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ART. III.—*The Chaghatāi Mughals.* By E. E. OLIVER,
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WITHOUT attempting to go back to the obscure traditions concerning the great nomad confederacy or confederacies that ranged the country north of the desert of Gobi, or to the genealogies of the tribes of Turks, Tārtārs, and Mughals, descendants of Yāfiṣ (Japhat) son of Nūḥ, who, after coming out of the Ark with his father, is said to have fixed his *yūrat* or encampment in the Farther East, and who have furnished subjects for the most copious traditions for native chroniclers, and materials for the most intricate controversies ever since; it may perhaps safely be assumed that *Mughal* was probably in the first instance the name of one tribe among many, a clan among clans, and extended to the whole as its chief acquired an ascendancy over the rest. The name is most likely locally much older than the time of *Chengiz*, but it was hardly known to more distant nations before the tenth century, and became only widely famous in connection with him.

It is also perhaps unnecessary to enter upon the vexed question as to how the name is to be most properly spelt. Writers who have drawn considerably from Chinese sources, and most of the standard authors, like d'Ohsson, Yule, Howorth, and others, have adopted and familiarized us with "Mongols." On the other hand, to the Persian writers who have much to tell concerning them, and in so far as they are associated with India and the countries adjoining, they are *Mughals* or *Mughūls*. To Timur, Báber, and Akbar, their ancestors were *Mughals*, and the first "Irruptions of

the Infidels into Islām" were *Mughal* incursions. It might be urged that the name, as well as the people, became Muhammadanised, and both in their proper place may be equally correct, but it is certainly more convenient to use one throughout, and, from an Indian point of view, the latter.

THE EMPIRE AND DESCENDANTS OF CHENGIZ.

If he did not actually establish the supremacy of his tribe, Yassukai, the father of Chengiz, had done much towards it. He had enforced obedience on many of the surrounding clans, had asserted his entire independence of Chinese rule, and though, when he died in 1175 (571 H.), the people over whom he directly ruled are said to have only numbered some 40,000 tents, it is probable he had laid the foundations for a rapid increase to the power of his state, disproportionate as those foundations might be to the extraordinary development that followed. When his father died, Tamurchīn, as he was then called, was but thirteen years old, and for the next thirty years was occupied in establishing his authority, first over his own, and then the neighbouring clans, facing powerful conspiracies, and consolidating his power. In 1205 (602 H.) he summoned a *Kuriltai*, or general assembly of all chiefs of the tribes in subjection to him, announced that Heaven had decreed he should thenceforth be known as "The Chengiz Khān,"—a title something equal to the Great Chief of the Khāns, the Shāh-in Shāh, or the King of Kings—and that the "Almighty had bestowed upon him and his posterity the greater part of the Universe." Whatever effect the announcement may have had on his hearers, he fully believed in himself, and henceforth devoted the remainder of his life to a wider and more comprehensive scheme of conquest, and in twenty years succeeded in building up what, as regards area, was probably the widest Empire the world has ever seen—an Empire that the conquests of himself and his sons finally extended from the Yellow Sea to the Crimea, and from what is now called the *Qirghiz Steppes* to *Khurāsān*,

and which included lands and peoples taken from the Chinese, Russians, Afghans, Persians, and Turks.

Not a little of this was accomplished during his own lifetime. He had incorporated the neighbouring Kerāits, Naimāns, Uirāts, and other scattered Turkish tribes round about Lake Baikal and what is now Southern Siberia, received the submission of the Uighūrs, borrowing from them a creed and an alphabet, and established a residence at Qarāqorum. He had begun the invasion of China, and subjugated the northern provinces, the ancient kingdom of Liau Tung, and the Tangut kingdom of Hia, though it was reserved for his grandson Kubilai to complete the subjugation of the Celestial Empire. He had absorbed the great Turkish kingdom of the Qara Khaṭāi, formerly ruled over by a line of Gurkhāns, a territory which included Īmil, Ālmālik, Khotān, Kāshghār, and Yarkand. He had marched with three of his sons, Chaghatai, Oktai, and Jūji, accompanied by immense armies, estimated at 600,000 men, into the territory of the Khwārazm Shāh, whose rule then extended from the Caspian Sea to near the Ilī river; and under a discipline of Draconian severity, had harried the fairest plains and spoiled the richest cities of Transoxania and Khurāsān, unfortunate countries which suffered a combination of atrocities hardly to be equalled in history. Lastly, he had driven Jalāl-ud-dīn, the last of the Khwārazm Shāhs, a fugitive into Persia. These vast Mughal hordes were subsequently divided into separate armies under his descendants. One swept over Khwārazm, Khurāsān, and Afghānistān; another over Azarbāijān, Georgia, and Southern Russia; while a third devoted its attention to China.

In the midst of this career of conquest, Chengiz died in 1226 (624 H.) at the age of 64,¹ leaving behind him traces of fire and sword throughout Asia. He had previously, in 1221 (621 H.), according to the Mughal custom, divided his gigantic empire, or, as the distribution was tribal rather than territorial, it is more correct to say, had partitioned out as

¹ Some writers make out his age to have been 72.

appanages the tribes over whom he ruled. These tribes were in many, if not most cases, nomads, occupying somewhat loosely defined camping grounds, which in the natural order of things were occasionally unavoidably changed. A due appreciation of the fact that a chief not unfrequently ruled over a moveable inheritance will assist to a better understanding of the difficulties of fixing the boundary of a Khanate, and of the complications likely to occur, when, as was frequently the case, it became subdivided.

Of consorts, "*Khatūns*," and wives of sorts, Chengiz had many, and possibly a goodly number who came under the denomination of "ladies" rather than wives. Among these wives of the highest rank, the chief was Būrtah Kūchīn,¹ of whom was born, first Jūjī, "the unexpected"—there was a doubt about his paternity—and subsequently Chaghatai, Oktai, Tului, and some five daughters. Between these four sons the inheritance was divided, the other children probably being given tribal rank below them. To Oktai, a somewhat hard-drinking warrior, was given the appanage of the tribes of Zungaria, and in addition he was nominated successor to the Supreme Khānate, to which in due course he succeeded, assuming the title of Khakan. The seat of the Khakan's empire eventually became Khānbalik or Pekin, and included China, Corea, Mongolia, Manchuria, and Thibet, with claims even towards Turaking and Ava. Before this, however, the supreme throne had passed to the line of Tului, which it did after one generation in 1248 (646 H.).

To Tului was assigned the home clans, the care of the Imperial family and archives, and, as fell out, the flower of the Mughal army proper; to which last circumstance it was in a great measure due that his eldest son Mangū, a general of renown, became afterwards chosen as supreme Kaān; who was again succeeded by a still more famous brother, Kubilai, the "Great Khan" of Marco Polo, and the "Kubla Khan" of Coleridge. A third brother, Hulākū, founded the Persian dynasty of the Ilkhāns, and an Empire that besides

¹ Really the Chinese title Fuchin.—ED.

all Persia came finally to include Georgia, Armenia, Azarbāijān, part of Asia Minor, the Arabian Irāk, and Khurāsān, with a capital at Tabrīz.

Jūjī, the eldest, died before his father Chengiz, but to his family was assigned the Empire of Kipchāk, or the northern Tartārs, founded on the conquest of Bātū, his eldest son. Its chief seat was at Sarai, on the Volga, and it finally covered a large part of Russia, the country north of the Caucasus, Khawārazm, and part of modern Siberia; the whole being known under the generic name of the "Golden Horde," from the chief's "Sir Orda" or golden camp. Bātū ruled the Blue Horde or Western Kipchāk, extending east and west from the Ural to the Dnieper, and north and south from the Black and Caspian Seas to Ukak¹ on the Volga, and carried the Mughal armies over a great part of Russia, Poland, and Hungary, scattering fear through Northern Europe. Ūrdah, his brother, ruled the White Horde or Eastern Kipchak, from the Kizil Kūm, or red sands, to the Ūzbek country, where Shaibān, another brother, ruled the Kirghiz Kāzak steppes, while a fourth ruled to the north again in Great Bulgaria, and a fifth for a while was independent in Southern Russia.

From these descended the various lines known as the Khāns of Astrakhān, of Khiva, of Kazān, of the Krīm, and of Bukhārā. Excepting the Īlkhāns of Persia, the whole of these, with their intricate ramifications, have been dealt with by Mr. Howorth, who, in his three volumes of "Mongol History," has devoted an amount of patient research that can perhaps only be fully appreciated by those who have consulted his learned work.

He promises in subsequent volumes to write the history of the Khānate of Chaghatai and his successors, of the Persian Īlkhāns,² and of the Empire founded by Timur, with its still more famous offshoot the Mughal Empire of India, and last but not least, an index. Considering the

¹ Near the modern Saratov.

² The volume dealing with the Īlkhāns is printed and will be very shortly issued.—Ed.

history of this Khānate of Chaghatai is the most obscure of all the branches of the family of Chengiz, and that in most histories the dynasty is barely mentioned, or is dismissed, as by d'Ohsson, with a bare list of rulers, professing to be neither complete nor accurate; and that the Persian chroniclers, who, though near neighbours, probably themselves not very trustworthy or consistent, are for the most part untranslated, and, to most residents in India, inaccessible; it would have been decidedly more judicious to wait for Mr. Howorth's promised volume before attempting any sketch, however brief or unpretending. However, while dismissing the "doubt that would make us lose the good we oft might win by fearing to attempt," it is as well to at once disarm criticism by confessing no one can be more sensible than the writer of the imperfections of the sketch.¹

THE APPANAGE OF CHAGHATAI.

The dominions assigned to Chaghatai, or held by his successors, included Māwarā-un-Nahr and parts of Khwārazm and Khurāsān, the Uighur country, Kāshghār, Badakhshān, Balkh, and the province of Ghazni to the banks of the Indus. A vast extent of territory, corresponding to the modern kingdom of independent Tartary, the western and northern portions of Chinese Turkistān, Transoxania, with at least a part of Afghanistan. It included countries differing from each other in every particular. North of the mountains of Mughalistan, the Thian Shan of the maps was a great pastoral country, interspersed with lakes and rivers, varied with hill and dale, rich plains and pleasant meadows; in the spring and summer covered with beautiful flowers and plants, and at those seasons

¹ The principal authorities used in the above are: *Histoire des Mongols*, par d'Ohsson, Amsterdam, 1835. *History of the Mongols*, by Howorth, first three vols., London, 1876-80. *Coins of the Mongols*, vol. vi. of the British Museum Catalogue, by R. S. Poole, London, 1881. *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣiri*, by Minhāj-ud-din, and Major Kaverly's valuable notes, London, 1881.

possessing a climate particularly delightful, though the extreme cold of the winter drove the inhabitants to seek the more southern and sheltered districts. But it was also interspersed with and abutted on extensive deserts, while to the east a great townless waste separated the Khānate from the Empire of the Great Kaān. Kāshghār and Yarkand, or what was called the Middle Empire, lay between these mountains, and the wealth and population of the south, and though they too abounded in wild country, possessed many large and important towns, Bukhārā and Samrḳand, the "pearls of great price," and the country that went under the name of Mārwarā-un-Nahr. Farghāna, Balkh, and Badakhshān on the other hand were rich and civilized kingdoms, rejoicing in cultivated fields and flourishing cities, less prosperous perhaps than before the devastating visits of Chengiz, but gradually recovering themselves.

The inhabitants of a good deal of this western part of the Khānate, more especially Bukhārā and Samrḳand, had much more in common with their south-western neighbours, to whom they were more nearly allied by blood, culture, and religion, than with the more vigorous but less civilized Chaghataïdes; and though they remained subject to the family till the appearance of Timur, it was more generally as dependencies than as integral parts of the Empire. The first head-quarters of the Khāns is said to have been Bīshbālīk, but Chaghataï himself soon moved his summer residence to Almālīk (or Almālīgh), which place was certainly one of the capitals from a very early date, 1234 (652 H.), and continued to be, at least nominally so, until the end of the dynasty. The sovereign is reputed as residing there in the time of Hulākū, 1254 (652 H.), and Ibn Batuta in 1334 (735 H.) speaks of its being still recognized as the proper capital.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE KHĀNATE.

Information regarding the whilom famous towns and places in the north-eastern part of the Khānate is very scanty. Besides the wars, emigrations, and movements of a people, themselves mainly nomads, great physical changes have taken place during the six centuries that have elapsed since the death of Chengiz. What were once flourishing cities have in many cases been replaced by sandy deserts, and the very sites of others been lost to human ken for the latter half of that period. Scattered notices are to be found left by the early mediæval travellers, and to the Buddhists and Chinese we are more especially indebted for fragmentary notes regarding many.

