

FRONTIER POLICY OF SULTAN SHAMS AL-DIN ILTUTMISH 1210-1236

At the time of his accession in 607/1210¹ Shams al-Din Iltutmish was confronted with serious external and internal problems. The turmoil in Central Asia was fraught with serious implications for the Delhi empire. Sultan Mahmud, the ruler of Ghur, had died in 607/1210.² Taj al-Din Yalduz, the ruler of Ghazni and a vassal of the Khwarazmshah, was forced to seek refuge in India in 612/1215-6³ and in the same year the Bamian line of Ghurids was extinguished and the whole of the Ghurid territory was annexed to the Khwarazmian empire. According to Juwayni, the countries of Herat, Ghur, Garchistan⁴ and Sijistan⁵ to the frontiers of India were now added to the Sultan's domains ... and Sultan's son, Jalal al-Din, was installed there as a governor.⁶ Notwithstanding the extension of the boundaries of the Khwarazmian empire to the west of the Indus, the Khwarazmshah refrained from advancing towards India, because in the words of Juwayni, "in the treasury at Ghazni which had been set up by Sultan Shihab al-Din Ghuri, there were discovered letters-patent from the Holy Seat of the Caliphate wherein the Ghurids were incited to attack the Sultan of Khwarazm ... The Sultan's anger with the Supreme Divan was increased hereby for he now knew that the hostility of the Ghurids had been largely due to the incitement of the Seat of the Caliphate."⁷ These remarks of Juwayni reveal that no sooner the Khwarazmshah identified his real enemy, than he returned to Samarqand instead of advancing towards India. This saved Iltutmish for some time from the discomfiture that might have been caused to him by the advance of the Khwarazmshah. The subsequent years, 615-618/1218-21 were marked by a conflict between the Khwarazmshah and the Mongols. The Mongols under Chingiz Khan soon rolled up the vast Khwarazmian empire and drove the Khwarazmshah to the Caspian coast and obliged his crown-prince, Jalal al-Din, to seek shelter in India. Henceforth, Central Asia went under the control of the Mongols who constituted a grave threat to the Delhi empire. These political upheavals in Central Asia exposed Iltutmish to threats from three rival sources, namely, the arrival of Yalduz in the Punjab after his flight from Ghazni, the request for refuge by Jalal al-Din Mangbari in the subcontinent after his defeat at the hands of the Mongols and, the arrival of the latter under Chingiz Khan on the Indus in pursuit of Mangbari.⁸ The obstinate attitude of Qubachah and the hostility of the Koh-i-Jud tribes further confounded the situation for Iltutmish. Consequently, he found his frontier insecure and his empire in jeopardy. Nevertheless, he rose to the occasion and through his courage and sagacity finally succeeded in defusing the crisis.

(i) *Iltutmish and Yalduz*

The immediate problem faced by Iltutmish, however, was the arrival of Yalduz in the Punjab. Referring to the earlier relations between Iltutmish and Yalduz, Minhaj-i Siraj records that on the death of Aybak and dethronement of Aram Shah, Yalduz in an effort to reassert his sovereignty over the entire Indian possessions of the Ghurids and their officers sent a canopy of state and *durbash* to

