another river also named Saraswati which falls into the Rann of Cutcb. He takes the Sultan from Anhalwar (which was situated on this river) straight down the river Saraswati to Somnath. This is entirely unauthorised, see *infra*, pp. 215-18, where the route of the Sultan has been outlined.

6. *The Route of the Sultan*

Gardizi, Ibn Zafir, Sibṭ Ibnū'l-Jawzī and Ibnū'l-Athīr take the Sultan directly from Multan to Anhalwara, without naming any of the intermediary stages. *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta*, written in the beginning of the eleventh century A.H., mentions Ajmer as one such place, and has been followed by almost all the modern writers. It has, however, been shown in recent years that Ajmer was founded in A.D. 1100,¹ that is, about 75 years after the Sultan's expedition to Somnath. Apart from this, it is very unlikely that the Sultan passed by Ajmer, because, firstly, it would have prolonged his march by at least 100 miles without reducing the length of the journey across the desert; secondly, it would have necessitated penetration, without any particular reason, into the mountains that protect Ajmer on the north; and thirdly, it would have made the Sultan run the unnecessary risk of encountering numerous Rajput chieftains who held sway on the northern slopes of the Aravalli hills.² A nearer approach to the truth is made, perhaps accidentally, in *Ta'rikh-i-Alfi*, f. 383 a, where Jaisalmer is substituted for Ajmer, but Jaisalmer too was not founded until A.D. 1156, that is, about 130 years after the destruction of the temple of Somnath.³

I have been able to determine the route which the Sultan followed by references to a *qasida* of Farrukhi,

1 *Indian Antiquary*, xxvi, 162. Sir W. Haig, p. 23, to overcome this objection, has substituted for Ajmer the town of Sambhar, the Chauhan capital.

2 Tod, i, 292, says, on the alleged authority of *Firishta*, that Nadol, a town in Rajputana, was taken by Mahmūd, but this fact is not mentioned in any edition of *Firishta*.

3 *I.G.L.* xiv, 9.

who accompanied the Sultan on this expedition.¹ He says, f. 19 a:

بدان ره اندر چندان حصارهای بزرگ
 خراب کرد و بکند اصل هر يك از بن و بر
 نخست لدروه گز روی برج و باره او
 چو کوه کوه فرو ریخت آهن و مرمَر
 حصار او قوی و باره حصار قوی
 حصاریان همه بر سان شیر شزه نر
 مبارزانی همدست و لشکری همپرشت
 درنگ پیشه بغزو شتاب کاریگر
 چو چیکودر که صندوقهای گوهر یافت
 بسکوه پایه آن شهریار شیرشکر
 چگونه کوهی چونانکه از بلندی او
 ستارگان را گوی فرود اوست مقرر
 چو نهرواله که اندر دیار هند بهیم
 به نهرواله همیکرد بر شان مغر
 دویست پیل و کما بیش صد هزار سوار
 نود هزار پیاده مبارز و صفدر
 همیشه رای بهیم اندرو مقیم نعیم
 نشسته ایمن و دل پر نشاط و تازه و تر
 چو مندهیر که در مندهیر حوضی بود
 چنانکه خیره شدی اندرو دو چشم فکر
 چگونه حوضی چونانکه هرچه اندیشم
 نمیتوانم گفتن صفاتش اندر خور
 فراخ پنا حوضی بصد هزار عمل
 هزار بتکده خرد کرده حوض اندر

¹ In *Ta'rikh-i-Fakhrū'd-Dīn Mubārakshāh*, p. 52, it is stated that Sultān Maḥmūd bestowed an elephant load of gold on Farrukhī for this *qaṣīda*.

دگر چو دیولواره گه همچو دیو سفید
 پدید بود سر افراشته میان گذر
 یکی حصار قوی بر گران شهر و درو
 ز بت پرستان گرد آمده یکی محشر
 بکشت مردم و بت خانها بکند و بسوخت
 چنانکه بتکده و ارنی و تانیسر

On the way (to Somnath) the Sultan captured many forts and towns, and rased them to the ground.

The first such place was Ludrava from whose towers and fortifications, mountains of steel and stone rolled down.

The citadel and fortifications were strong, and the garrison were like roaring lions.

The champions were equal in valour and the soldiers backed each other up; the army was slow to move but swift in action.

(The next place) was Chikudar (?) hill at the foot of which the lion-vanquishing Sultan obtained coffers of jewels.

This hill was so high that, you would say, the passage of the stars was below it.

(The next place) was Nahrwala, on the possession of which Bhlm prided himself over other princes of India.

He had an army of 200 elephants, and nearly 100,000 horse and **90,000 foot.**

Ray Bhlm resided in luxury in this fort and enjoyed his life.

(The next place) was Mundher, where there was a tank which dazzled the eyes of thought.

The more I think of this tank, the less capable I feel of praising it adequately.

The tank was of wide expanse and accommodated 1000 small idol-temples.