Karakorum, which still stands among the mountains of Mongolia, was the chief seat, first of the Khāns of Kerāit, and next the probable residence of the Great Kaāns until Ḳubilāi moved his capital to Khānbālīk, the modern Pekin. Bīshbālīk (Pentapolis), the ancient chief seat of the Uighurs, the *Bie-sze-ma* and *Bie-shi-bāli* of Chinese writers, is supposed to be the modern Urumtsi. Almālīk is mentioned by many. Ye-liu Tch'u-tsai, the Chinese statesman who accompanied in 1219 (616 年.) Chengiz Khān during his conquest of the West, after describing the Sairam Nor, the lake on the top of the mountain of Yin-shan, and the dense forest of apple trees to the south, "through which the sunbeams cannot penetrate," goes on to A-li-ma, the "city of apples," named after these apple orchards round it.¹ Grapes and pears, he says, also abounded, and the people cultivated five kinds of grain, and eight or nine cities were subject to them. Tch'ang Tch'un, a Taouist monk, on his way to and from the court of Chengiz in 1221 and 1224 (618 to 621 年.), describes the "lake of Heaven" or Sairam Nor, and after passing through the Talki defile, comes to the "apple city," A-li-ma, where he was entertained by the rulers of the

¹ *Alima* is the Turkish for 'apple.'

P'-u-su-man or Musalmans. Tch'ang Te, an envoy sent from Mangū Kaān to his brother Hulākū, who had just defeated the Khalif of Baghdād, describes the abundance of fruit at *A-li-ma-li*. "Melons, grapes, pomegranates, of excellent quality. The reservoirs in the market-places connected with running water." "The Muḥammadans lived," he says, "much with the Chinese, until gradually their customs had assimilated. On the mountains round grew, but poorly, many cypresses; but the dwelling-houses and bazaars stood interspersed amid gardens. In the winter the people used sledges drawn by horses, which carried heavy burdens very quickly. Gold, silver, and copper coins were in use, having inscriptions, but no square holes.

Bilāsāghūn, Col. Yule considers may have been the capital of the ancient empire of the Kāra Khītāi, and where, about 1125 (519 H.), the Gūr Khān fixed his residence and established the Buddhist faith, and where his successors were still reigning in 1208 (605 H.), when the Khān of the Naimāns sought shelter at his court, married his daughter, and eventually ousted him from a large part of his dominions. One of the Chinese travellers above mentioned calls it *Hu-sze-wo-lu-do*,¹ the capital of the Kāra Khītāi, or *Si-liao*, and says several "tens of cities" were subject to it. It was also associated with the semi-mythical Pope-King Prester John. After the kingdom had been overthrown by Chengiz, and this city passed to Chaghatāi, little more is traceable regarding it. Its position can hardly be fixed. Colonel Yule puts it east of the Kīzil Bāshi Lake; Mr. Howorth, more doubtfully, near the modern It-Kitchu, in the Chu valley. Several other authorities incline to place it somewhere in the valley of the Chu River. Imīl was another rival capital of the Kāra Khītāis, and, as will be noticed hereafter, subsequently the capital of the Khāns of Mughalīstān, when they made their yearly journeys from Kāshghār and Yarkand to the north of the Thian Shan Mountains. The "Omyl" of Carpirai, it was probably the "Aimol Guja"

¹ *Wo-lu-do*, probably meaning "Ordu" or camp.

of Timur, as he called the capital of the "Jettah" or Mughalistan monarchs, and their royal residence in 1389 (792 H.). The city stood on the banks of the river of the same name, near where the latter flows into the Alakul, and is represented by the present frontier town of Chuguchak, or Tarbogotai. Kabalik, or Kayalik, would appear to correspond to the *Cailac* of Rubruquis, who halted there for ten days in 1254 (652 H.), the *Khanlak* of Edrisi,¹ and the modern Kainak referred to by Valikhanoff.² It is placed by most writers in the vicinity of Lake Balkash, though some³ incline to identify it with the greater Yeldüz⁴ of Timur. Yeldüz, however, according to the *Rauzat-us-Safa*, was among the spurs of the Thian Shan, slightly to the left of the great caravan route. It was celebrated for its beautiful springs, luxuriant meadows, and fine breezes, and was the place where, after his campaign against the "Jettah nation," Timur camped for some time, devoted to feasting and recreation, in 1389 (792 H.).

Naturally the most important places lay along the principal land-routes between China and Europe. The chief of these differ but little from the post and caravan routes of the present day. In fact, in a country so intersected by lofty mountain ridges, with a limited number of passes, this could hardly be otherwise. From those followed by Zemarchus, who went on a mission for the Emperor Justinian about 569, or the Buddhist Hiwen Thsang, who travelled over a part of the ground in 629 (8 H.), the routes taken by mediæval travellers, and that of the Russians of to-day, varied but little. The main highway was the northern road which left China by its extreme north-western corner and crossed the desert of Gobi to Kamil, the Hamil or former Igu of the Chinese, from which town two routes diverged, one on either side of the Thian Shan mountains.

¹ *Vide* his Geography, written in 1153-54.

² *Vide* "The Russians in Asia."

³ Ritter, etc.

⁴ Timur refers to two, Katchak Yeldüz and Olugh Yeldüz, the latter about 45 leagues south of the former.

Polo describes the people of Kamil as all Buddhists in his day, but in 1419 (822 H.) Shah Rukh's envoys found a mosque and a temple side by side. An ancient city of the Uighurs, it is now a Chinese commissariat depôt. The southern route was through Turfan, a town bearing the same name when visited by Benedict Goës about 1615 (1024 H.), and when taken by Yakūb Khān, the Amir of Kāshghār, in 1870; Kārashahr, or "Black town," on the Kaidu River, the "*Yenki*" of the Chinese writers and the "*Cicalis*" of Benedict Goës; Kuchar, or "*Cucia*" as Goës calls it, a place still of some importance; Bai, the "*Pein*" of Polo, which is noticed by Ibn Muhalhal as "a great city where jade is found in the river, and a red stone good for the spleen"; but one now better known for its sheep farming and felt manufacture; and lastly Aksū ("white water"), a town appearing in the Chinese annals as early as the second century B.C., possibly the Auxacia of Ptolemy. Once the residence of the kings of Kāshghār and Yarkand, it is still a central point of Chinese trade. Here the main routes diverge, one going on to Kāshghār and Yarkand, thence over the Muzart Pass along both sides of the Isik Kul towards the valley of the Chū River. The Isik Kul, or "warm lake," may have been so named on account of the numerous warm springs on its southern shore, and from the fact that there is only the thinnest crust of ice along its edge in winter. Hiwen Thsang calls it "*Thsing tchi*," and has many stories of the dragons, fish, and extraordinary monsters that rose out of it. The Chinese spoke of it as "Zhe hai," or "Yan hai," which had much the same meaning. To the Kalmuks it was "*Temurtū Nor*," or the iron lake, on account of the black iron sand on its shores; and to the Khirghīz "*Tuzgul*" or salt lake. The latter have many legends regarding it. The water is of a deep dark blue, shut in by mountains. At the eastern end the shore is thickly strewn with skulls and bones, where they say in ancient times a great battle was fought, and these are the remains of the slain. Others say, that here stood a city, submerged for its wickedness, and in connection with which Schuyler tells a

somewhat good story.¹ That in former times cities existed on its shores, that have since been submerged, both the legends and the old Chinese maps agree to render probable. Ruins are still visible under water, and the level may possibly have risen. It is now 5300 feet above mean sea-level.

To the north of the Thian Shan the route lay, if not through, at least near to Bishbālik; thence by the modern town of Ku-kara-usu; by the Sairam Nor, the Talki Pass, and Almālik, very nearly approximating to what till lately was one of the great Imperial Chinese post roads, joining the one from Kayalik and the modern route to Sempolatinsk at Altyn Imil, the "golden saddle." This road met the southern route at Almatu, a little town at the foot of the mountains, on a small stream called Almatin—both probably connected with abundance of apples—and corresponding to the present flourishing Siberian town of Vierny. A little further along, just over the Kastak Pass, Col. Yule suggests the probable site of Asparah, a place frequently mentioned in Timur's wars, and probably corresponding to the Equius of Rubruquis. A little further still is Tokmak, the old town now in almost undistinguishable ruin about fifteen miles from the present Russian station. It was formerly the capital of a principality. The Mughal writers spoke of the Sultān of Tokmak, meaning probably Khwārazm Shāh. Hiwen Tshang refers to it as a city six to seven *li* in circumference, the meeting-place of merchants from different kingdoms, and Tch'ang Te in 1259 (658 H.) as "having a numerous population, the surrounding country irrigated in all directions by canals." The route thence passed on to Talas, a well-known and ancient city of considerable importance. Zemarchus would seem to have met the Persian Ambassador here in 569. Hiwen Tshang in 629 (8 H.) calls it *Ta-lo-see*, and says it was eight or nine *li* in circumference, many merchants from many countries living there. Tch'ang T'chun in 1222 (619 H.), Tchang Te in 1259 (658 H.), and Hethum, the King of Armenia, in 1254 (652 H.), refer to

¹ Schuyler's Turkistan, vol. ii, p. 122.

passing through it, and many Muhammadan historians speak in praise of its rich meadows. It was probably at or near the modern Aulie-ātā, an insignificant country town. Some ruins ten miles away may possibly be the site. Either a little east or west of Talas was the "Valley of the thousand springs," the "Ming Bulāk," or "*Thsian Thsiouen*," where Hiwen Thsang makes the Gūr Khān of the Turks pass his summers. It was very likely the identical place where Zemarchus met his predecessor sixty years before. Sairām, a little further on, may be the "*Sai-lan*" of the Chinese travellers, where was a "tower in which Muhammadans worship." Near this, Isfidjāb, to give its Muhammadan name, the "*Pi-shui*" or white water of Hiwen Thsang, who described it as six or seven *li* in circumference, and says he preferred the climate of *Ta-lo-see*. The modern Turkish name is Chimkent, possibly a corruption of "*Chaim*" and "*Kent*," Spring-town.

From here two great routes again diverge, the one passing by Yassi, now the town called Turkistan, where Timur in 1397 (800 H.), while waiting for his bride, Tuket Khanūn, built a mosque over the tomb of Hazrat Hodji Akhmad Yasaki, a celebrated Central Asian Saint. By Yangigand, also called Yannikent or new town, the "*Kong yu*" or "*Yangy*" of Hiwen Thsang, "a town five or six *li* in circumference, the plain round particularly rich and fertile, with magnificent gardens and forests," and which appears on modern maps as Yangi Kurgan. And thence north-westward, following the Sihūn between the Kizil Kūm (red sands) and the Kara-Tagh (black mountains¹), towards the Aral Sea and the Khānate of Kipchak. The other by Shāsh or Tash Kant (stone city) to Transoxania.

Another much less frequented route was the one via Kashghār over the Terek Pass into Farghānah. And a third still less used, though taken by Benedict Goës, and in former times by some of the Khāns of Turkistān, was by Yarkand, Yanghihissar, the *Bām i Dunya* (Roof of the

¹ Viz. not covered with perpetual snow.

world), into Badakhshān and the upper valley of the Oxus.

In the little compact kingdom of Farghānah, rich in fruits and grains, orchards and gardens, with a fertile soil and a temperate climate, shut in on three sides by snowcapped mountains, the flourishing cities are better known and would seem to have changed but little. Akshī, or Aksikat, was a mint town of the Samānīs 919 (307 H.), of the Khalifs in 1004 (397 H.), and in 1494 (900 H.), the second town of importance in the valley and the residence of Ômarsheikh, Báber's father. Andigān was Báber's own capital. Ūzgand, Ūsh, and Marghilān are noticed as places of importance by many writers. Khujand, the modern Hodjent, is thought to correspond with Cyreschata or Cyropolis, the outmost city built by Cyrus; a strong place taken by Alexander. It was a mint town of Ilik Naṣr in 999 (390 H.), and was almost destroyed by Chengiz 1220 (617 H.). The fame of its fruit was described by Báber; the value of its trade was a constant apple of discord between Bukhārā and Khokand, and it cost many Russian lives to take it in 1866. From Khujand, all the way along the valley of the Sihūn, or Jaxartes, the whole country is studded with the remains of what were probably once large and flourishing towns. There is an old legend to the effect that the whole valley, from the source of the river to the Sea of Aral, was once so thickly settled, that a nightingale could fly from branch to branch of the fruit trees, and a cat walk from wall to wall and house-top to house-top. Many of the former cities are now represented by little beyond mounds, and of others known to history, the positions cannot be even approximated. To the Mughals, from Chengiz downwards, must undoubtedly be credited not a little of the ruin; and no part of Asia suffered so severely from the desert hordes as the countries bordering the Jaxartes and the Oxus. The accumulated wealth of a previous epoch of comparative civilization offered rich fields for plunder, which the inhabitants had become incapable of resisting. Of Bukhārā, Samrḱand, and many others, the history is well known. Shāsh, the old name not only of the city, but at one

time of a district and of part of the river Sihūn itself, had been a mint town of the Khalifs and of the Samānīs. Yahya, the son of Asad Samānī, held the territory about 815 (200 H.), when the inhabitants were said to be of the tribes Ghūzz and Khalj. The "*Tche-shi*" of Hiwen Tshang, it was variously spoken of by others as "*Chāj*," "*Tchatch*," and "*Jāj*," and was as Tāshkand captured by an army of Chengiz. So also was Banaket, a town not far distant, subsequently known as Shahrukhia. It is shown on Mr. Howorth's map in the position assigned to it by Mr. Ravenstein,¹ but Báber, who visited his uncle Sultān Maḥmūd Khān there, says it was on the river between Shāsh and Khujand, which is more probable.² Utrār, the Fārāb of the Arabs, a city and fortress of considerable note, which gave its name to a district famous in connection with the Khwarazm Shāhs. It stood a five months' siege against an army under Chaghatai and Oktai in 1218-19 (615-6 H.). The story goes that its gallant defender, Aīmāl Juk, with 20,000 men, held out in the citadel for two months longer, and finally, in company with two survivors only, fought on from his own house-roof with bricks handed to him by his wife; the siege costing the lives of 100,000 men. The Mughals levelled the citadel to the dust, but the city long survived as a place of importance, and was one of the principal Chaghatai mint towns as late as the time of Buyan Kuli.