Iltutmish.⁹ Iltutmish accepted the canopy of state for two reasons. First, Yalduz was strong and powerful, and second, such a recognition would have tended to make the Mu'izzi chiefs and Turks more compliant to his rule. Moreover, Iltutmish's first priority was the consolidation of his dominations and not entangling himself with Yalduz. However, the Khwarazmshah's sudden invasion and wresting of Ghazni, Bamian¹⁰ and Khurasan¹¹ from the Ghurid commanders and forcing of Yalduz either to accept the Khwarazmshah's suzerainty or to face dire consequences,¹² disturbed all the plans of Iltutmish. "Yalduz", according to Minhaj, "called a council of his Amirs to consider this demand of the Khwarazmshah. Qutlugh Tigin, *Amir al-Umra* was one of the late Sultan Ghuri's slaves, advised that the demands should be acceded to, as it was impossible for them to militarily resist Sultan Muhammad Shah of Khwarazm".¹³ Yalduz accepted the advice and despatched befitting presents for the Shah¹⁴ and thus succeeded in continuing his hold over Ghazni. "But soon", as pointed out by Minhaj, "there arose a conflict between Yalduz and his Amir-i-Shikar, Malik Nasir al-Din, when Yalduz was on his return journey to Ghazni from Sistan. Malik Nasir al-Din was overthrown and he retired towards Khwarazm."¹⁵ This once again embittered the relations between Yalduz and the Khwarazmshah. "After a period of forty days", Minhaj records, "Sultan Khwarazmshah marched with an army from the side of Tukharistan,¹⁶ and advanced towards Ghazni, and his troops suddenly and unexpectedly seized the frontier route leading into Hindustan towards Gardez¹⁷ and Karahah¹⁸ Darah (کراہہ درہ). Sultan Yalduz took the route towards Hindustan by way of Sang-i-Surkh¹⁹ and reached Lahore."²⁰ Consequently, Ghazni was occupied by the Khwarazmshah. In the neighbourhood of Lahore Yalduz defeated Qubachah, the ruler of Sind, and occupied Lahore. After taking over the possession of Lahore, according to 'Isami, Yalduz sent to Iltutmish a parasol set with pearls and wrote to him:

"O wise and enlightened man! you should rule over Hindustan and capture it to the liking of your friends. Our frontier stretches to the region of Lahore where we have numerous troops. You must not bring your army to this side: make a capital on that side. You can march your army upto the rough sea and may forcibly seize the whole Hindu country."²¹

We will not be amiss in concluding from this letter that Yalduz intended to have control over the north-west frontier of the Delhi kingdom after making Lahore his capital from where he could easily lead an expedition against the Khwarazmshah to re-capture Ghazni.

The acceptance of Yalduz's demands by Iltutmish had the potential of attracting the Khwarazmshah towards India after a possible defeat of Yalduz at his hands. Hence instead of putting the security of the Delhi kingdom at stake, Sultan Iltutmish decided to deal an effective blow to Yalduz before the latter could mend his strained relations with the Khwarazmshah and Nasir al-Din Qubachah and consolidate his position in the Punjab.

According to the *Taj al-Ma'athir*, "Yalduz who had possessed himself of the Punjab advanced as far as Thanisar ... and was moving upon Dihli, when Shams al-Din, now sufficiently powerful to resist him, resolved to oppose him, and advanced to Samnad (Samanah?), and the troops of the two kingdoms encountered each other near Tarain²² on the 3rd of Shawwal 612/22nd October 1215.²³ Iltutmish captured Yalduz and despatched him to

Bada'un where he died in 612/1215.²⁴ After the end of Yalduz, Iltutmish's authority ultimately extended all over the Punjab. This brought him face to face with the Khwarazmshah on the one hand, and Nasir al-Din Qubachah on the other.