(The next place) was Dewalwara which like the bright day, was visible to the traveller on the road.

There was a strong fort on one side of the town, and in it had assembled a large number of idolaters.

(The Sultan) killed the people, overturned their idol-temples, and burnt them like the idol-temples of WarnI (?) and Tanlsar.

Farrukhi thus mentions five places, namely, Ludrava, Chikudar, Nahrwala, Mundher and Dewalwara which the Sultan passed between Multan and Somnath. Ludrava, or Lodorva as it is written on modern maps, is situated about ten miles west by north of the town of Jaisalmer, and, at the time of the invasion of Sultan Mahmud, was the capital of the Bhati Jadons. It is said to have been an immense city with twelve gates.¹ Chikudar cannot be properly deciphered as the text of Farrukhi is very corrupt, but it probably stands for the Chiklodar Mata hill which is about seventeen miles north of Palanpur.² Nahrwala was the name of modern Patan,³ in the Ahmadabad District of Bombay, Mundher is situated about eighteen miles south of Patan, and, from the extent of its ruins, "seems at one time to have been of considerable note". It has "a large tank or *taldu*, that has, at one time, been surrounded by steps, and also perhaps with shrines".⁴ Dewalwara is modern Delvada, which is situated between Una and the island of Diu, at a distance of about forty miles east of Somnath.⁵

The Sultan thus marched from Multan to Lodorva, probably by way of Uchh or Bahawalpur, and thence along the low ridge that traverses the Jaisalmer state and Mallani,⁶ to Patan. From Patan he proceeded to Mundher, and then straight across the Kathiawar peninsula to Delvada and Somnath.⁷

i *Gazetteer of Marwar, Mallani and Jeysulmere* by C. K. M. Walter, pp. 84, 96; and *I.G.L. {Provincial Series}, Rajputana* > pp. 209-10.

2 *Bombay Gazetteer*, v, 282

3 *I.G.L.* xx, 24.

4 J. Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, ix, 71.

5 Ibnu'l-Athir says that it was two days' march from Somnath.

6 Briggs, *Firishta*, i, 79, quotes a tradition to the effect that the Sultan conquered a fort named Chotan which is about fifty miles east of * Umarkot. See also the *Gazetteer of Marwar, etc.*, by C K. M. Walter, p. 56.

7 This clearly shows that Professor Hablb's theory that Somnath was close to Nahrwala or Patan, is unfounded.

7. Stories connected with the Expedition

The destruction of the temple of Somnath was looked upon as the crowning glory of Islam over idolatry, and Sultan Mahmud as the champion of the Faith, received the applause of all the Muslim world. Poets vied with each other in extolling the real or supposed virtues of the idol-breaker, and the prose-writers of later generations paid their tribute of praise to him by making him the hero of numerous ingenious stories. Most of these stories, by a natural process of assimilation and adaptation, were incorporated in works of history and handed down as well-authenticated facts. I propose therefore to take some of them, and attempt to ascertain the amount of historical truth, if any, which they contain.

(1) The best known of these stories is the one about Dabishlim. It is first mentioned in the *Wasaya-i-Nizamu'l-Mulk*, a work of the ninth century A.H. Briefly stated it is as follows:

After the conquest of Somnath, the Sultan was so charmed with the climate that he resolved to settle there, but his noblemen induced him to return to Ghazna and leave a deputy in Kathiawar. The names of two candidates were suggested to him, one was Dabishlim the Ascetic, and the other, also named Dabishlim, was the Raja of a neighbouring state. The Sultan appointed the Ascetic as his deputy and, at his request, undertook an expedition against the other Dabishlim. On this occasion the Sultan is made to say, "As I left my country with the intention of carrying on a holy war and have done so for three years, I may as well remain another six months to settle this affair". The Sultan then marched against the other Dabishlim, took him prisoner and, as the Ascetic was afraid of keeping him in custody, carried him to Ghazna. After some time, the Ascetic sent his officers to fetch the captive Dabishlim. When he was due to arrive, the

Ascetic went some distance out of his capital to meet him according to the custom of the country, but as the captive was a little late in arriving, the Ascetic went to sleep under the shade of a tree, covering his face with a red handkerchief. A bird of prey, mistaking the red handkerchief for a piece of flesh, swooped down upon it and tore away, along with the handkerchief, the eyes of the sleeping monarch. When the captive arrived his rival had become unfit to rule as he had lost his eyesight. The people therefore greeted the captive as their king, and the Ascetic was consigned to the cell which he had prepared for the other.¹