The situation of towns like Sairan, Jand, and Signak, are all more doubtful. Both the latter were said to have been taken by Sanjar the Seljūk in 1152 (547 H.), and Jand was one of the strong cities taken by the Mughal army under Jūji. Its most probable position is suggested by Schuyler as on the Sihūn near what is now known as the Russian Fort No. 2. The only others of the half-dozen Transoxanian mint towns of the successors of Chaghatai needing any notice, as far as the numismatic record is concerned, are well-known places. Tarmaz, which would

¹ See map in Howorth's *Mongols*.

² It may be that the "Old Tashkend" of the maps is the site. The two places are sometimes spoken of as identical.

seem to have been one of importance, at any rate from the time of Burāk Khān to the close of the dynasty, was a place of note in the time of the Khwārazm Shāhs. In 1220 (617 H.), Chengiz, after the capture of Samrḳand, and a summer spent at Kash, moved through the "Iron gate" in the Karatagh range, and captured it after a siege of nine days. While there he organized a hunt on a grand scale that lasted for four months, after which he sent an army into Badakhshān. On the coinage it is described as "Madinat ul rijal" (the city of the people), Tarmaz; and on modern maps appears on the north bank of the Oxus as Tirmid. Kash, the modern "Shehr-i-Sabz," or green town, on the river Koshka, is famous as the birthplace of Timur. It, or a fortress near, between Kash and Naksheb, was also associated with a character whom Moore has made almost more famous, or infamous, in Lalla Rookh—Al Mukanna, the veiled impostor of Khurāsān, who finally shut himself up there in 780 (164 H.), and from whence, according to the poet, alone came out again the ill-fated Zulika, who perished by rushing on Azīm's spear.¹ It was taken by the Mughals under Chengiz himself, and was a mint town of his successors as late as Buyān Kuli. Bald-i Badakhshān was probably the capital of the province of the same name. Col. Yule places it in the plain of Baharāk, where the Vardoj and other branches join the Kokchar river. It was also termed *Jaūzgān*, and the site may probably not have been far from the present capital of Faizābād, which, according to Manphul, was founded by Yarbak Mir of the present dynasty. Polo says the rulers in his time called themselves "*Zulcarnian*," the two-horned, and claimed descent from Alexander; and Báber, whose brother, Nasir Mirza, was in 1506 (912 H.) made king for a brief while, notices the same thing. The city must have passed out of Chaghatai hands not very many years after a coin of Kuzān in my possession was struck. Timur in his early years assisted Amir Hussain "to chastise his rebellious vassals" in the province, and in 1369 (771 H.)

¹ Narshaki's story is less romantic. He says the surviving wife gave up the citadel for 10,000 *akichi*.

Shah Sheik Muhammad, its prince, joined the standard of Timur himself against Hussain. In 1416 (819 H.) the prince submitted to Shah Rukh, who sent his son Suyurghat-mish with "Yengui Shah," a deposed Badakhshān prince, to take possession.¹

CHAGHATAI AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

His great expeditions over, Chaghatai settled down and lived chiefly at Almālik, though he maintained a regular service of couriers between his court and Māwarā-un-Nahr, to keep him informed of the affairs of that portion of his Khānate, and in spite of the drunken habits to which he, in common with most of the descendants of Chengiz, was addicted, he is said to have attended personally to all the details of administration, and, if strictly, to have ruled justly. He appointed Mughal governors, Buka Bosha at Bukhārā, and Jongsan Taifu at Samrḳand; but the government of the Transoxanian appanages as a whole was entrusted to a Muhammadan, Mas'ūd Bak, who held the title of "*Jumilat-ul-Mulk*," Minister of State, and enjoyed the entire confidence of the Khān. Under the minister, Bukhārā rose, phoenix-like, from its ruins; the people who had remained in hiding ever since the terrible times of the invasion by the hordes of Chengiz were gradually coaxed back to their former employments; new buildings began to replace those that had been destroyed, and colleges founded by Mas'ūd Bak and others were filled with students.

For many years the rigour of Chengiz continued to inspire the rule of his sons, and there appears every probability that under Chaghatai the western part of the Khānate enjoyed fairly good and decidedly strong government. The peace was only once temporarily interrupted by the outbreak of a

¹ The principal authorities for the above, in addition to those previously mentioned, are: Cathay, and the Way Thither, by Col. Yule, 2 vols. London, 1866. Book of Ser Marco Polo, by Col. Yule, 2 vols. London, 1874. Erskine's History of India, 2 vols. London, 1854. Turkistan, by Eugene Schuyler, 2 vols. London, 1876. Mongolia, by Prejevalsky (translated), London, 1876. The Russians in Central Asia, by Valikhano, etc. (translated), London, 1865.

religious enthusiast, a sieve-maker named Mahmūd Tārānī, who in 1232 (630 H.) appeared at an obscure village near Bukhārā, proclaiming himself inspired by spirits and possessing supernatural attributes. He succeeded in getting together a considerable following, was received with honour by the people of the city, caused the public prayers to be read in his name, confiscated the property of the rich, and spent his time and his unlawful gains in orgies with the captured ladies with whom he filled his house. His supremacy in Bukhārā was short-lived, though it came near to again bringing ruin on the place, for he was killed in a fight between his fanatical followers and a force under Chaghatai's officers, who quickly disposed of the business, but were with difficulty restrained by Mas'ūd from giving over the city to vengeance.

Chaghatai died in 1241 (639 H.),¹ but there are few particulars regarding his death, save that it occurred among his own people, and great mourning was made for him. He was reputed a man of great dignity, pomp, and magnificence, but open-hearted, brave, and hospitable, passionately fond of the chase, "good was he deemed at trumpet sound, and good"—especially so—"where wassail bowl passed freely round," the two pursuits taking up much of his time, while his chief counsellor and minister, Karachar, carried on the government. But whether personally or by deputy, his State was well administered. He instituted a code of laws, known as *Yāssā*,² directed especially against lying, lust, and embezzlement. Communication to all parts of his Khānate became fairly safe, and it was a boast that neither guards nor escort were required on any route. He was not much inclined towards the faith of Islām, nor so tolerant as his brother Oktai. In fact, by some Muhammadan writers he is credited with the most sanguinary laws against the Faith, but this seems hardly borne out by history.

His immediate successors continued to reside mainly in the eastern part of the Khānate, their wild and wandering nature preferring the free life of the mountain and desert, to

¹ Some say in Zi Ka'dah, 638 H.

² Rather he adopted the Yasa or Code of Chenghiz.—Ed.

which they were enthusiastically attached, and which they considered as the only one worthy of free and generous men. But the discord so characteristic of Asiatic dynasties was not long in appearing. Wars succeeded to wars, and when not engaged with other and more distant tribes, the rival claimants to the throne fought among themselves. Altogether the dynasty lasted about 140 years, and within that time some thirty of the descendants or kinsmen of Chaghatai ruled over the whole or part of the Khānate, their entire history for this period being one of revolutions, depositions, murders, and usurpations, more frequent than usual even in Oriental story.

Sometimes the seat of government was removed entirely to Bukhārā on the west, sometimes the Khānate was divided for a while, to be reunited by more fighting, and ultimately partitioned altogether into two, if not into three States. Within a century after Chaghatai's death the Khāns had entirely forsaken the desert tribes, to visit and linger in the more luxuriant plains of Māwarā-un-Nahr. It was, according to Ibn Batuta, one of the charges brought against Tamāshirīn, that he always remained there, and for four years had not visited Almālīk, or the eastern dominions of his family. In the end the Khāns became mere puppets in the hands of powerful Amīrs, who set them up and deposed or murdered them at pleasure; until finally came the famous Timur, who permitted them no actual authority whatever, save the use of their names at the head of state papers, or coupled with his own on the coinage of the realm. Over Khurāsān and the territories beyond the Hazāra range all influence may be said to have ceased with Chaghatai.

KARA-HULĀKŪ, YASSŪ, ORGANAH, AND ALGHŪ, AT
ALMĀLĪK.

Six months after Chaghatai's death his brother, the mighty Oktai, having caroused more deeply than usual, died at Karā-ḵorum, the 11th December, 1241 (639 H.), and his death set almost the whole of the successors of Chengiz squabbling for his throne, among the most violent as regards party spirit and

warlike temper being some of the representatives of Chaghatai. For the time being it ended in Tūrākīnah, Oktāi's widow, being appointed regent; but there were set up lasting disputes among the rival claimants, and the seeds of much future mischief were sown. For long after, the disputes regarding the succession to the throne of the Great Ḳaān became inextricably mixed with the affairs, more especially of the eastern part, of Chaghatai's Khānate, and it is impossible to give an intelligible account of the latter without occasional references to the former.

Chaghatai left a numerous family, but as a successor he nominated, or Ḳaraḥar, the minister, set up, a grandson and a minor—Ḳara Hulākū; a widow of the late Khān, by name Ebūskūn, assuming the regency. Her first step was to order the execution of Madjīd-ud-dīn, the physician, and Hadjīr, the favourite wazīr, of her late husband, accusing them of having been concerned in his death; the more probable reason being to get rid of possible obstacles in the way of her ambition.¹ She, however, was only able to maintain her position as long as the interregnum which followed Oktāi's death lasted. Oktāi's son, Kuyūk, was no sooner elected supreme Ḳaān, than he removed all his adversaries, including Ebūskūn herself, nominated Yassū Mangah as chief in 1247 (645 H.), and spread disunion and disorder, not only in Almālīk, but throughout the Khānate, even Mas'ūd Bak having to fly from Bukhārā before him, and take refuge with Bātū, the Khān of the Western Kipchak. Yassū was an exceptional drunkard and a debauchee, but, fortunately for his Muhammadan subjects, took for his Vazīr and adviser a pious and learned man, Khawājah Bahā-ud-dīn of Marghaniān, who seems to have endeavoured, unfortunately ineffectually, to disarm his enemies by showing them every kindness.

At the end of a three years' reign, Kuyūk by dying gave place to Mangū as supreme Ḳaān, and in 1252 (650 H.) Ḳara Hulākū, with Ebūskūn, were reinstated in their former

¹ I have here followed in places almost literally the excellent narrative of Vamberg, which appears both succinct and accurate.

dignities. Habesh Amid, a creature of Ebūskūn's, was appointed Wazir, whose first step was to imprison Bahā-ud-dīn, and, in spite of the eloquent verses addressed by the latter to the princess, he caused him to be sewn up in a felt bag and kicked and trampled to a shapeless mass. Yassū lost his throne for refusing to acknowledge Mangū's authority, and in restoring Kara Hulākū, one of the conditions was, that the latter should put his rival out of the way, which Hulākū no doubt would have done, but died himself before he could carry out the order.

The government of the Khānate then fell into the hands of his widow, Organah *Khātūn*, who, in 1252 (650 H.), had Yassū promptly executed, and reigned happily in Almālik for ten years after. Organah was one of the three Mughal graces, of whom Vassaf says: "Three such forms of beauty, loveliness, grace and dignity had never been produced by all the painters"—at any rate the Mughal painters—"of creation, aided by the brushes of the liveliest imagination." They were the sisters, and at the same time the wives of the Mughal Princes of Kīpchak, Persia, and the Chaghatai Khānate. If not a convert to Islām, Organah had a decided leaning in that direction, and showed much kindness to the Muhammadans on many occasions. She must, moreover, have had great tact as well as beauty, for not only as the wife of Hulākū, and then for ten years of independent rule, but subsequently as the wife of Alghu, she was one of the most influential persons in the state.

So long as Mangū lived, this "wise and energetic" lady was allowed to govern in peace; but in 1259 (658 H.), he died, and a war of succession broke out between Irtukbūka,¹ the third son of Tūlūi,² and his brother Kubilāi, for the Imperial throne. The former nominated in supersession of Organah, Alghū, the son of Baider, and grandson of Chengiz; and the latter, Apis-ga, the son of Būrī, and great-grandson of Chengiz. Alghū, anticipating his rival, drove out

¹ Really Arikbuka.—Ed.