(ii) *Iltutmish and Jalal al-Din Mangbarni*

Jalal al-Din Mangbarni²⁵ offered a stiff resistance to the Mongols, who were determined to destroy the whole of the Khwarazmian empire. Describing the enmity between the Khwarazmshah and the Mongols, Ata Malik Juwayni says. "Sultan 'Ala al-Din Khwarazmshah having provoked the wrath of the mighty Mongols by putting to death their envoy invited his own doom."²⁶ In 616/1219 the Mongols compelled the Sultan to take shelter in the Caspian region.²⁷ His son Jalal al-Din Mangbarni resisted for a time but eventually vanished and reached Ghazni on the 17th Dhi'al Hijja 617/20 March 1221. Amin Malik, the governor of Ghazni, came out to receive the prince.²⁸ Juwayni records, "As soon as the news of his arrival spread abroad, chieftains and troops began to flock to his standard from all around, and among them was Saif al-Din Ighraq with 40,000 men of Kankulis, Khaljis and Turkmans, and the Amirs of Ghur also joined him from the parts adjacent."²⁹ Chingiz Khan came himself in pursuit of Mangbarni by way Andarab,³⁰ Kabul and Bamian. Jalal al-Din advanced against the Mongol army as far as the limits of Barwah, six or five stages north of Ghazni, and overthrew the Mongols.³¹ Minhaj records, "On the news of these successes of his reaching Chingiz Khan, he, being at Talkan of Khurasan, marched his armies towards Ghazni. Jalal al-Din was unable to offer resistance to these forces and retired towards Barshur, modern Peshawar, and, on the banks of the Indus, an encounter took place between them."³² Juwayni says, "The Mongols blocked the escape routes, and consequently, Mangbarni put his family in a boat and sent them over to be drowned in the Indus water, flung his horse into the river and crossed over to India."³³ The *Ma'dan-i-Akhbar-i-Ahmadi* is the only earlier source which provides a clue to the place where Mangbarni crossed the Indus and identifies it as Chual Jalaliya.³⁴ According to Hussain Khan, a battle took place between Shah and the Mongols in the vicinity of Lahore, which was a town of Swabi, modern Sub-division of Mardan and was situated at a distance of four and a half miles in the north-west of the historic town of Hund. Chual-i-Jalaliya is situated on the eastern bank in the area called Chach, and in the tract Chach, six miles to the south-east of Hund, and one and a half miles from the eastern bank of the Indus, is situated a populous village called Jalaliya."³⁵ Looking at the topography of the Chach tract, where Jalaliya stands, and the Swabi Tehsil were Lahore and Hund are situated, Jalaliya appears to be Chual Jalaliya of the *Ma'dan-i-Akhbar-i-Ahmadi*. Thus, the statement of Prof. Boyle that Chingiz Khan overtook the Sultan on the very banks of the river Indus, probably at Dinkot near modern Kalabagh,³⁶ does not appear to be correct. However, Mangbarni made his way into Sind-Sagar with fifty or hundred men, as Hindus, defeated them and captured the place.³⁸ Shortly after, others of his men, who had escaped from the banks of the Indus, also joined him. He sent a force of five hundred horsemen against another place in that vicinity and again defeated the people of those parts. By degrees of his forces increased from 4000 to 5000 men, and Chingiz Khan who was still in the vicinity of the Indus, on hearing of it, and measuring the strength of Jalal

al-Din, dispatched a force against him under a leader named Turtæ. The Sultan, not being strong enough to oppose the Mongols, retired through a part of the Punjab towards the frontier of the Delhi kingdom.³⁹ For Iltutmish this was going to be a great danger. It was possible that the Mongols might invade India and ravage it in pursuit of Mangbarni. Meanwhile, Mangbarni having arrived within two or three days journey from Delhi, sent a man entitled 'Ain-al-Mulk with the following message to Sultan Iltutmish:

"The vicissitudes of fortune have established my right to approach the presence, and guests of my sort arrive but rarely. If, therefore the drinking place of friendship be purified upon either-side and cups of fraternity filled to the brim, and we bind ourselves to aid and assist one another in weal and woe, then shall all aims and objects be attained and when our opponents realise the concord, that exists between us, the teeth of their resistance will be blunted."⁴⁰

Jalal al-Din Mangbarni suggested that the combined forces should get together and fight against the infidels, but Sultan Iltutmish rejected the request on the plea of the uncongenial climate of the country.⁴¹ There must have been other reasons also for the rejection of Mangbarni's request, for Iltutmish was not the type of man to take the risk of the presence of such a brave warrior with a large army of 10,000 men on his frontiers. K.A. Nizami reasons that Iltutmish had fears about Kokar (Gakkhar) — Mangbarni alliance which had, already, come into existence, and there was also a strong possibility of Qubachah becoming a member of this alliance.⁴² Besides, it would have been highly unprudent of Iltutmish to offend the terrible Chingiz Khan by offering shelter to his enemy. Iltutmish acted with a remarkable astuteness and saved his kingdom from what might have been a terrible calamity. The author of *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha* writes that Iltutmish sent the following message to Mangbarni:

"... With offerings of a food worthy of such a guest but excused himself from providing a place of abode on the grounds that nowhere in that region was there a suitable climate or any locality such as would be fit for a king."⁴³