This story implies that (i) the Sultan stayed for three years and a half in Kathiawar, (ii) that he fought against a Raja named Dabishllm, and (iii) that he appointed a deputy at Somnath. The first inference is contradicted by the contemporary authorities like Baihaqi and GardM, who state that the Sultan was in Transoxiana or Ghazna during the years immediately preceding and following the expedition to Somnath,² while Ibnu'l-Athir says that the Sultan had returned to Ghazna within four months of the fall of Somnath.³ The second and third inferences, besides being very unlikely under the circumstances, are not supported by any work written before the middle of the ninth century A.H. which is the probable date of the composition of the *Wasaya-i-Nizamu'l'-Mulk*. Gardizi, p. 86, in fact, suggests, on the contrary, that the Hindu governor of Somnath, who had fled at the approach of the Sultan, returned after the departure of the Muslim army. Thus from the historical point of view this story is absolutely of no value. Sir E. C. Bayley, however, in his translation of *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi'*, p. 33, has tried to show that there is nothing improbable in this story,

1 The complete story is given in *Rawdah*, pp. 741-2; and *Firishta*, pp. 34-5.

2 See pp. 55-6, and 80.

3 See p. 120.

but obviously he had not considered it in the light of historical evidence.

(2) The next important story comes from the *Mantiqu't-Tair* of Shaikh Farldu'd-Din 'Attar, the famous mystic poet of the seventh century A.H. In this story the Sultan is made to show his preference for the title of idol-breaker to that of idol-seller. It is said that when the Sultan captured Somnath and wanted to break the idol, the Brahmins offered to redeem it with its weight in gold, but the Sultan refused to accept the offer and ordered the idol to be broken. The officers of the Sultan, however, pointed out to him the advantages of accepting the offer, but he replied, "I am afraid that on the Day of Judgment when all the idolaters are brought into the presence of God, He would say, 'Bring Adhar and Mahmud together: one was idol-maker, the other idol-seller\'". The Sultan then ordered a fire to be lighted round it. The idol burst, and 20 *manns* of precious stones poured out from its inside. The Sultan said, "This (fire) is what Lat (by which name 'Attar calls Somnath) deserves; and that (the precious stones) is my guerdon from my God".

This story implies that the idol was hollow, which is incorrect. Al-Biruni, ii, 103-4, gives minute rules which had to be observed with regard to the construction of such idols, but he does not mention that they were ever hollow. Further, this unexpected find of precious stones is not mentioned by the early authorities in which the Sultan's letter of victory to the Caliph is quoted. If this had actually happened, Farrukhi, of all others, could not have neglected to utilise this excellent theme in the *qasida* in which he gives a lengthy account of this expedition.

(3) Another story, which is apparently a fabrication of inferior quality, is given in the *Futuhus-Salatin*, ff. 32 b-35 b, a work of the eighth century A.H. It is **stated** that shordy after the birth of Mahmud, the

astrologers of India divined that a prince had been born at Ghazna who would demolish the temple of Somnath. They therefore persuaded Raja Jaipal to send an embassy to Mahmud while he was still a boy, offering to pay him a large sum of money if he promised to return the idol to the Hindus whenever he should capture it. When Mahmud captured Somnath the Brahmins reminded him of his promise and demanded the idol in compliance with it. Mahmud did not like either to return the idol or to break his promise. He therefore ordered the idol to be reduced to lime by burning and when, on the following day, the Brahmins repeated their demand, he ordered them to be served with betel-leaves which had been smeared with the lime of the idol. When the Brahmins had finished the chewing of the betel-leaves they again repeated their demand, on which the Sultan told them that they had their idol in their mouths.

Soon after this, a Brahmin made an idol similar to the one which the Sultan had destroyed and buried it at a distance from the town. He then trained a calf to run to that spot and scratch it with its hoofs. One morning he called all the people together and said to them that the idol of Somnath had appeared to him in a dream and told him that it was hidden at a certain spot in the neighbourhood, and that if he (the Brahmin) would let his calf loose, it would run to the spot and scratch it with its hoofs. This was done, and, on digging, the idol was discovered. It was washed with rose-water and re-instated in the temple.

(4) In addition to these stories there is a local tradition in which the name of Sultan Mahmud has been confused with some later Muslim sovereign of Kathiawar, most probably Sultan Mahmud Bigarha (1459-1511 A.D.). This tradition was versified by Shaikh Din in 1216 (1801) and translated into English by Major J. W. Watson, in the *Indian Antiquary*, viii,

153-61. Divested of some of its supernatural element, it runs as follows:

Some Muslims used to live at Somnath before it was captured by Sultan Mahmud, but they were sorely oppressed by the Raja named Kunwar Ray, by whose orders a Muslim was slain every day in front of the idol of Somnath. The Prophet Muhammad appeared to Hajji Muhammad of Mecca in a dream and commanded him to go to Somnath and save the Muslims. The Hajji came, and, by means of his supernatural powers, brought himself into the notice of the Raja. One day the Hajji found an old woman in great distress because her son had to be slain next morning in front of the idol. The Hajji was moved to pity and offered to go in place of her son. When the Raja learnt this, he became exceedingly angry, but as he knew that he could not injure the Hajji openly, he waited for an opportunity to take him unawares. One day the Hajji fell into a trance, while the Raja was showing him round the temple of Somnath. The Raja whispered a command to his soldiers to slay him, but when they tried to advance towards him, they found themselves fixed to the spot.