² Tūlūi

Organah and established himself at Almālik in 1261 (659 H.). Apisga, with his brother Kadami, were meanwhile taken prisoners by Irtuḡbūka, who shortly after had both executed. Alghū repaid his patron with the blackest ingratitude, for no sooner did the latter, driven into a corner by Ḳubīlāi, invite his aid, than Alghū, who is said to have had at his disposal 150,000 men, flatly refused it, arrested the commissioners sent by Irtuḡbūka to collect taxes, murdered them, and openly espoused the cause of Ḳubīlāi. Irtuḡbūka, furious at this treachery, at once faced about, and leaving his city of Ḳarāḡorum at the mercy of Ḳubīlāi, who as promptly seized the opportunity to take it, advanced against Alghū, and after a considerable struggle occupied a large part of his dominions, Alghū having to fly from Almālik to Kāshghar, thence to Khoten, and finally to Samrḡand. Irtuḡbūka spent the winter of 1263 (662 H.) at Almālik, where he treated the followers of Alghū with extreme severity, and devastated the neighbourhood. To such an extent did he carry this, that a famine ensued, and many thousand people perished.

His cruelties finally disgusted even his own soldiers, many of whom went over to Ḳubīlāi, and his troops and resources became so weakened, that he offered to submit to his brother, and make peace with Alghū, stipulating to retain for himself a portion of the eastern part of the Khānate. The Princess Organah and Mas'ūd Bak were appointed negotiators. Alghū agreed, and to make matters smoother, married the dispossessed and whilom beautiful Organah, residing apparently in Māwarā-un-Nahr. Peace was now restored there, the administrative abilities of Mas'ūd Bak were called in to fill the exhausted treasury, the industrious population of Bukhārā and Samrḡand as usual having to contribute the lion's share. Alghū had one more rival in Prince Kāidū,¹ a grandson of

Oktāi, who was also a powerful rival of Ḳubilāi's for the supreme Ḳaānate. This prince, with the assistance of Bātū of the Western Kipchak, endeavoured to assert his claim to the northern part of Māwarā-un-Nahr, known as the province of Turkistān, but unsuccessfully it would seem during Alghū's reign. Alghū died in 1263 (662 H.), a short time after his beloved wife, the "protector of Muhammadans and the cherisher of Islām." Irtukbūka had meanwhile prostrated himself at the door of Ḳubilāi's tent, done homage, and been forgiven, but died himself shortly after.

Fræhn describes in the *Recensio* a dirhem of Ḳara Hulākū, son of Mutukan, and another of Alghū, son of Baider, but struck at Bukhārā, the former 651 H. (1253), and the latter in 660 H. (1261).

1266 TO 1270. MUBĀRAK SHĀH AND BORĀK'S FOUR YEARS OF WAR.

Ḳubilāi in the first instance nominated Mubārak Shāh, the son of Ḳara Hulākū, whose name would seem to imply that he had adopted the creed patronized by his mother, Organah, and was a Musalman. He is represented as a gentle and just prince; but the selection does not seem to have inspired the great Ḳaān with much confidence, for in the same year 1264 (662 H.)¹ he named secretly as his viceregent Prince Borāk, another great-grandson of Chaghatai, whom he seems to have thought more capable of resisting his rival, Kāidū. If this was the reason, he mistook his man. Borāk drove Mubārak Shāh from the throne, but so far from taking active measures against Kāidū, proceeded soon afterwards to make terms with him, and the two not only exercised joint sovereignty, but divided the inhabitants of cities like Bukhārā

¹ The date given in most tables is 664 H. (1266), but this seems to require modification, and may be read as 662 H., the year of Alghū's death. According to Yule, the elder Polo reached Bukhārā before 1264, and Borāk was then reigning there. "After they had passed the desert (from the Caspian) they arrived at a great city called *Bocara*, the territory of which belonged to a king whose name was *Barac*." They stayed three years, ultimately going forward with the envoys, returning from *Alau* (viz. Hulākū), Lord of the Levant (viz. the Ilkhān of Persia), to the great Ḳaān the Lord of all the Tartars (Kubilāi). Yule thinks this was 1265, which would make Borāk as reigning in 1262 (661 H.).

like sheep; sharing the cleverest armourers between them, so many being portioned out to each master. A short time after, however, war broke out between Kāidū and Mangū Timur, the fourth Khān of the Blue Horde, when Borāk, reluctant to lose so good an opportunity, at once took up arms and prepared to attack his friend in the rear. Kāidū, alive to the danger, equally promptly patched up a peace with the Blue Horde, and gave his faithless ally so thorough a beating that the latter had to abandon the Turkīstān province, and retire to Bukhārā and Samrḳand.¹ His troops, disappointed of promised loot, Borāk, with the most heartless tyranny, proposed to deliberately sacrifice his own people, and ordered the inhabitants of these unfortunate cities to abandon their property and escape for their lives, as both must be given up to his troops for plunder. The tears and entreaties of the citizens saved them on this occasion, and the brutal order was modified into a heavy contribution, and an order for more armourers to work day and night preparing fresh armaments. In a short time Borāk was again able to take the field, but at this stage Kāidū, who was anxious for peace with him, sent proposals through his cousin, Khojah Ogul, who was also a friend of Borāk's. The two princes met, and in the spring of 1269 (667 H.) held a grand fête in the open country north of the Sihūn. The festival lasted seven days; peace was established, and confirmed by rinsing gold in the cup in which they pledged their mutual vows. In the *Kuriltai* of the tribes, it was decided that Borāk should hold two-thirds of Māwarā-un-Nahr, the remaining third² to belong jointly to Kāidū and Mangū Timūr. Borāk was not satisfied with the arrangement, complaining that he had come worse off than any of the house of Chengiz, and as he insisted more particularly on the absence of pasture for his flocks, it was decided that he should recoup himself by invading Khurāsān, and that meanwhile

¹ According to Howorth (vol. i. p. 174), Kāidū was first surprised in an ambuscade and beaten, upon which Mangū Timūr supplied him with a contingent of 50,000 troops, the battle was renewed and Borāk beaten.

² Some authorities add, "with Khujand and its neighbourhood as far as Samrḳand," but this part of the treaty could not have lasted long.

all three princes should refrain from ravaging the ruined territories of Māwarā-un-Nahr, impose no taxes on the impoverished inhabitants, and pasture their flocks at a distance from the cultivated ground, Mas'ūd Bak being commissioned to persuade the terrified peasantry to return once more to their occupations. To Kāidū, however, the most important feature of the treaty was the implied recognition of him as the rightful Khākān of the Mughals, which from this time was extended by the Chaghatai Khāns both to him and his son Chapar.

In spite of the miserable state of things Borāk was impatient to begin his attack on Abaka, the son of Hulākū, the second of the Ilkhāns of Persia. A remonstrance on the part of the faithful Mas'ūd was punished by seven lashes, an outburst of anger which the tyrannical Borāk repented of, but it did not prevent him carrying out his intention. He began by sending Mas'ūd to Abaka's court,¹ then at Mazendrān, with an ostensible excuse about money, the nature of which Abaka soon discovered, and Mas'ūd barely escaped with his life. A second mission to gain over the Chaghatai prince Nighudar, then at the Persian court, equally failed, Abaka being too vigilant. Meanwhile, Borāk's army, accompanied by several princes of the house of Oktāi, had crossed the Oxus at Amūi, and encamped at Merv. The first attack was directed against Abaka's brother and general Tushīn, who, associated with Abaka's son Arghun, commanded in Eastern Khūrāsān at Hīrat, but who retreated on ascertaining the superiority of his opponents. Borāk pursued him, and subdued a large part of Khūrāsān, but dissensions broke out in his army, he lost half his force by desertion, was finally drawn into a trap by an ingenious trick of Abaka's, and found himself marching in pursuit of an enemy he believed to be retreating, straight into an ambush by which he was surrounded, and his remaining army cut to pieces. Himself much hurt by a bad fall from his horse, he had great difficulty in escaping across the Oxus, and re-entered Bukhārā.

¹ Of this invasion Mr. Howorth promises a full account in his forthcoming volume.

broken in mind and paralysed in body. Having turned Muhammadan, and taken the title of Sultān Ghīās-ud-dīn, he spent the winter in useless efforts to revenge himself on an ally to whom he attributed all his misfortunes, and finally died in the spring of 1270 (669 H.), said by many to have been poisoned.

His reign had extended only to some four years, but they were years of misery and destruction to some of the fairest lands and most prosperous cities on the Zarāfshān. His death delivered them from at least one cowardly tyrant and persecutor, though they still continued to suffer from the fratricidal wars that constantly raged between the rival chiefs of the lines of Oktāi and Chaghatai, and the unhappy citizens had even more reason than Venice of old for invoking "a plague on both their houses."

KAĪDŪ, DUA, AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR WITH THE GREAT KĀĀN.

Borāk's death left Kāidū sole master of the western portion of the Khānate. The dispossessed Mubārak Shāh and other chiefs took the oath of allegiance to him, thus rendering him a still more dangerous rival of Kūbilāi. In 1270 (668 H.), much to the indignation of the sons of Borāk, he nominated Nikpai, a grandson of Chaghatai, chief of the tribe, but in less than two years Nikpai seems to have revolted, been killed, and succeeded by Tuka Timur, another scion of the house (*circa* 1271 or 670 H.), who in less than two years more was ousted by Dua, the son of Borāk (*circa* 1273, or 672 H.). Dua had made up his quarrel with Kāidū, his claims having been constantly urged by the latter's son Chapar. His reign was the longest ever enjoyed by a descendant of Chaghatai, and the Khānate might have hoped for some peace from an alliance between the rival houses, but unfortunately a third firebrand appeared on the

scene. Abaka, the Ilkhān of Persia, who had always acknowledged Ḳubīlāi as the rightful Khākān in opposition to Kāidū, and who had never forgiven Borāk's invasion of Khurāsān, was only watching his opportunity, and his Vazīr, Shams-ud-dīn Juwainī,¹ had only to draw his attention to a favourable omen, to start him for Bukhāra, which he entered about 1274 (672 H.), plundering, burning, and murdering right and left. He is credited with making 50,000 prisoners, and, among other acts of barbarism, with having laid the celebrated college of Mas'ūdī in ashes. He was pursued by the Chaghatai generals, and some of the prisoners recovered; but those generals themselves treated the unhappy country nearly as hardly, leaving a fresh desert for Mas'ūd Bak to try his restoring hand upon once again.

Dua's long reign was a succession of constant wars, which brought fresh calamities not only upon Māwarā-un-Nahr, but more or less over the entire Khānate. His ambition carried him on at least one occasion to India, and for some years he commanded expeditions in the Punjab in person. Zia-ud-dīn Barni says he was defeated by the army of Āla-ud-dīn at Jalandhar in 1296 (696 H.), but he must have continued to ravage the Punjab for years, and we read of his returning from a raid on Lahore in 1301 (701 H.). His son, Prince Katlagh Khwāja, at the head of a large army, advanced as far as Delhi in 1297-8 (697-8 H.), and was only beaten off with great difficulty, by the famous general Zafar Khān. The head-quarters of the horde were for many years apparently at Ghaznī, and their continued raids are referred to by almost every native historian. The "infidel host" is usually described as "utterly routed" by the Muhammadan forces, but in Sind, Trans-Indus, and a good part of the northern Punjab, they raided almost unchecked; Peshawur, Lahore, and Multān, were periodically sacked, and even Delhi was the subject of constant attacks. At Ghaznī, and probably elsewhere, they issued money, of which two

¹ Brother of 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Ata Mulk Juwainī, the historian and author of Tārīkh-i-Jahan Kusha, etc.

examples are given in Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*.¹

Hostilities between Kāidū and Ḳubīlāi from first to last extended over a period of twenty years. Marco Polo devotes many chapters to an account of them. "From year's end to year's end the great Kaān had to keep an army watching Caidu's frontier, lest he should make forays." His aggressions are described as unceasing, and he as able to take the field with 100,000 horse, "all stout soldiers and inured to war." While with him were many "famous Barons of the imperial lineage of Chingiz," who supported his claims against Ḳubīlāi, and in spite of the desert of forty days extent that divided the states, engagements between bodies of troops posted at intervals on either side were constant. Polo describes some of the battles at length; one as taking place about 1276 (675 H.),² in which Kāidū and his cousin Yesudar assembled a force of 60,000 horse, and attacked two of the "barons," who held lands under the great Kaān, and who brought into the field a similar force. In the end the "barons" were beaten, but thanks to their good horses escaped, and Kāidū returned home, "swelling the more with pride," and for the next two years remained at peace. But at the end of this time or less he renewed the attack with a larger force, put at 100,000 horse, and more allies than ever. Ḳubīlāi's army was under the command of his son Nurmughān, who had been appointed to command his north-west frontier, and somewhat defiantly assumed the title of Com-

¹ An account of Dua's invasion is given by d'Ohsson, who goes on to say: "Quelques années après, en 1303, Tourghai, prince tchagatayen, s'avança jusqu'à Delhi, et après avoir campé pendant deux mois devant cette ville, que était défendue par Alaï-ud-din, il jugea à propos de faire sa retraite. L'année suivante, un autre prince tchinguizien, nommé Ali fit avec Khodjatasch une invasion dans l'Inde, à la tête de quarante mille chevaux. Ils passèrent au nord de Lahore, franchirent les monts Sioualik, et pénétrèrent sans opposition jusqu'à Amroha, où ils furent battus par Toglouc général d' Alaï-ud-din. Ali et Khodjatasch faits prisonniers avec neuf mille hommes, furent envoyés au Sultan, qui les fit jeter sans les pieds des éléphants. Pour venger leur morts, Guebek, général de Doua, entra dans l'Inde en 705 H. (1306), ravager le Moultan et s'avança jusqu'à Sioualik." D'Ohsson iv. 561. Guebek, viz. Kabāk, is said to have been also crushed under the feet of elephants, but in 709 H. he succeeded to the Khānate. D'Ohsson goes on to speak of the invasion of India by Tamarshirīn, son of Dua, at the head of a large army in 727 H. (1327).