This historical evidence confirms the diplomatic refusal of Sultan Iltutmish. But Nizami calls it a policy of appeasement. He argues that Iltutmish at the same time received an envoy from Chingiz Khan for entering into non-aggression pact, according to which no enemy could be given asylum by the Sultan of Delhi and in return the territorial integrity of Delhi empire was to be respected by the Mongols.⁴⁴ This refusal naturally came as an affront to Mangbarni, who then turned his reins towards Balala and Nikala near Lahore,⁴⁵ until all his followers joined him there. He then sent Malik Jalal al-Din with an army to the mountain of Jud which they ravaged.⁴⁶ After this, the prince sent a messenger to Rae Kokar Sankin, a chief of the Kokars⁴⁷ of Koh-i-Jud, and obtained the hand of his daughter in marriage⁴⁸ and this strengthened his power. On getting the news of this matrimonial alliance, Chingiz Khan dispatched another army against him whereupon the prince moved towards lower Sind. On his arrival in Multan, he attacked Qubachah, the ruler of Multan and Sind, and extorted an enormous tribute from him.⁴⁹

Mangbarni's presence in the subcontinent and his pursuit by Chingiz Khan right to the bank of the Indus, accentuated the frontier problem of the Delhi empire. Iltutmish preferred expediency over religious considerations. He pursued a policy of dignified non-involvement in Central Asian affairs. It was this policy of Iltutmish which obliged Mangbarni to retrace his steps from the subcontinent and averted the threat of the

Mongol invasion.

(iii) *Iltutmish and Nasir al-Din Qubachah*

Nāsir al-Din Qubachah was first defeated by Yalduz who captured Lahore from him. Iltutmish recovered Lahore from Yalduz and restored it to Qubachah instead of annexing it to Delhi.⁵⁰ This gained Iltutmish the friendship of Qubachah. In actual fact, the entire zone towards the west of Lahore was a sort of a buffer state between Delhi and Ghazni, and at this time Iltutmish was the least interested to have his control over this buffer zone due to two reasons. First, he wanted to avoid any direct clash with the Khwarazmshah, and second, he was inclined to devote his full attention rather to the consolidation of his empire. The ambitious nature of Qubachah and the overwhelming Mongol storm that arose in Central Asia, however soon rendered useless these precautionary measures of Iltutmish. Contemporary writers differ about the tussle between Iltutmish and Qubachah. Hasan Nizami points out the agreement between these two rulers whose alleged breach in 1217 A.D. furnished Iltutmish with an excuse to wage a war and occupy the territory of Qubachah.⁵¹ According to Minhaj, 'Iltutmish attacked Qubachah because the Khalji⁵² fugitives after their defeat by Qubachah threw themselves upon Iltutmish's protection'.⁵³ These statements of Nizami and Minhaj have little doubt that the relations between Iltutmish and Qubachah were strained and consequently a clash took place between them. Lahore was in the possession of Qubachah when Delhi forces marched out. "As they crossed", writes Nizami, "Qubachah fled to Uch and Iltutmish occupied Lahore, and he appointed his elder son, Nasir al-Din Mahmud as *muqti*' of Lahore."⁵⁴ But Qubachah reoccupied Lahore, as argued by Habibullah and K.A. Nizami, after the departure of Iltutmish from Lahore to Delhi.⁵⁵ This is also confirmed by the accounts of Juwayni and Nasawi that Lahore was included in the dominions of Qubachah when prince Jalal al-Din entered India in 618/1221.⁵⁶ This raises the question that why Iltutmish did not take precaution to thwart Qubachah's designs on Lahore. Did he want only to punish Qubachah for his pride and arrogance? or he wanted that this buffer state should remain in the hands of Qubachah so that he could avoid any direct contact with the Mongols. This was probably what he prompted. By 621/1224, however, Lahore had come to occupy a strategic position and could be easily destroyed the flanks of an army marching towards Multan. Moreover, it could be employed as a springboard to launch an expedition in the unregulated tract of Koh-i-Jud. Qubachah nevertheless mainly remained confined to Multan while Lahore and Sind bore the brunt of the Mongols and the Khwarazmshah's attacks. In 621/1224 the Mongol army under the command of Torbāe Toqshin came to the north-western frontier of the subcontinent in pursuit of Mangbarni. They invaded Multan and laid siege to the city. The people of Multan under Qubachah put up stiff resistance and obliged the enemy to raise the siege and go back. At the same time, Jalal al-Din Mangbarni and his nobles after their refuge in Sind Sagar created trouble for Qubachah. Taking advantage of Qubachah's weakened position because of these events Iltutmish marched upon Multan and Uch in 625/1228. "Unable to offer frontier resistance", records Juwayni, "Qubachah left the garrison in the town and himself fled to the fortress of Bakar on the lower Indus."⁵⁷ Uch