The Hajji now invited Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna to come with his army and stop this iniquity. The Sultan came and on his way thither he attacked Jaipal, Raja of Mangrol, who was a brother-in-law of the Raja of Somnath, and forced him to offer submission. He then marched to Somnath and defeated Kunwar Ray. The Raja sued for peace but the Sultan would not listen to him till he consented to embrace Islam. The Raja refused to do so and decided to fight to the last. About this time the Hajji died, offended with the Sultan as he had not visited him on his death-bed.

After fighting for some time, the Raja took refuge in the fort. A sharp fire was kept up on both sides. The siege lasted for twelve years till the patience of

the Sultan was exhausted. His wazir then advised him to go to the tomb of the Hajji in order to appease his anger, and to invoke his assistance in reducing the fort. The Sultan did so, and according to the instructions of the Hajji, he adopted the following artifice. One morning, leaving everything behind, including his batteries, the Sultan withdrew to a place five miles away. The Raja mistook it for a flight and was put off his guard. The Sultan returned at night and with the assistance of two of his troopers whom the Hajji had specially blessed, took the fort of Somnath in the year 470 (1077-78). During the course of this long struggle the Sultan is said to have lost 125,000 men.

Raja Kunwar Ray then tried to save the idol and offered to pay a huge sum of money if it was spared. The Sultan ordered the idol to be reduced to powder, and gave it to the Raja and his courtiers in betel-leaves, as stated in the last story. He then appointed an officer named Mitha Khan as his deputy at Somnath and returned to Ghazna. After this Mitha Khan demolished the temple and set fire to it.

The story needs no comment, but it is surprising that Major Watson, the translator of the ballad, should have given to it the credit of being an "account of the destruction of Somanath" differing "from any given in the Persian histories of the siege", in spite of its obvious incongruities and anachronisms in allowing the siege to continue for twelve years and making the combatants keep up a brisk fire on each other.

APPENDIX N

**CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE AND
TIMES OF SULTAN MAHMUD AND
HIS PREDECESSORS**

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APPENDIX N

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SULTAN MAHMUD
AND HIS PREDECESSORS

DATE		EVENT
A.H.	A.D.	
204	819-20	Nuh, Ahmad, Yahya, and Ilyas, sons of Asad b. Saman, appointed ! governors of Samarqand, Farghana, Shash and Ushrusana, and Herat respectively
205	821	Tahir b. Husain appointed governor of Khurasan
227	842	I Death of Nuh b. Asad
237	851-2	Ya'qub b. Lakh got government of Bust
241	855-6	Death of Yahya b. Asad
242	856-7	Death of Ilyas b. Asad
² 49	863-4	Death of Ahmad b. Asad
253	867	Ya'qub conquered Herat, Balkh and Bamiyan
² 59	872-3	Ya'qub defeated Muhammad the Tahirid
260	873-4	Ya'qub conquered Tabaristan
		Nasr b. Ahmad conquered Bukhara and gave it to his brother j Isma'il
14 Shawwal, 265	9. vi. 879	Death of Ya'qub
(circa) 267	880-1	Birth of Alptigin
275	888-9	Nasr b. Ahmad attacked Bukhara
1 279	892-3	Death of Nasr b. Ahmad

	285	898	Ahmad b. Farighun did homage to Isma'il b. Ahmad
15 Rab'l'i,	287	20. iii. 900	Isma'il b. Ahmad defeated *Amr b. Laith at Bukhara
		(circa) 903	Gopalvarman deposed Samantdeva, and raised Kamaluka, son of Lalliya, to the throne
	² 93	905-6	Revolt of Subkarl in Sistan
14 Safar,	295	24. xi. 907	Death of Isma'il b. Ahmad
Rajab,	298	iii. 911	Ahmad b. Isma'il defeated Mu'addal b. Laith, ruler of Sistan
Dhu'l-H.	300	vii. 913	Ahmad b. Isma'U defeated 'Amr b. Laith, ruler of Sistan
23 Jumadl ii,	301	24. i. 914	Death of Ahmad b. Isma'il
	309	921-22	Ahmad b. Muhammad, the Saffarid, appointed governor of Sistan
	3 ^{*5}	927-8	Asfar b. Shirawaih defeated Makan b. Kaki and took Raiy
	316	928-9	Mardawlj b. Ziyar put Asfar to death
	319	931	Mardawlj appointed 'Ali b. Buwaih governor of Karaj
	323	934-5	Death of Mardawlj
	326	937-38	Birth of Khalaf
(circa)	331	942-3	Birth of Subuktigin
27 Rajab,	33 ¹	6. iv. 943	Death of Nasr b. Ahmad
	334	945-6	Mu'izzu'd-D. took Baghdad
Jumadl ii,	338	xii. 949	Death of 'Imadu'd-D., and accession of Fannakhusraw, son of Ruknu'd-D.
19 Rabl'ii,	343	22. viii. 954	Death of Nuh b. Nasr
Ramadan,	345	xii. 956	Alptigin put Bakr b. Malik to death
(circa)	348	959	Alptigin purchased Subuktigin
		(circa) 960	Death of Bhim, probably son of Kamaluka, and accession of Jaipal
20 Dhu'l-H.	349	10. ii. 961	Alptigin took charge of Nishapur
11 Shawwal,	350	23. xi. 961	Death of 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Nuh
Dhu'l-H.	350	xii. 961	Alptigin advanced on Bukhara
15 Rabr i,	351	23. iv. 962	Alptigin defeated Ash'ath b. Muhammad, general of Mansur b. Nuh