² The text has 1266, but is corrected by Pauthier to 1276.

mander-in-Chief of Almālik, the Chaghataī capital. The battle, which is graphically described at length by Polo, may serve as a specimen of Mughal tactics. Kāidū's army is called a vast force of horsemen, that had advanced very rapidly. The Prince's force amounted to 60,000 well-appointed cavalry, that "all undismayed made themselves ready for battle like valiant men. When they heard Caidu was so near, they went forth valiantly to meet him. When they got within some ten miles of him they pitched their tents and got ready for battle, and the enemy, who were about equal in numbers, did the same; each side forming in six columns of 10,000 men with good captains. Both sides were well equipped with swords and maces and shields, with bows and arrows and other arms after their fashion. The practice of the Tartars going to battle is to take each a bow and sixty arrows. Of these thirty are light with small sharp points, for long shots and following up an enemy; whilst the other thirty are heavy, with large broad heads, which they shoot at close quarters, and with which they inflict great gashes on face and arms, and cut the enemy's bowstrings, and commit great havoc. This every one is ordered to attend to, and when they have shot away their arrows, they take to their swords and maces and lances, which also they ply stoutly.

"So when both sides were ready for action the *Naccaras*¹ (kettle-drums) began to sound loudly, one on either side. For it is their custom never to join battle till the Great Naccara is beaten. And when the Naccaras sounded, then the battle began in fierce and deadly style, and furiously the one host dashed to meet the other. So many fell on either side that in an evil hour for both the battle was begun! The earth was thickly strewn with the wounded and the slain, men and horses, whilst the uproar and din of battle was so loud you would not have heard God's thunder! Truly King Caidu himself did many a deed of prowess that strengthened the hearts of his people. Nor less on the other side did the great Kān's son and Prester John's grandson, for well

¹ A great kettle-drum formed like a brazen cauldron tapering to the bottom, covered with buffalo hide; often three or four feet in diameter.

they proved their valour in the medley, and did astonishing feats of arms, leading their troops with right good judgment.

“The battle lasted so long that it was one of the hardest the Tartars ever fought. Either side strove hard to bring the matter to a point and rout the enemy, but to no avail. And so the battle went on till vespertide, and without victory on either side. Many a man fell there; many a child was made an orphan there; many a lady widowed; and many another woman plunged in grief and tears for the rest of her days. I mean the mothers and the *araines* (*harūns*) of those who fell.

“So when they had fought till the sun was low they left off, and retired each side to its tents. . . . And when morning approached, King Caidu, who had news from his scouts that the Great Kaān was sending a great army to reinforce his son, judged it was time to be off: so he called his host to saddle and mounted his horse at dawn, and away they set out on their return to their own country. And the Great Kaān’s son let them go unpursued, for his forces were themselves sorely fatigued and needed rest.”¹ This battle by several authorities is described as taking place near Almālik, the Great Kaān’s army as being defeated, both generals taken prisoner by Kāidū, who advanced on Kārā-korum; the state of things ultimately becoming so threatening, that Kubilāi had to withdraw his most trusted general, Bayan, from China, by whom Kāidū was either defeated or fell back on Māwarā-un-Nahr.

Another ten years seem to have passed with no decisive action between the two great rivals, but Kāidū continued to grow in power, and became the head of a powerful league. Subsequently he defeated and captured another son of Kubilāi, Kamāla, who was only rescued by the exceptional bravery of a Kipchak general, and so great was Kāidū’s advantage, that the Great Kaān, in spite of his advanced age, took the field in person, and Kāidū again had to fall back. This could not have been very long before Kubilāi’s death,

¹ Yule’s Marco Polo, vol. ii. p. 458.

which occurred in 1294 (693 H.), his grandson Uljaitū succeeding as Great Kaān.

Kāidū would seem to have found a staunch ally in Dua. In 1301 (701 H.) the latter had just returned from one of his Indian expeditions, and in conjunction with him, Kāidū resolved on carrying the war into the heart of the country of the Great Kaān. With forty princes belonging to the now united houses of Oktāi and Chaghatai, the pair planned an invasion of the North of China. They were met, however, by the Imperial army under a nephew of Uljaitū, between Karākorum and the river Timir, and, according to the Chinese account, were defeated. The defeat, as far as Kāidū is concerned, seems to have been final. He is credited with having during his career gained forty-one battles and was beaten in this the forty-second, shortly after which he sickened and died. He is also said to have had forty sons and at least one remarkable daughter, Aijārūk, "the Bright Moon," of whom Marco Polo tells a quaint story. She was very beautiful, and still more renowned for her powers of wrestling. "She was so strong and brave that in all her father's realm was no man who could outdo her in feats of strength." Her father, whom she accompanied in the field, had often spoken of marriage, but she would none of it, she would marry no man unless he could vanquish her in every trial. Somewhat of exceptional stature, tall and muscular, but withal stout and shapely, she had distributed her challenges over all the kingdoms, inviting the youth to try a fall with her, the loser to pay forfeit of one hundred horses, the vanquisher to win her for wife. Many a youth had tried his strength and lost his horses, and she had won in this way more than ten thousand horses, and must, in fact, have been more valuable to her father than some modern remount agencies. As Colonel Yule suggests, she recalls Brunhild in the Nibelungen Lied :

"A royal maiden who reigned beyond the sea :
From sunrise to the sundown no paragon had she.
All boundless as her beauty was, her strength was peerless too,
And evil plight hung o'er the knight who dared her love to woo."

Polo goes on to describe how a prince in 1280 (679 H.) came from a distant land, where he was renowned for strength and skill, and brought with him 1000 horses to be forfeited if she should vanquish him. Young, handsome and strong, the son of a great king, both Kāidū and his wife tried to persuade their daughter to allow herself to be beaten, but she refused, saying she would only be his wife according to the terms of the wager, not otherwise. The match came off before the King and Queen and a great gathering, she in a jerkin of "sammet" and the bachelor in one of "sendal," "a winsome sight to see." After a long struggle she threw him on his back on the palace pavement, and great was his shame and discomfiture to have thus been worsted by a girl. He lost his horses, and his wife, for she would not have him, much to the annoyance of Kāidū and his wife. After this she is said to have taken an active part in her father's campaigns, and according to some accounts to have been even ambitious enough to aspire to the succession after his death.¹

It is not very clear what were the limits of Kāidū's territory, and how much of the Chaghatai Khānate, in addition to his own appanage as originally constituted, acknowledged his sway. The joint sovereignty he at one time held with Borāk in the cities of Bukhārā and Samrḳand has been referred to. His authority appears to have extended over Kāshghār, Yarkand, and all the cities bordering the south of the Thian Shan as far east as Karakhoja or the valley of the Talas River; and the country north of the Thian Shan from Lake Balkash, eastwards to the Chagan Nor, or practically the whole of the middle and eastern part of the Khānate.² Khotan, Polo says, belonged to the Great Kaān, though Borāk got possession of it at the beginning of his reign.

Upon Kāidū's death, Dua did not forget the obligations he had once been under to his son Chapar. He urged upon the Princes the latter's claims to the succession, and it was

¹ Yule Marco Polo, vol. i. p. 461.

² Col. Yule would add the Upper Yenissei and the Irtysh in the further north.

mainly by Dua's influence Chapar obtained it. As soon as the installation was over, they together agreed to put an end to the thirty years' struggle with the Great Ḳaān, and sent envoys to Uljaitū offering submission, a submission possibly feigned on the part of Chapar. Before a year elapsed however they fell out, Dua probably asserting his independence, and in 1303 (703 H.) fought a battle between Samrḳand and Khujand, in which Chapar was defeated. In a second struggle, with his brother Shāh Ogul as general, the result was reversed, while a third engagement resulted once more in favour of Dua. Almost at the same time the army of the Khākān Uljaitū, 100,000 strong, encamped on the river Irtish and the Arlās mountains, came through the Altai to attack Chapar, who found himself deserted by the greater part of his army, and with nothing left to do but escape and make his submission to Dua. Dua cordially received him, seeing in his submission the possible fulfilment of his ambition, and the reuniting of the Chaghatai provinces, but shortly after in 1306 (706 H.) he died.

Notwithstanding his long reign, no coin of Dua's would appear to have been noticed, excepting one described by M. Tiesenhausen in the Stroganoff collection, and this, struck at Badakhshān 694 H., bears no name. Of Kāidū, there does not so far seem to be any numismatic record.

1306 TO 1320. KABĀK AND ISSENBUKA.

The immediate successor of Dua was his son Kunjuk, who did not live long, and in 1308 (708 H.) was succeeded by Taliku, descended from Chaghatai's son Mutukan, said to have been the second Mughal prince converted to Islām; but within a year, possibly on the ground of his perversion, the officers of his court rose and murdered him at a banquet, putting up Kabāk, another son of Dua, in his place. Kabāk was hardly installed in 1309 (709 H.) when he was attacked by Chapar, with whom were several princes of the house of Oktai. Chapar was beaten in several fights, and eventually fled beyond the Ili to the territory of the Great Ḳaān, now

Kuluk, at whose court the Oktāi princes did homage and finally abandoned their claims to the supreme Ḳaānship, their domains being appropriated by the house of Chaghatai, the clans partly becoming its subjects and partly joining the Kipchāks. With Chapar the house of Oktāi disappears, though representatives came to the front for a brief period again in the persons of 'Ali, and of Danishmandjeh, while Timur, after displacing the family of Chaghatai, selected his puppet khāns from the Oktāi stock.

Kabāk, for some reason which does not appear, and apparently by his own consent, was displaced the same year 1309 (709 H.) in favour of an elder brother, who ascended the throne under the name of Essen- or Issen-buka; ¹ a prince, according to some histories, ² identical with Imil Khwāja. He is variously called by other authorities, ³ and it may be worth considering if he be not the same as the Katlagh (lucky?) Khwāja, who made the raid on Delhi in 1289 (698 H.). As Issenbuka he disappears from the scene in 1318 (721 H.), and it is in that year, Abul Ghāzi says the people of Kāshghār and Yarkand, or what had then become the eastern branch of the Khānate, "called to be their Khan Imil Khwāja, the son of Dua Khan." Khondamir, on the other hand, says Issenbuka reigned over the western branch till his death. Whichever may be correct, Issenbuka for the most part of his reign was engaged in hostilities with one or other. He began a quarrel with the VIIIth Supreme Ḳaān, Buyantu, by whose general he was beaten in two engagements. He next undertook a war against the VIIth Ilkhān of Persia, Uljāitū, afterwards known as Khūdābandi, the "servant of God," and to idemnify himself for losses in the east, attempted to annex Khūrāsān. Accompanied by several princes, he crossed the Oxus in 1315 (715 H.), defeated Amir Yasaul, the governor of Khūrāsān, at Murghāb, and pursued him to the river of Herāt. For four months the country

¹ Vambery says Essen (strong, healthy) is a Turkish word.

² Viz. Abul Ghāzi.

³ "Aisubugha" in the Tarikh Rashidi; "*Il or Ail Khwāja*" in the Khulāsāt ul Akhbār; "*Aimal*" by Sherfuddīn; and "*Imil Khwāja, who reigned in Māwarā-un Nahr under the title of Issanbugha Khān*" by Abul Ghāzi.

experienced all the horrors of a Mughal occupation, which only terminated by the advance of the Great Kāān with a large army on the Issik-kul, necessitating Issenbuka's moving to the eastern part of the Khānate. As usual the penalty had to be paid by the luckless Trans-Oxus country, for no sooner had Issenbuka retired, than Uljāitū prepared for a counter-invasion of Māwarā-un-Nahr. Yassaur, another brother of Issenbuka, who had turned Muhammadan and quarrelled with him, had sought and obtained refuge with the Persian court. He at once seized the opportunity, and having obtained from Uljāitū a large force, the two crossed the Oxus in 1316 (716 H.), and defeated Issenbuka, who took to flight. The Mughal ravages were returned with interest, and the inhabitants of Bukhārā, Samrḵand and Tarmaz were sent into exile in the depth of a very severe winter, thousands perishing by the way.