capitulated after three months brave resistance and defence. Nizam al-Mulk, the minister of Iltutmish, pursued Qubachah and besieged in the fort. In desperation Qubachah sent his son, Ala al-Din Bahram Shan, to Iltutmish and offered to surrender unconditionally. But this offer was not accepted. Finally Qubachah threw himself into the Indus and was drowned.⁵⁸ With the death of Nāsir al-Din Qubacha, the frontier region of Lahore and Multan passed under the direct control of Iltutmish and he conferred Lower Sind on Malik Sinan al-Din Chatisar of the Sumra line, who became a vassal of the Sultan.

(iv) *Iltutmish and the Mongols*

The Mongol cataclysm and the Mangbari's bid to find a refuge in India, created the most formidable frontier problem for Iltutmish, followed within three years. Prince Jalal al-Din offered stiff resistance to the Mongols but eventually fleeing across the Indus took shelter in the Doab between the Indus and the Jhelum.⁵⁹ Chingiz Khan watched the prince's march on the opposite bank of the Indus and stopped the pursuers of Mangbari from chasing him. According to Juwayni, "As Mangbari climbed ashore safe and sound, still grasping his sword, lance and shield, Chingiz Khan pointed out to his sons with expression of amazement and admiration."⁶⁰ The flight of the prince to India, however, marked the virtual end of the Mongol campaigns in the west and focussed all their attention on the Indian subcontinent. "After refuge of Mangbari in Sind Sagar", Juwayni writes, "Chingiz Khan followed the Indus some distance upstream and then turned off into the valley of the upper Kurram."⁶¹ Here he was informed that Jalal al-Din had recrossed the river and buried his dead. The Khan sent Chaghatae in the latter's pursuit, but when he returned without having found the prince, Chingiz Khan dispatched Torbae Toqshin with twenty thousands troops to cross the Indus in his pursuit.⁶² As already discussed Mangbari had set out in the direction of Delhi. The Mongols upon hearing the news of his flight turned back and laid waste the district of Malikfur.⁶³ Torbae captured the fortress of Nandana and wrought great slaughter. He also ravaged the Iqta's of Multan and Lahore and finally returned and recrossed the Indus.⁶⁴ Needless to say, these movements of the Mongols in the western frontier regions of the subcontinent alarmed the Sultan of Delhi, who was fully aware of the Mongol strength. Iltutmish refused asylum to Mangbari and thus tried to appease Chingiz Khan who had set up his winter quarters in a region probably to be identified with the Swat valley. Rashid al-Din records, "The Khan advanced several stages, but as there was no road, he turned back."⁶⁵ According to Juwayni, "the Khan had, from his encampment in the Gibari or Giri⁶⁶ area, dispatched envoys to Iltutmish in Delhi seeking permission to return through India, and he was still in that encampment in the Gibari, when the news arrived of the Tangut's⁶⁷ rebellion... and the Khan decided to return through Farshavar, modern Peshawar, to his original home."⁶⁸ The contemporary works are silent about the arrival of the Khan's envoys in Delhi and the reply of the Iltutmish. However, it seems that even before the arrival of his envoys in Delhi, Chingiz Khan had returned through modern Peshawar.