DATE		EVENT
A.H.	A.D.	
13 Dhu'l-H. 351	12. i. 963	Alptigin took Ghazna
352	963	Alptigin defeated Abu Ja'far, general of Mansur b. Nuh
20 Sha'ban, 352	13. ix. 963	Death of Alptigin, and accession of his son Abu Ishaq Ibrahim
(circa) 353	964	Death of Ahmad b. Muhammad and accession of his son Khalaf
27 Shawwal, 354	26. ix. 965	Abu Ibrahim Ishaq defeated Abu 'Ali Lawik
354	965	Tahir b. Husain usurped Sistan during the absence of Khalaf
25 Dhu'l-Q. 355	12. xi. 966	Death of Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, and accession of Bilkatigin
Rabi' ii, 356	iii. 967	Death of Mu'izzu'd-D., and accession of 'Izzu'd-D. Bakhtiyar
Dhu'l-H. 356	xi. 967	Death of Washmgir b. Ziyar, and accession of his son Bihistun
10 Muharram, 361	1. xi. 971	Birth of Mahmud
364	974-5	Death of Bilkatigin, and accession of Piritigin
11 Shawwal, 365	12. vi. 976	Death of Mansur b. Nuh, and accession of his son Nuh
Muharram, 366	ix. 976	Death of Ruknu'd-D., and division of his kingdom among his three sons
Sha'ban, 366	iv. 977	Deposition of Piritigin
27 Sha'ban, 366	20. iv. 977	Elevation of Subuktigin to the throne of Ghazna
Rajab, 367	ii. 978	Death of Bihistun, and accession of his brother Qabus
Shawwal, 367	v. 978	'Izzu'd-D. beheaded
		'Adudu'd-D. conquered 'Iraq
		Subuktigin conquered Bust and Qusdar
(circa) 369	979-80	Death of Hasanawaih b. Husain
		Nuh b. Mansur sent an expedition to <u>Ghur</u>
¹ 370	980-1	Fakhru'd-D. forced to leave Hamadan

Jumadi i, 371 1	xi. 981	Mu'ayyidu'd-D. defeated Qabus Flight of Fakhru'd-D. to Khurasan Khalaf evacuated the fort of Uk
Ramadan, 372	ii-iii. 983	Death of 'Adudu'd-D.
Sha'ban, 373	i. 984	Death of Mu'ayyidu'd-D. Return of Fakhru'd-D. to Jurjan
375	985-6	Settlement of the Seljuks at Nur
(circa) 376	986-7	Subuktigin defeated Jaipal who probably left Sukhpal as a hostage Khalaf occupied Bust but evacuated it shortly afterwards
Rabf ii, 379	vii. 989	Sharafu'd-D. defeated Samsamu'd-D. Birth of Majdu'd-D.
Jumadi iii, 379	ix. 989	Death of Sharafu'd-D., and accession of Baha'u'd-D. Samsamu'd-D. released
380	990-1	Subuktigin confined Mahmud in the fort of Ghazna
381	991	Deposition of at-Ta'i Raja Bharat of Lahore invaded the kingdom of Jaipal
Muharram, 382	iii. 992	Defeat of 'Amr b. <u>K</u> halaf near Sirjan
Rabr i, 382	v-vi. 992	Bughra <u>K</u> han occupied Bukhara
Jumadi i, 382	vii. 992	Bughra. <u>K</u> han evacuated Bukhara
15 Jumadi iii, 382	18. viii. 992	Nuh occupied Bukhara
383	993-4	Execution of sons of 'Izzu'd-D.
15 Ramadan, 384	23. x. 994	Subuktigin and Mahmud defeated Abu 'All Simjuri Nuh b. Mansiir granted Balkh and the title of <i>Nasiru'd-Din wa'd-Dawlah</i> to Subuktigin, and the command of the troops of <u>K</u> hurasan and the title of <i>Saiftfd-Dawlah</i> to Mahmud
Rabi' i, 385	iv. 995	Mahmud forced by Abu 'AH Simjuri and Fa'iq to evacuate Nishapur
20 Jumadi iii, 385	22. vii. 995	Subuktigin and Mahmud defeated Abu 'Ali and Fa'iq