This is the last that is known about Issenbuka so far as Māwarā-un-Nahr is concerned; about 1318 (718 H.) Kabāk resumed the throne from which he had retired, and is said to have chastised the quarrelsome Issenbuka. Kabāk is shown on the lists of D'Ohsson, Howorth, and others, as having died in 1321 (721 H.), but this is contrary to the numismatic evidence. Among coins of his not hitherto described are those of Bukhārā struck in H. 71x, 722, 723, and 724, of Tarmaz in 71x, and of Samrḵand in 725, which may probably have been his last year, as there is a coin of Tarmāshirīn struck at Samrḵand in 726 H.

THE DIVISION OF THE KHĀNATE. THE EASTERN BRANCH.

About this time the star of the Chaghataīs began rapidly to decline in power, and the Khānate broke up into at least two divisions, with rival or separate Khāns, one of whom governed the eastern portion and Kāshghār, the other ruling in Māwarā-un-Nahr. The former kingdom was the one known to the Persian historians of Timur and his successors as Mughalistān; not to be confounded with Mongolia to the eastward again. Their winter capital was perhaps

originally at Kāshghar or Yarkand, and afterwards at Aksū; their summer quarters in Zungaria north of the Thian Shan.¹ As already noticed, the royal residence was called Aymul Guja, when Timur took it in 1389 (791 H.), and is represented by the present Chinese frontier town of Chuguchak or Tarbogatai on the Imīl, a river flowing into the Aka Kul. It is difficult, as Col. Yule points out, to understand any disposition of the frontier between the two branches that could permit the capital of the one ruling over Kāshghār and Uiguria to be as above indicated, whilst that ruling over Māwarā-un-Nahr had its capital at Almālik. It is possible that Imīl, or Aymul, did not become the head-quarters of the eastern branch till the western Chaghataīs had lost their hold of the valley of the Ili, but it must also be remembered that the limits to all such divisions were tribal rather than territorial.

To first briefly notice the eastern branch known as the Khāns of Mughalīstān and the Amirs of Kāshghār. Kāidū died in 1301 (701 H.), and probably it was some time subsequent to 1310 (710 H.) that Chapar his son had been driven to seek shelter with the great Ḳaān, and is heard of no more. In 1321 (721 H.), according to the authorities quoted by Erskine,² "The inhabitants of Kashghār, Yarkand, Alātash, and the Uighūrs, found no one of the posterity of Chaghatai (? Oktai) who might fill the throne then vacant. They therefore called from Māwarā-un-Nahr Issenbuka Khān," who seems to have reigned till about 1330 (730 H.), though the chronology is somewhat uncertain. Issenbuka died as was supposed without issue, and none of the family appear to have been at the time available to succeed him in Mughalīstān. The eastern tribes, however, declined to be subject to the titular Khāns set up at the caprice of the Western Amirs, demanding a descendant of Chaghatai to themselves, and for a while anarchy prevailed.

¹ Yule's Cathay, vol. ii. p. 524. See also The Russians in Central Asia, p. 69. "The Tchete Moguls are not to be confounded with the Mongols, as they were Mussalmans and spoke Turkish."

² A sketch of this branch is given in Erskine, taken from the Tarikh-i-Rashidi by Mirza Haider Dughlat, a descendant of the Amirs of Kashghār, and by the female line from the Khans of Mughalīstān. A portion is the history of his own father and uncle. This work more than deserves to be published.

The hereditary "Ulūs Begi"—or "Lord of the Tribe"—of Kāshghār was one Mīr Yūlaji Doghlat, who governed in his own right extensive dominions. The great influence which he enjoyed from the extent of his territory, extending from the Desert of Gobi to the border of Farghānah, was increased by considerable energy of character. He resolved that an heir to the vacant *masnad* should be found, and in due time produced a youth whom he announced as the son of Issenbuka, and consequently a lineal descendant of Chaghatai. The story of the discovery of the son is given at length in Erskine, and is fairly illustrative of Mughal manners.

Issenbuka's chief wife, S'atelmish *Khātūn*, had no children, but among his female slaves was a favourite named Mānselik, who was discovered as about to be more happy. According to Mughal custom, the entire management of the household, and the disposal of the female slaves as part of it, rested with the chief wife. Discovering Mānselik's condition, and envious of her good fortune, S'atelmish took the opportunity of her husband's absence on an expedition to get rid of the favourite, giving her in marriage to one Shirawal Dokhtui, conditionally on his taking her out of the country, an arrangement said to have greatly angered Issenbukā when he discovered it. When Issenbuka died, and the tribes fell into anarchy, Amir Yulaji remembered the incident, and despatched one of his most trusty adherents to seek out Shirawal and Mānselik, and if the latter's child proved to be a boy, to steal him away. To his envoy the Amir he gave 300 goats that he might live on their milk, or kill for his support during his wanderings. The quest carried him a dreary pilgrimage all over Mughalistān, and he was reduced to his last goat, when he found, in a sequestered district, Shirawal's encampment. The Khān's child had proved a boy, and Mānselik had had another by her new husband. He contrived to steal away the former, who had now reached his eighteenth year, and after many adventures, much toil, and great danger, carried him to Aksū, where he delivered him to Yūlaji. The "Ulūs Begi" lost no time in proclaiming the youth Khān,

who in 1347 (748 H.) was joyfully acknowledged throughout Mughalistān as Tughlak Timur Khān.

Some years after, or about 1353 (754 H.), Tughlak Timur became a convert to Islām, and succeeded in extending considerably the Musalmān faith in his dominions. Twice, in 1360 (760 H.) and in 1362 (763 H.), he invaded and overran Māwarā-un-Nahr, on the second occasion leaving his son Iliās Khān as ruler there. On the death of Amir Yūlaji, who as Ulūs Begi had exercised much of the authority of government, Tughlak Timur, from gratitude or policy, bestowed the father's office on the son Amir Kho-dāidād, then only seven years old, a nomination strongly protested against by Yūlaji's younger brother, Kamr-ud-dīn, who, under Mughal usage, claimed the office, and though compelled for a while to conceal his indignation, bided his time for revenge.

When Tughlak Timur died in 1364 (765 H.), his son Iliās Khwāja Khān was in Māwarā-un-Nahr, fighting against the combined forces of Amir Hussain and the still more formidable Amir Timur. There, after varying successes,¹ he was finally defeated and driven to take refuge in the more desert parts of his father's possessions,² and after a short and nominal reign in Mughalistān of less than two years, he was assassinated by Kamr-ud-dīn in 1365 (766 H.), who in one day put to death eighteen males of the family of the Khān, resolved if possible to exterminate the race, and, though not himself a descendant of Chaghatāi, usurped the title of Khān, and with it the government of the country.

The Mughal Amirs, strong in their hereditary reverence for the family of the conqueror, viewed this conduct with horror. Many of the tribes refused to acknowledge the usurper, others even joined the standard of Amir Timur, who, having reduced Māwarā-un-Nahr, made no less than six expeditions against Kamr-ud-dīn, overran both Mughalistān and Kāshghār to their farthest limits, and in the last campaign, Kamr-ud-dīn, his armies routed, and himself pursued

¹ Noticed subsequently.

² "Desht Jettah."

like a beast of the forest, seems to have perished in a corner of the desert (1367 to 1393 or 768 to 794 H.).

When Kamr-ud-dīn put to death Iliās and the family of the Khāns, one other son of Tughlak Timur was still at the breast. Him the Amir Khodāidād, aided by his mother, concealed in Kāshghār, and subsequently in the hill-country of Badakhshān for some twelve years; thence, to elude Kamr-ud-dīn's persistent endeavours to ascertain his whereabouts, the boy was conveyed to Khutan, Sarīgh Uighūr, and finally to Lob Kānik, in the far east, for some twelve years more; his story resembling in many ways the adventurous wanderings of his father. As soon as Kamr-ud-dīn's power began to wane, the boy, now grown to man's estate, was in 1389 (791 H.) brought back and raised to the Khānate by Amir Khodāidād, under the title of Khizr Khwāja Khān.

The Kāshghār Amir Khodāidād, like the other king-maker Timur, while affecting to restore the ancient line of Khāns, retained the real powers of government himself. He claimed under various grants to himself and ancestors privileges which transferred to him the entire direction of affairs. As hereditary Ulūs Begi he could nominate and dismiss Amirs, or commanders of 1000, without reference to the Khān. He was not to be liable to punishment till convicted of nine capital offences; and no order was to be valid without his seal under that of the Khān. The latter became therefore merely a cypher in the hands of a powerful minister, and Khodāidād boasted that in his long reign of ninety years he had made six Grand Khāns.

The history of the remainder of these Mughalistān Khāns, and of the Amirs of Kāshghār, with their dynastic changes, belongs to the period of Timur and his successors; but in the annexed table the list is carried down to the time of Báber.

THE WESTERN BRANCH. TARMĀSHIRĪN, ETC.

To return to the Western division of the empire. The Khāns ruling in Māwarā-un-Nahr, strangely enough, maintained, and for some time occasionally resided at, their

second capital, Almālik. As regards most of them, there is little information; their reigns were so short, and their importance so rapidly declining, that but little history in connection with any particular one can be expected. The power was passing from the hands of the Khāns of the Imperial line to that of the more powerful Amirs, and what history has been preserved mainly concerns the latter. After Kabāk's death, Ilchikdai is shown in most lists as succeeding, and he in the same year was followed by a second "Dua Timur," who is occasionally omitted altogether; he again by Alā-ud-din Tarmāshirīn. All these were sons of Dua, but it may perhaps be doubted if there was a Dua the Second, and if Ilchikdai reigned even for one year; Tarmāshirīn probably succeeding in 1325 (726 H.). The chronicles of the latter's reign are very meagre. D'Ohsson says he crossed the Oxus and invaded Khurāsān, advancing to Ghaznī, where he was beaten in the autumn of 1326 (727 H.) by the Amir Hussain, son of Chobān of Hirāt, after which Hussain's army sacked Ghaznī. According to Badami, he advanced in 1328¹ (729 H.) with a large army to the province of Delhi, captured several forts, and committed ravages and massacres from Lahore, Sāmāna, and Indri, to the confines of Badāūn, when he was attacked and defeated by the army of Muhammad Tughlak, who pursued him as far as Kalānor. He is also said to have attacked the fort of Mirat in the North-west Provinces, with a vast force, but unsuccessfully. The Arabian traveller, Ibn Batuta, describes a visit to his court paid not many months before the former entered India, about the end of 1333 (early in 735 H.). From the court of the Khān of the Kipchaks, Muhammad Usbak, Ibn Batuta proceeded across the desert to Khawārazm and Bukhārā, and from the last-named city, passing through Nakhsheb to the camp, "*Ordu*," of the Sultan, "King of Māwarā-un-Nahr," by whom he was well received and royally treated. Here he seems to have spent some two months as a guest of Tarmāshirīn, whom he describes as a powerful prince, having

¹ D'Ohsson says 1327.

at his command a large army, and remarkable for the justice of his laws. His territories occupying a middle station between the four great Kings of China, India, Irak (Persia), and the Kipchak Khān, all of whom sent presents to him, and greatly respected him. Tarmāshirīn succeeding his brother Jagatai (? presumably Ilchikdai), an infidel, who again succeeded the eldest brother Kabāk, also an infidel, but nevertheless a just king, much attached to the Muhammadans, to whom he paid great respect.

Tarmāshirīn was an extremely devout Muhammadan, and his religious zeal was so great that he allowed a Mullah, Baon-ud-dīn al Maidāni, to rebuke him in the strongest language in a public sermon, a sermon that moved the King to "tears and humility and repentance." Ibn Batuta goes on to relate the end of Tarmāshirīn as follows. He had broken some of the statutes of Chengiz Khān, as laid down in a book called "*Al Yasik*," or "the prohibition," which enacted that any one controverting them should be degraded. "Now one of the statutes was this, that the descendants of Chengiz, the governors of the several districts, the nobles, and the general officers of the army, should assemble upon a certain day in the year which they call '*Al Tawa*,' or 'the Feast,' and should the Emperor have altered any of these statutes, the nobles should stand up and say, 'Thou hast made alteration in the Statutes of *Al Yasik*, and therefore art deposed.' They should then take him by the hand, remove him from the throne, and place on it another of the descendants of Chengiz. Now Tarmāshirīn had entirely abolished the observance of this day, which gave great offence. Some time, therefore, after he had left the country, the Tartars, together with the nobles, assembled and deposed him, and to such an extent was the matter pressed that Tarmāshirīn took to flight and was put to death."¹ At the conclusion of his visit the King presented Ibn Batuta with 700 dinars, and the traveller resumed his journey *viā* Nasaf, Tarmaz, and Balkh, on his way to India.