(v) *Iltutmish and the Khwarazmshah*

Although Mangbarni went back but his matrimonial alliances with Kokar (Gakhhar) tribe and a number of men that he left behind in the frontier region continued to create trouble. "Before his departure for Persia in 621/1224", the author of the *Sirat-i-Mangbarni* records, "Mangbarni held a council of his army generals and consulted them whether he should leave India or not."⁶⁹ Hasan Qarlugh⁷⁰ and a few other nobles were of the view that India should be preferred to Persia for permanent stay as it was a vast country full of resources. But the prince accepted the views of others who were in favour of returning to Persia.⁷¹ Mangbarni divided his subjugated Indian territories among his generals. Hasan Qarlugh was entrusted with the administration of the territory west of the Indus, such as Ningrahar,⁷² Karman, Furshur (modern Peshawar) and northern part of Bamian⁷³ which still lay outside the Mongol control. Another general, Ozbek Tae was posted at Nandana in the Koh-i-Jud to control the area including Bamian. Malik Khalj Khan was left in the town of Mansurah, a sub-division in the *Iqta'* of Siwistan,⁷⁴ which was destroyed by Nasir al-Din Qubachah in 624/1226. The territories of these Khwarazmian nobles were endowed with immense strategic and commercial importance. The route from Ghazni through the Tochi Pass follows the Tochi river to its junction with the Kurram flowing through the Bannu valley reaching the Indus. The possession of Karman and Banian was thus considered necessary for maintaining links between Ghazni and India. With the occupation of the Central Asia by the Mongols, the route through Bamian acquired further importance. Besides the trade caravans, the Mongol armies also penetrated into the Indian border through it. Consequently its possession was eagerly sought after by both the Mongol chiefs of Central Asia as well as the Sultans of Delhi.

Sultan Iltutmish marched against the Khwarazmian nobles in the Koh-i-Jud and Banian territories.⁷⁵ Ozbek Tae⁷⁶ was driven away from India.⁷⁷ Hasan Qarlugh was however spared and allowed to govern Banian for he paid allegiance to Iltutmish.⁷⁸ Qarlugh's acceptance of Iltutmish overlordship extended the latter's influence in the north-western frontier regions as far as the boundaries of Nangahar, Karman, and Ghazni. However, the situation changed in 633/1235 when Qarlugh threatened by a large army under the Mongol general Hoqutar,⁷⁹ acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mongol emperor Ogetai and pledged to pay annually a fixed tribute from the revenue of Banian.⁸⁰ Infuriated by this change of loyalties by Qarlugh, Iltutmish marched at the head of a formidable army towards Banian, but he fell seriously ill on his way and had to be brought back to his capital where he died shortly afterwards in 634/1236.⁸¹

(vi) *Iltutmish and Gakkhars*

Another frontier problem faced by Iltutmish was created by the obstinate attitude of Koh-i-Jud Tribes. Koh-i-Jud, the modern Salt Range, commanded important military and trade route from Ghazni to India. When refused asylum in India, as already mentioned, Mangbarni turned back and went to the region of Balala and Nikala. From here a detachment under Malik Khalj, also called Taj al-Din, was sent to the hills of Jud. They ravaged and carried off much booty from the region. About this time, Chingiz Khan also sent an envoy to Rana who at first accepted the Mongol vassalship but soon renounced it.

Chingiz Khan sent an army which seized and slew him.⁸² This harsh punishment was meted out to the Raja because of Mangbarni's matrimonial alliance with him.⁸³

Nasawi informs us that after having destroyed Qubachah and consolidated his power in the Punjab and Sind, Iltutmish felt it essential to subdue the Koh-i-Jud tribes who had allied themselves with the Khwarazmian nobles.⁸⁴ Consequently Muqti's of Lahore and Multan were instructed to gradually reduce the Jhelum and the Indus tracts.⁸⁵ The occupation of the stronghold of Nandana in Koh-i-Jud could only have been the result of such operations. Nandana was placed under the charge of Altigin.⁸⁶

Iltutmish was a steadfast soldier and a far-sighted statesman. He adopted a policy of dignified aloofness and non-involvement in the Central Asian politics. Mediaeval India owed him a great deal for saving her from the Mongol fury which had uprooted many a more powerful and far older empires.