DATE		1	EVENT
—Zr	A.D.		
385	995		Abu V Abbas Fadl b. Ahmad appointed wazir of Mahmud Ma'mun conquered Khwari2m
386	996		Sukhpal taken prisoner by Abu 'All Simjurl and converted to Islam Khalaf invited Ilak Khan to attack Ghazna
386	996		! Abu 'All Simjurl taken prisoner Ilak Khan advanced on Bukhara Death of Abu * All Simjurl
13 Rajab, 387	22. vii. 997	j	Death of Abu 'All Ma'mun b. Muhammad, ruler of Jurjaniyyah and Khwarizm, and accession of his son Abu'l-Hasan 'All
Shaman, 387	viii. 997		Death of Nuh b. Mansur, and accession of his son Abu'l-Harith ! Mansur
Rabr i, 388	hi. 998		. Death of Subuktigin, and accession of his son Isma'il ! Death of Fakhru'd-D., and accession of his son Majdu'd-D.
388	998		Mahmud captured the fort of Ghazna, took Isma'il prisoner, and ; ascended the throne
Sha'ban, 388	viii. 998	j	Khalaf occupied Fushanj, but forced to evacuate it Death of Bughrajuq, uncle of Mahmud
Dhu'l-H. 388	xii. 998		Qabus took Jurjan Death of Samsamu'd-D.
12 Safar, 389	2. ii. 999	I	Deposition of Abu'l-Hanth Mansur b. Nuh, and accession of his 1 brother Abu'l-Fawans 'Abdu'l-Malik
Jumad I i, 389	16. v. 999	1	Mahmud defeated 'Abdu'l-Malik at Marv, and occupied Khurasan 1 Mahmud recognised overlord of Gharshistan 1 Isma'il sent to Juzjanan

Sha'ban, 389	vii-viii. 999	I Death of Fa'iq
10 Dhu'l-Q. 389	23.x. 999	Ilak Khan conquered Bukhara, and took 'Abdu'l-Malik prisoner
Dhu'l-H. 389	xi. 999	The Caliph al-Qadir Bi'llah bestowed on Mahmud the title of <i>Yaminu'd-Dawlah wa Aminu'l-Millah</i>
		j Mahmud resolved to go on a holy war to India every year
389	999	I Anandpal, son of Jaipal, defeated Chandardat, Raja of Lahore, and annexed his kingdom
Muharram, 390	xn. 999	¹ Mahmud sent his representatives to Ilak <u>Khan</u>
Muharram, 390	xii. 999	j Investment of the fort of Ispahbud, and submission of Khalaf
390	lx. 1000	Mahmud captured some forts near Lamaghan
28 Rabl ^s 1, 391	25, li. 1001	Nasr defeated by Muntasir near Nishapur
Shawwal, 391	ix. 1001	Mahmud left Ghazna for Hind
	1001	Nasr evacuated Nishapur
391		Wathiql captured and imprisoned by Mahmud
8 Muharram, 392	27. x. 1001	[Jaipal defeated and taken prisoner. Waihand annexed
	iv. 1002	j Return of Mahmud to Ghazna
Muharram, 393	xi. 1002	Mahmud left Ghazna for Sistan
		i Khalaf taken prisoner and sent to Juzjanan
		I Sistan placed under the Hajib Qinj!
		Revolt in Sistan
	1002-3	[Death of Jaipal
Dhu'l-Q. 393	ix. 1003	; Mahmud left <u>Ghazna</u> for Sistan
15 Dhu'l-H. 393	15. x. 1003	Mahmud defeated the rebels of Sistan
		I Sistan placed in charge of Nasr
(circa) 393	1002-3	' Deach of laipal, and accession of his son Anandpal
Sha'baru 394	vi. 1004	Ilak Khan defeated Muntasir
395	x. 1004	I Mahmud left Ghazna for Bhatmda
		j Defeat and death of Biji Ray, Raja of Bhatinda

DATE		EVENT
A.H.	A.D.	
Rabr i, 395	xii. 1004	Death of Muntasir
395	v-vi. 1005	Mahmud returned to Ghazna
39 ⁶	iii-iv. 1006	Defeat of Anandpal on the banks of the Indus
396	1006	Fall of Muitan and flight of Da'ud
		Sukhpal appointed governor of Muitan
396	1006	Ilak Khan's invasion of Khurasan
396	vii-viii. 1006	Arslan Jadhbi drove Subashltigin out of Khurasan
397	ix-x. 1006	Ilak Khan's troops driven out of Khurasan
397	1006-7	Khalaf sent to Gardlz
		Majdu'd-D. taken prisoner by his mother
22 Rabr i i, 398	5. i. 1008	Ilak Khan again invaded Khurasan, but defeated on the plain of Katar
		Rebellion of Sukhpal
39 ⁸	xii. 1007	Mahmud received news of Sukhpal's rebellion
Rabi ^c i i, 398	1.1008	Sukhpal defeated and taken prisoner
		Anandpal marched on Ghazna
399	1008	Mahmud left Ghazna to meet Anandpal
29 Rabi* i i, 399	31. xii. 1008	Anandpal defeated near Waihand
		Fall of Nagarkot
399	1009	Death of Khalaf
Rajab, 399	1 iii. 1009	Mahmud returned to Ghazna
399	vi. 1009	Death of Abu'l-Hasan 'All b. Ma'mun, and accession of his brother
(circa) 399	1008-9	Abu V Abbas Ma'mun
j 400	1 viii-ix. 1009	Spoils from Nagarkot displayed in Ghazna