¹ Vambery says by order of his successor, Buzūn, in the neighbourhood of Samrkand.

The coins noticed as described by Tiesenhausen are struck at Tarmaz without date, at Samrḳand in 726 H., and at Utrar in 733 and 734. Taking the date of Ibn Batuta's writing as towards the close of 734 H. (1334), this may very probably be the year of Tamārshirīn's death.

Of Sanjar, who is shown in Mr. Poole's list as possibly reigning jointly for a while, there would seem to be little beyond the evidence of the coin shown as No. 8, struck probably at Samrḳand in 731 H., while Tarmāshirīn was in India. Vambery says the latter sacrificed both his throne and his life for his Muhammadan faith, and that Buzūn, by whose order he was murdered, succeeded him; that the latter was only nominally a Musalman, and his tyranny weighed so heavily on the people of Māwarā-un-Nahr that they applied to the neighbouring Muhammadan princes for help; the result being the campaigns which commenced by the Tadjik Hussain Kert of Hirāt attempting to wrest Khurāsān from Arpa Khān, the tenth Ilkhān. Ibn Batuta subsequently relates the defeat of this Buzūn by Khalīl, the son of Yassaver, who put him to death. Khalīl is even said to have advanced as far as Almālik, and to have defeated the Mughal army at Taraz. After ascending the throne of Bukhārā, he rebelled against Sultan¹ Hussain Kert, who had assisted him in all his enterprises, but he was beaten and carried as prisoner to Herāt, where the Arabian traveller met him at the end of the year 747 H. (1346).²

THE MINOR KHĀNS. ILCHIKDAI TO KAZĀN.

The usual lists show Jinkshi as succeeding in 1333 (734 H.) and Buzūn Ogli in 1334 (735 H.), both grandsons of Dua. I either possess or have examined coins of the former, dated Utrār 736, 737, and 739 H., and if

¹ Usually called Amir.

² Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah, vol. iii. Paris, 1855.

the latter reigned at all, it was probably later, even subsequently to 'Ali Sultan. Three of my coins of Yasūn Timūr are struck at Tarmaz, but unfortunately without dates; the one of Samrḵand is dated 740 H. Of 'Ali Sultan, none so far appear to be known. Nor, save a very doubtful one in Fræhn, are there any of Muhammad. And as most histories are entirely silent regarding these Khāns, any list must at best be doubtful. I know of three coins of Khalīl, Samrḵand of 74x and Bukhārā 744 H. (1343), which would agree with Ibn Batuta's account. On one of the latter he appears as Khalīl Timūr. In connection with these Khāns from Ilchikdai to Kazān it may be interesting to note the letters of certain missionary Dominican and Franciscan Friars, from Cathay and India, written about 1292 to 1338 (692 to 739 H.), and extracts from the reminiscences of John de Marignolli between 1338 and 1353 (739 to 754 H.), collected and translated in Col. Yule's Cathay. Of these Friars, one Jordanus, a Dominican, speaks of Ilchikdai, or *Elchigaday*, as the reigning sovereign of the Tartar or Chaghatai Empire, but he gives no certain date for him. He also refers to "*Dua*," "*Cayda*" (the Kāidū who so long disputed with Kubilāi), and "*Capai*" (Kabāk). Another Friar, Pascal, a young Spanish Franciscan, writing 10th August, 1338 (739 H.), from Almālīk, tells of the Emperor himself having been recently slain by his natural brother, and of being himself detained on the road from Urghanj for fear of war and plunder. This may refer to the dethronement of Jinkshi by Yasūn Timur in 739 H. (1338). Up to the time of Pascal's letter the Friars seem to have been well, almost generously, treated both by the Great Kaāns and the Chaghatais, and in a letter written in 1338 (739 H.) from Pope Benedict XII. to the Khān of Chaghatai, whom he addresses as "*Chausi*," the Pope thanks him for his kindness to the Christians in his territory, and especially to Archbishop Nicholas, when on his way to "*Cambalec*" (Khanbālik or Peking). Colonel Yule inclines to identify "*Chausi*" with Jinkshi, and puts the date of

Nicholas' visit to Almālik as probably 1335 or 1336 (736 or 737 H.).

Within a year, however, after Pascal's letter, he, with several of his brethren, had suffered martyrdom. There are several accounts of this, but the narrative is given most fully by one of the Franciscan hagiologists, Bartholomew of Pisa, who wrote later in the same century. His account runs as follows: "In the Vicariat of Cathay or Tartary, in the city of Armalec, in the middle Empire of Tartary, in the year 1340 (or 1339 (?), 740-41 H.), the following Minorites suffered for the faith, viz. Friar Richard the Bishop of Armalec, Friar Francis of Alessandria, Friar Pascal of Spain; Friar Raymond of Provence; these four were priests: also Friar Lawrence of Alessandria and Friar Peter of Provence, both lay brethren, and Master John of India, a black man belonging to the third order of St. Francis, who had been converted by the Friars. All these had been very well treated in that empire by the Emperor on the throne. Indeed, he had been cured of a cancer by Friar Francis of Alessandria, more by prayer than by physic, and on this account the Emperor used to call Friar Francis his father and physician. And so it came to pass that he bestowed upon the brethren land and privileges, and full authority to preach, and even made over to them his own son, then seven years of age, to be baptised, and so he was accordingly by name of John." It may be incidentally noticed that according to the Friars nearly all the Emperors were, at one time or other, converted to the Christian faith. The Chaghatai princes were eminently liberal, or indifferent in religious matters, and even after they became Muhammadans were rarely persecutors. Of the non-Muhammadans stories are told of most regarding their conversion to Christianity. Chengiz in the West was often spoken of as a Christian knight, as were Prester John, Chaghatai, Hulākū, Mangū and Kubilāi, all probably falsely so. The Friar proceeds, "But by the permission of God the Emperor himself, on his way to a hunting match, was taken off by poison, and his four sons put to death. Then the empire was seized by a certain villain

of a falconer, a Saracen of the blood royal, whose name was Alisolda. And as the brethren by their preaching had made many converts to the faith, this new emperor ordered that all the Christians should be made Saracens, and that who-soever should disobey the third order to this effect should be put to death. And so when the brethren aforesaid would not obey this order, they were bound and all tied to one rope, which was dragged along by the infuriated mob, who smote and spat upon them, cutting off their noses and ears, and otherwise mutilating them, till at length they fell by the sword, and made a blessed migration to the Lord. But the aforesaid emperor before long was himself slain, and his house destroyed by fire."¹ The aforesaid emperor, Ali Solda, may not improbably have been 'Ali Sultan, whose revolt and success may have taken place 1338 or 1339 (739–740 H.), and who may have been slain soon afterwards as the ecclesiastical story tells.²

The circumstances of the martyrdom are likewise briefly told by John de Marignolli, who was at Almālik the year after they occurred. He went by way of the Black and Caspian Seas, and the court of Uzbak,³ the Khān of the Golden Horde, to whom and to Tinibak, his son, he took presents from the Pope, and the winter being over, and "having been well fed, clothed and lodged, with presents from Uzbak, proceeded to Armalec, the capital of the Middle Empire. There we built a church, bought a piece of ground, dug wells, sung masses, and baptized several: preaching freely and openly, notwithstanding the fact that only the year before the Bishop and six other Minor Friars had there undergone for Christ's sake a glorious martyrdom, illustrated by brilliant miracles." Marignolli's visit would seem to have been about 1341 (742 H.), and the king who was in power when he was so well treated may have been Buzūn or Khalīl.⁴

¹ Cathay and the Way Thither.

² Is suggested by Col. Yule.

³ Uzbak, 712–741 H.; Tinibak, 741 H.

⁴ Col. Yule suggests Kazān.

Kazān, the son of Yassaver,¹ according to the lists, and it may be added, to almost all the authorities, including D'Ohsson, Vambéry, Erskine, etc., following Mirkh^hwand, succeeded in 1332 (733 H.), and reigned till 1347 (747 H.), or fourteen years. But such a date of accession, at least in Māwarā-un-Nahr, appears impossible, inasmuch as Jinkshⁱ's coinage extends to 739 H. It would seem that Yassūn Timur succeeded him, and there is a probability the next Khān was Buzūn. Ibn Batuta says it was Buzūn who persecuted Islām, and allowed Jews and Christians to rebuild their temples, all of which would agree with the favourable treatment reported by Marignolli about 1341 (742 H.). Ibn Batuta also says Buzūn was defeated and killed by Khalīl, the son of Yassaver, who succeeded him, and coins of the latter were struck at Bukhārā and Samr^hkand in 744 H. Kazān therefore could hardly have established his authority in these cities before 745 H., while several authorities unite to fix Danishmandjeh's accession in 747 H., which year is also the date of his coin in the British Museum, struck at Bukhārā. It is, however, quite possible that Kazān may have exercised authority for some time in Khurāsān. Mirkh^hwand says he was a bloodthirsty tyrant, so much so that his principal officers all made their wills before attending his "*Kuriltai*."

THE PUPPET KHANS. DANISHMANDJEH TO KABUL SHAH.

More famous than Kazān the King was Kazaghān the Vazir, one of the most famous Amirs of the time, who rapidly became all-powerful in Transoxania, and was afterwards known as the "King-maker." Kazān, by his tyranny and constant executions of the leading chiefs, had made himself so odious that the survivors entered into a confederacy and invited the Vazir to depose him. The confederate troops, who were joined by a part of Kazān's own forces, assembled at Sauliseram, a town on the Oxus, above Tarmaz, and

¹ Said to have been slain by Kabāk in 720 H.

declared open rebellion. The first battle is described by Mirkh̄wand as taking place at Darrahzangni in 1345 (746 H.), in which Kazān was victorious, and Kazāghān lost an eye. The former was, on the other hand, unable to follow up his advantage, and had to retire on Karsh̄i, where he spent the winter, which fell out a very severe one. The cold and exposure told fearfully on his horses and transport of every description. In the following spring Mir Kazaghān, at the head of the insurgent chiefs, hastened to take advantage of his distress, and in a second battle Kazān was completely defeated and killed. Amir Kazaghān is said to have used his victory with moderation, stayed his troops from plunder or unnecessary bloodshed, and treated Kazān's family with much consideration. He did not himself care to assume the government, preferring the pleasures of the chase, and therefore set up Danishmandjeh, a descendant of the line of Oktāi, presumably in the same year, 1346 (747 H.), only to make away with him some two years later, and put in his place Buyān Kuli, the son of Surgu Oghul, and grandson of Dua, of the Chaghatai line. After this the "King-maker" appears to have steadily applied himself with all his energies to secure for the country as good a government as the troublous times permitted, and to have shown to all classes bounty and liberality. He was nevertheless assassinated during a hunting party, by a brother-in-law named Kūtlak Timur, who had for some time entertained a spirit of revenge against him. The assassin fled towards Kundūz in Tokharistān, but was immediately pursued, there overtaken, and hacked to pieces by Kazaghān's relatives.¹ The Amir's son, Abdullah, succeeded to his father's dignity, but not to his influence, for he proved able neither to protect the nominal sovereign set up, nor to maintain his own position. He fixed his seat of government at Samr̄kand, and one of his first acts was to put to death in 1358 (760 H.) the unfortunate Buyān Kuli, for whose wife he had conceived an adulterous passion.

¹ See Khondamir's *Khulāsatu-l-'Akhbar*.

As regards the nominal sovereign, Buyān Kuli, he seems to have occupied much the same position to Kazaghān and the Amirs as the puppet Khāns Suyurghatmish and Mahmūd subsequently did to Timur. There is nothing to show how far his rule extended eastward, probably not beyond Māwarā-un-Nahr. Between the Jaxartes and the Oxus his rule must have been pretty general. The six mints of those of his coins in my possession are so situated, viz. Utrar, 752 H. ; Kash, 753 ; Samrḳand, 754 and 755 ; Soghd, without date ; Bukhārā, 756. All are of a size and weight unusually large, and having an exceptional variety of design and inscription. Of some five-and-twenty compared hardly two are exactly alike, and the high-sounding titles which he affects are almost as various. "*Sultānu-l'-Azām*," The greatest Sultan ; "*Al'-Adīl*," the just ; "*Al-Khākān*," Chief of Khāns ; "*Al-Ghazi*," the hero ; "*Nasir-ud-dīn*," the Defender of the Faith ; "*Abū-l-muzaffar*," Father of Victory ; "*Almuzaffar Al'ada-ul-Rahmān*," Victor over the enemies of the Merciful ; "*Sultān ul bahr-u-barr*," Ruler of sea and land ; "*Malik Ulrikāb-ul-amām*," Master of the necks of the nations ; are among the superscriptions of this exceedingly local Cæsar. Two coins appear to be struck in the name of a son, who does not seem to have been mentioned in any of the chronicles.

After Buyān Kuli's murder, Abdullah set up in 1359 (760 H.) another puppet, Timur Shāh, the son of Yasūn Timur ; but the Amirs, headed by Hadji Saif-ud-dīn Barlās and Bayān¹ Seldūz, determined to subvert this double system of government. Both Abdullah and the pageant of his selection fell in battle with the confederate Amirs, the whole of Māwarā-un-Nahr being taken possession of by Bayān Seldūz, who undertook the government, and signally failed. He is described as an Amir entirely devoted to pleasures of all kinds, more especially was it his pleasure to get drunk. As may be supposed, the country under him rapidly drifted into anarchy. Amir Barlās asserted his independence at Kash ;

¹ ? Buāyān. See Note at end of paper.

Bayazid Jalair at Khujand; Ouljai Bugha Seldūz at Balkh; Muhammad Khawājah Aparidi at Shibirkhān; and for a while, 'Adil Khān, the son of Muhammad Pulād, in Badakhshān; while other Amirs, Khizr Yassauri, and Hussain, the grandson of Kazaghān, at the head of large bodies of followers, harassed the country in different directions.

It was about this time 1360 (761 H.) that Tughlak Timur Khān, the son of Imīl, and grandson of Dua, who, as before mentioned, was reigning in the Eastern Division of the Khānate, hurried from Almālik to Māwarā-un-Nahr with a considerable army, and compelled the turbulent amirs to acknowledge his authority. This done, and outward tranquillity restored, he returned eastward in triumph, but had barely recrossed the Sihūn, when the dissensions among the Amirs recommenced as violently as ever, the whole country becoming again a scene of anarchy. Two years afterwards, Tughlak returned with his armies, put to death the dissipated old Bayān Seldūz, Bayazid Jalair, with several of the leading Amirs, and finally invested his own son, Ilyas Khawāja, with the sovereignty of the Province, giving him a chief named Bakehak with a division of the Mughalistān army for his support. Among the most trusted adherents attached to his son's person and court was no less a man than the young Timur Bak, and Tughlak withdrew himself again to Almālik.

Ilyas Khawāja held a precarious government for a brief two years. He was in the first instance, 1363 (765 H.), attacked by Amir Hussain, the grandson of Kazaghān, with whom was joined Timur Bak, who had soon tired of being tutor to a Mughal prince, and was now fast rising to power. After an obstinate and sanguinary battle on the left bank of the Oxus near Kundūz, Ilyas was completely defeated, his force driven over the river and scattered in all directions. The following spring he attempted with a fresh army to avenge this defeat, and obtained a victory over the combined forces of Hussain and Timur on the river Badaun, a tributary of the Sihūn near Shāsh (Tashkend). But in spite of this

success, he found himself prevented from entering either Samrḳand or Bukhārā, which were respectively held against him by leaders named Maulāna Zādah and Maulāna Kardak. To crown his misfortunes, a murrain broke out among his horses, he lost his transport, and was compelled to retrace his steps, the troops carrying their own baggage across the Sihūn, and to make his way back to his father's dominions in Mughalistan. How meanwhile his father had died, and how he and his family were murdered there in 1365 (766 H.) by Kamr-ud-dīn, has already been related.

Adil Sultan, the son of Muhammad Pulād, noticed as being for a while in Badakhshān, is then said to have been set up by Amir Hussain, but was drowned shortly after in the river Jaska, by order of the same chief, who replaced him by Kabul Shāh, the grandson of Ilchikdai. The great Timur, however, was now becoming irresistible. Hussain, with whom he had quarrelled, had established himself at Balkh, Timur remaining at Kash, but the majority of the Chaghatai Amirs and their troops, disgusted with what they considered the sordid and intolerable disposition of the former, had forsaken him and joined the latter, an alliance promising to be so much more productive of present advantage and future hope. In 1369 (771 H.) Timur, determined to endure no second Richmond in the field, but to finally dispose of his rival Hussain, directed against that rival's capital his now formidable and ever-victorious army, destined eventually to crush out all resistance and all rivals. It was at this period that he found it expedient to nominate his first puppet Khan. The fate of Kabul Shāh is uncertain. Mirkhwānd says he was put to death soon after Hussain was defeated at Balkh, and with him the line of the Chaghatai Khāns may be said to have come to an end; Timur selecting as his nominee Suyurghatmish of the line of Oktai, and who was permitted to retain the title after the former had been elevated by common consent to the reality of sovereign power.

Any account of the puppet Khāns, Suyurghatmish, his son Mahmūd, and the latter's son Tuman Kutlak Ughlan, belongs to the history of Timur, the world-famous conqueror

who not only pulled down the degenerate successors of Chaghatai in Māwarā-un-Nahr, and carried a successful war to Almālik and the heart of the eastern branch of the Khānate in their mountain fastnesses of Mughalistān, but destroyed the whole edifice of Mughal rule in Asia, to reconstruct out of it an empire almost as extensive as that of Chengiz.¹

¹ In addition to the before-mentioned authorities, the following have been used: *Voyages d'Ibn Batouta*, 4 vols. (translation), Paris, 1855; *Description des Hordes des Kirghiz Kaizaks*, par Levehine, Paris, 1840; *Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum*, Fræhn, Petropoli, 1826; *Muhammadan History*, Muhammad to Akbar, 4 vols., Price, London, 1811; *Muhammadan Historians of India*, by Elliot, 8 vols., London, 1867; and the *History of Bokhara*, by Vambéry, London, 1873, in many places largely quoted.

DYNASTIES SPRUNG FROM CHENGIZ KHĀN.

Chengiz

Chaghatai	Oktai	Tului	Juji [or Tüshi]
Khanate of Chaghatai	Supreme Khāns till their extinction by line of Tului	Supreme Khāns and Ilkhāns of Persia	Khanate of Kipchak, including Blue and White Hordes.

Contemporary Rulers.

A.H.	A.D.	Chaghatai Mughals.	Great or Supreme Khāns.	Ilkhāns of Persia.	Golden Horde.	
					Blue, Western Kipchak.	White, Eastern Kipchak.
603	1206	.....	I. Chengiz	.....	I. Batū	.....
621	1224	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
623	1226	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
624	1227	.....	II. Oktai	.....	.....	.....
639	1242	I. Chaghatai II. Kara Hülakū	Turākinah (Inter-regnum)	.....	.....	I. Ordah
644	1246	.....	III. Kuyuk	.....	.....	.....

A. H.	A. D.	Chaghatai Mughals.	Great or Supreme K̄āns.	Ilkhāns of Persia.	Golden Horde.	
					Blue, Western Kipchak.	White, Eastern Kipchak.
645	1247	III. Yassū Mungah	IV. Mangū	.....	.....	.....
646	1248	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
650	1252	Kara Hulākū (Restored)	.....	.....	.....	.....
650	1252	IV. Organah (<i>Khalāu</i>)	.....	.....	.....	.....
654	1256	.....	.....	I. Hulākū	II. Surtak	.....
654	1256	.....	.....	.....	III. Barka	.....
659	1261	V. Alghū	V. Kūbilāi	.....	.....	.....
c. 662-4	1264-6	VI. Mubārak Shāh	.....	.....	IV. Mangu Timur	.....
" 662-4	1264-6	VII. Borak Khān	.....	.....	.....	.....
663	1265	.....	.....	II. Abaka	.....	.....
668	1270	VIII. Nikpai	.....	.....	.....	.....
670	1272	IX. Tuka Timur	.....	.....	.....	.....
c. 672	1274	X. Duā	.....	.....	.....	.....
679	1280	.....	.....	.....	V. Tuda Mangu	II. Kuchi
680	1281	.....	.....	III. Ahmad	.....	.....
683	1284	.....	.....	IV. Arghun	.....	.....
686	1287	.....	.....	.....	(Tulabugha)	.....
689	1290	.....	.....	V. Gaikhatū	VI. Toktogu	.....
690	1291	.....	VI. Uljaitu	.....	.....	.....
693	1294	.....	.....	VI. Baidu	.....	.....
694	1295	.....	.....	VII. Ghazān Mah- mūd	.....	.....
694	1295	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
701	1301	.....	.....	VIII. Uljaitu	.....	III. Bayān
703	1304	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
706	1306	XI. Kunjuk	VII. Kulak	.....	.....	.....
708	1308	XII. Taliku	.....	.....	.....	.....

A.H.	A.D.	Chaghatai Mughals.	Great or Supreme Kāans.	Ilkhāns of Persia.	Golden Horde.	
					Blue, Western Kipchak.	White, Eastern Kipchak.
749	1348	XXV. Bayān Kuli	.....		.....	.....
758	1357	.....	.....		X. Berdibak	.....
760	1359	XXVI. Timur Shāh	.....		XI. Kulna	.....
760	1359	? <i>Buwayn</i>	.....		XII. Nurubak	.....
761	1360	XXVII. Tughlak Timur (Nominal)	.....		<i>Rival Families.</i>	.....
762	1361	.....	.....		Khizr, 760.	VIII. Urus
765	1363	XXVIII. Ilyas Khwāja	.....		Merdud, 762.	.....
767	1365	XXIX. 'Adil Khān	.....		Timur, 762.	.....
767	1365	.....	.....		Kildibak, 762.	.....
771	1369	XXX. Kābul Shāh	.....		Murid, 762.	.....
771	1369	.....	.....		Kutluk, 764.	.....
771	1369	*Suryughatmish	.....	XVI. Bilukhā	Pulad, 764.	.....
777	1375	.....	.....		Aziz Sheikh, 766.	.....
777	1375	.....	.....		Abdallah, 764.	.....
778	1376	.....	.....		Hassan, 768.	.....
780	1378	.....	.....		Tulunbak, 772.	IX. Toktakia
780	1378	.....	.....		Ilhan, 775.	X. Timur Malek
790	1388	*Mahmud	.....	XVII. Ussukhal reigns to 790 H.	Khaghān, 777.	X. Toktamish
?		*Tuman Kutluk.	.....		Md. Bulak, 771.	.....
					Blue and White hordes united in 780 H. under Toktamish.	.....

* Nominal under Timur.

* Said to have been killed at Bamian.

† Was married to both princes.

D'Oshson calls No. II. Kara Houlagou; VII. Borak; XI. Goundjone; XII. Talcoua; XIII. Guebek; XVI. Tarmaschirin; XXV. Bian Couli and Dua Timur, Doure.

De Guignes calls No. VII. Barak; VIII. Beghi; IX. Bougha Timur; X. Doizi; XI. Kendgik; XVI. Butun; XVII. Zenkechi.

Vambery calls the sons of Chaghatai Besenbuka, Buri, Bisu, and Baidar.

KHANS OF MUGHALISTĀN.

ISANBUGHA, called from Māwāra-un-Nahr cir. 721, reigned till 730 H.

An interregnum.

TUGHLAK-TIMUR, son of Isanbugha, born 730, reigned circ. 748-764 H.

ILIAS KHWĀJA, son of Tughlak, murdered by Kamruddīn 766 H.

KAMRUDDĪN, usurped 768-794.

Expeditions of Amir Timur.

KHIZAR KHWĀJA, son of Tughlak, 791-821.

MUHAMMAD, son of Khizar.

SHĪR MUHAMMAD, son of Muhammad.

SULTĀN WAIS, son of Shir Kuli, the brother of Shir Muhammad, killed 832.

On Sultān Wais' death there was a division, some tribes adhering to Yūnis the eldest, others to Isanbugha, the younger son.

YŪNIS, in Western Mughalīstān, 860 H. Hostilities between Eastern and Western, till Kapak's death.	ISANBUGHA, in Eastern Mughalīstān, 832-866.
	DOST MUHAMMAD, his son, 866-873 H.

KAPAK-UGHLAN, his son, for a time about Terfān.

YŪNIS.

YŪNIS died 892 H.	AHMAD, son of MAHMUD, eldest son of Yūnis.
	Yūnis, known as Iladīr, or the "slaughtering Khān."

Both defeated by Sheibani Khan 908 H.

AMIRS OF KASHGHAR.

AMIR TULUK. Ulūsbegī, contemporary with Isanbugha.

YŪLAJĪ or BOLAJĪ, brother of Tuluk, raised Tughlak to the throne.

KHODĀIDĀD, son of Yūlajī, cir. 748 to 8xx. His reign was of great length, but probably broken by the usurpation of Kamruddīn.

MIRSYUD 'ALĪ, son of Amir Syud Ahmad, son of Khodāidād, 838-861.

His sons divided and fought

SĀNĪZ MĪRZA in Yārkand, and subsequently in Kashghar, 861, 868.	MUHAMMAD HAIDER in Kashghar, for a short time.
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MUHAMMAD HAIDER, in both 868, 885, when he was expelled by his nephew.

ABUBAKR MĪRZA, son of Sāniz, a cruel and odious tyrant, 885 to 920.

After the death of Ahmad, the son of Yūnis, were many civil wars and much anarchy, numerous sons contending with one another. The whole tribes of Mughalīstān were never again united under one head, though many new Khānships arose. The Kirghiz of the desert establishing one of their own, which in process of time formed a sort of union with the Kaizak Uzbegs, a federation that has in some degree lasted to the present time, under the title of the "Hordes of the Kirghiz."