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400 ¹	viii. 1009	Tughan Khan's ambassador arrived in Ghazna	1
400	x. 1009	Mahmud left Ghazna for Narayanpur	j
401 1	X. IOIO	Mahmud left Ghazna for Multan	
		Da'ud taken prisoner and sent to Ghurak	
(circa) 401	X. IOIO	Ilak Khan invaded the kingdom of Tughan Khan, but forced to return	
401 !	lii. 1011	Ilak Khan again invaded the kingdom of Tughan Khan	
401	vi. i o n	Mahmud attacked Ghur, and took Ibn Surl prisoner	
		Death of Ibn Surl	
401	IOIO-II	Famine in Khurasan	
		Rebellion of the ruler of Qusdar	
		Death of Abu Nasr Muhammad, ruler of Juzjanan, and appointment of Muhammad b. Mahmud as governor	
(circa) 401	IOIO-II	Death of Anandpal	
Jumadi i, 402	xil. 1011	Attack on Qusdar and submission of its ruler	
402	1012	Deposition of Qabus	
403	viii. 1012	Gharshistan conquered and annexed	
Jumadi ii, 403	xii. 1012	Death of Baha'u'd-D., and accession of his son Sultanu'd-D.	
403	1012-13	Death of Qabus	
		Death of Ilak Khan	
		Al-Hakim sent a letter to Mahmud	
404	xi. 1013	Mahmud left Ghazna for Nandana but forced to return	
404	1013	Fadl b. Ahmad dismissed	
	in. 1014	Mahmud again left Ghazna for Nandana	
		Defeat of Bhlmpal and fall of Nandana	
		Defeat of Tnlochanpal and Tunga above Jhelum	
		Death of Fadl b. Ahmad	
405 1	vii-viii. 1014	Mahmud returned to Ghazna	]

DATE		EVENT
A.H.	A.D.	
405	1014	Abu'l-Qasim Ahmad b. Hasan al-Maimandi appointed wazlr
405	x. 1014	Mahmud left Ghazna for Thanesar
		Defeat of Raja Ram
		Fall of Thanesar
405	iii. 1015	Mahmud returned to Ghazna
405	v. 1015	Mahmud attacked Khwabin
405	1014-15	Death of Badr b. Hasanawaih
406	1015-16	Mahmud advanced to Balkh
		Mas'ud nominated heir-apparent
		First invasion of Kashmir and investment of Lohkot
		Death of Abu Nasr Muhammad, the Shar
406	iii. 1016	1 Mahmud returned to Ghazna
15 Shawwal, 407	11. iii. 1017	i Assassination of Abu l'Abbas Ma'mun
407	1016-17	1 Qawamu'd-D. came to Ghazna to implore assistance of Mahmud
1 5 Safar, 408	3- vii. 1017	Mahmud defeated the army of Khwarizm, and annexed the country
408	1017	Khwarizm placed under Altuntash
		1 Death of Tughan Khan
		! Mas'ud appointed governor of Herat
409	1018	j Mahmud ordered the construction of a me)sque in Ghazna
13 Jumadi i, 409	;?• ix. 1018	Mahmud left Ghazna for Kanauj, and appointed his son Muhammad as his deputy
20 Rajab, 409	2. xii. 1018	Mahmud crossed the Jumna
1 8 Sha'ban, 409	20. xii. 1018	Mahmud took Kanauj

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² 5 Sha'ban, 409	6. i. 1019	Defeat of Raja of Sharwa
Dhul-H., 409	iv. 1019	Mahmud marched against the Afghans
409	1019	Alliance between Trilochanpal and Ganda
410	x. 1019	Rajyapal of Kanauj defeated by Ganda and slain
14 Sha'ban, 410	15. xii. 1019	Mahmud left Ghazna to punish Ganda and the new Raja of Kanauj
410	1019	Mahmud defeated Trilochanpal
	101 9-20	Mahmud took Bar!
411	v-vi. 1020	Flight of Ganda at the approach of Mahmud
0 Jumad I i, 411	I. ix. 1020	Mahmud left Ghazna for the valleys of the rivers Nur and Qirat
411	1020	Mas'ud marched to Tab in Ghur
Dhu'l-H. 411	iii-iv. 1021	Submission of the ruler of Tab
412	1021	Musharrafu'd-D. took 'Iraq
412	ix-x. 1021	Death of Nasr
412	1021-2	Second unsuccessful invasion of Kashmir and siege of Lohkot
		Mas'ud sent as a prisoner to Multan
412	iii-iv. 1022	Trilochanpal, son of Anandpal, killed
413	1022-3	Mahmud returned to Ghazna
		Submission of the Raja of Gwalior
		Submission of Ganda, Raja of Kalinjar
414	ni-iv. 1023	Mahmud returned to Ghazna
(circa) 414	1023	Mahmud reviewed his army in the plain of Shababar
414	1023	Death of Arslan Khan
415	ix. 1024	Hasanak went on a pilgrimage to Mecca
Shawwal 415	xn. 1024	Mahmud went to Balkh
27 Safar, 416	29, iv. 1025	Death of Sultanu'd-D. and accession of his son Abu Kalinjar
416	1025	Meeting of Mahmud and Qadir Khan
		Isra'il b. Seljuk taken prisoner and sent to the fort of Kalanjar
		The Seljuks permitted to settle in Khurasan

DATE		EVENT
A.H.	A.D.	
Rabr i, 416	v. 1025	Death of Musharrafu'd-D. and accession of his son Jalalu'd-D.
416	1025	Dismissal of Ahmad b. Hasan al-Maimandi
22 Shaman, 416	18. x. 1025	Appointment of Hasanak as wazir
15 Ramadan, 416	9. xi. 1025	Mahmud left <u>G</u> hazna for Somnath
2 Shawwal, 416	26. xi. 1025	Arrival at Multan
Shawwal, 416	xii. 1025	Departure from Multan
Dhu'l-Q. 416	xii. 1025	Mahmud took Lodorva
14 Dhu'l-Q. 416	6.1. 1026	Arrival at Anhalwara, and flight of Raja Bhim
16 Dhu'l-Q. 416	8.1. 1026	Arrival at Somnath
Dhu'l-H. 416	i. 1026	Fall of Somnath
416	1025-6	Mahmud took the fort of Kanthkot
10 Safar, 417	2. iv. 1026	Mahmud defeated Khafif, ruler of Mansura
417	1 1026	Death of Ma'dan, accession of his son Isa, and flight of Abu'l-Mu'askar to Ghazna
Shawwal, 417 [	xi-xii. 1026	Mahmud arrived in Ghazna
418	lii. 1027	Mahmud received embassies from Qata Khan and Ighur Khan
418	vi-vii. 1027	Mahmud sent Abu Bakr Hasiri to help Qadir Khan
418	xii. 1027	The Caliph granted to Mahmud the title of <i>Kahftfd-Dawlah wa'l-hldm</i> , and other titles to his sons and brother
419	1028	Death of Bhlmpal
		Mahmud left Ghazna to punish the Jars
		Mahmud returned to Ghazna
		Complaints of the people of Nasa and Abiward against the Seljuks
		Death of Sayyida, mother of Majdu'd-D.

	419	1028	I Mahmud marched against the Seljuks	1
Dhu'l-Q.	419	xi-xii. 1028	Death of Qawamu'd-D. Conquest of Kirman by Abu Kalinjar	
Rabi' i l ,	420	v. 1029	1 Arrival of Mahmud's army at Raiy	j
9 Jumadi i ,	420	26. v. 1029	Majdu'd-D. taken prisoner, and the town of Raiy captured	
			Mas'ud placed <i>in</i> charge of Raiy	
			! Rebellion of Miniichihr	j
1 Ramadan,	420	13. ix. 1029	Mas'ud defeated the Salar	
	420	1029	Rebellion of 'Isa b. Ma'dan	
			Death of Miniichihr	
	421	i. 1030	Mas'ud conquered Isfahan	
15 Rabi' i i ,	421	22. iv. 1030	Mahmud arrived in Ghazna from Balkh	
23 Rabi' i l ,	421	30. iv. 1030	Death of Mahmud	
20 Jumadi i ,	421	26. v. 1030	Mas'ud received news of the death of Mahmud	<i>in</i>
	421	1030	Assassination of Abu 'Ali b. Ibn Suri	
	422	1031	Mas'ud appointed Ahmad b. Hasan al-Maimandi wazlr	
			1 Hasanak executed	
	423	1032	Death of Qadir Khan	
Muharram,	424	xii. 1032	Death of Ahmad b. Hasan al-Maimandi	X
11 Jumadi i ,	432	17. i. 1041	1 Death of Sultan Mas'ud	
	435	1043-44	j Sukhpal attacked Lahore but defeated and slain	
Sha'ban,	435	111. 1044	Death of Jalalu'd-D., and conquest of 'Iraq by Abu Kalinjar	
Jumadi i ,	440	x. 1048	Death of Abu Kalinjar, and accession of his son al-Maliku'r-Rahlm	
Ramadan,	447	xii. 1055	j Tughriibek defeated al-Makku'r-Rahim and took him prisoner	

APPENDIX O

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

Only works cited in the text are here included. When a work is cited in the text by the name of its author, it is the one given, first against the name of that author in this Bibliography.

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Abu’l-Fidā. *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbārī’l-Bashar* (Cairo ed.).

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