NOTES

1. Soon after the demise of Sultan Qutb al-Din Aibak, a struggle for the throne of Delhi ensued between Aram Shah and Iltutmish, the son and son-in-law respectively of the late Sultan. Iltutmish emerged successful and occupied throne. Minhaj al-Din Siraj, Juzjani, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (ed.), W.N. Lees and others, Calcutta, 1864, p. 170, (trs.) H.G. Raverty, Calcutta, 1873, p. 606. Hereafter referred as *T.N.* (Text) and *T.N.* (Trans.).
2. *Ibid.*, (Text), p. 171.
3. *T.N.* (Text), p. 171.
4. To the east of Badghis, at the head-waters of the Murghab river, is the mountainous region known to the earlier Arab geographers as Gharj-ash-Shar. The prince of these mountains had the title of Shar, and Gharj, according to Mukaddasi, meant 'mountain' in the local dialect, so that Gharj-ash-Shar was equivalent to the 'Mountains' of the Shar. In the later middle ages this region came to be more generally known as Gharchistan.... G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Lahore, 1905, p. 415.
5. Sistan, which the earlier 'Arabs called Sijistan from the Persian Sagistan, is the lowland country lying round and to the eastward of, the Zarah Lake, which more especially includes the deltas of the Helmund and other rivers which drain into this inland sea. *Ibid.*, p. 334.
6. Ala al-Din Ata Malik Juwayni, *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, (ed.) Mirza Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab Qazwayni, London, 1911, p. 80, (tr.) J. A. Boyle, *The History of the World Conqueror*, Manchester, 1958, p. 354. Hereafter referred as *T.J.G.* (Text), (Trans.).
7. *T.J.G.* (text), p. 86, (Trans.), p. 353.
8. Mangbarni is a word of non-descript origin meaning one equal to one thousand men in strength. Its Persian equivalent is Hazar Mardan. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Ed., Vol. III, Leiden, 1967, p. 121.
9. *T.N.* (text), p. 170.
10. The city of Bamian was the capital of a great district of the same name which formed the eastern part of Ghor. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 418.
11. In old Persian Khurasan means 'the Eastern Land' and in the earlier middle ages the name was applied, generally, so as to include all the Muslim provinces east of the Great Desert, as far as the frontier of the Indian mountains. For details, see Le Strange, pp. 382-482.
12. *Tarikh-i-Alfi* was quoted by Raverty, *T.N.* (Trans.), p. 504.
13. *T.N.* (text), p. 133, (Tran.), p. 506.
14. *Ibid.*, (Trans.), p. 622.
15. *Ibid.*, (Trans.), p. 630.

16. The great district of Tukharistan lay to the east of Balkh, stretching along the south side of the Oxus as far as the frontiers of Badakhshan and bounded on the south by the mountain ranges north of Bamian and Punjshir. For details, see Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 426-7.
17. It is sixty five miles south-east of Kabul. According to Raverty, in 251/865, Gardez was the chief place of an independent Muslim territory, the ruler of which was the Amir Abu Mansur-i-Aflaj. He was made tributary by Yaqub-i-La'is, the Suffari, ruler of Sijistan. Raverty, *op. cit.* p. 686.
18. It is one of the passes on the route from Ghazni towards Lahore, the name of which has been changed with the change of the inhabitants of those parts. *Ibid.*, p. 505. It is probably the Kurram pass. See pp. 62-63.
19. *T.N.* (text), p. 135.
20. *Ibid.* (text), p. 135.
21. Abd al-Malik, Isami, *Futuh us-Salatin*, (Ed.) A.S. Usha, Madras, 1948, (text), p. 110, (Trans.) Agha Mehdi Hussain, (Agra, 1938), p. 216. Hereafter it is referred as F.S. (text), (Trans.).
22. Badauni and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* suggest that Tarain was then as Serai Talwari.
23. Hasan Nizami, *Taj al-Ma'athir*, quoted by Raverty, *T.N.* (Trans.) p. 608.
24. *Ibid.*, (Trans.), Vol. II, p. 195.
25. He was the son of Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah and heir-apparent of the Khwarazmian empire.
26. *T.J.G.* (Text), p. 99. (Trans.), p. 369.
27. W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, London, 1958, p. 404.
28. *T.J.G.* (Text), p. 135, (Trans.), p. 405.
29. *Ibid.*, (Text), p. 135.
30. It was a village near Merv in the then province of Tukharistan.
31. *T.J.G.* (text), p. 141.
32. *T.N.* (Text), p. 290.
33. *T.J.G.* (text), p. 141.
34. Kanbu, *Ma'dan-i-Akhbar-i-Ahmadi*, as quoted by Husain Khan, in "The Identification of Place where Sultan Khwarazmshah crossed the Sind", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, April, 1970, p. 13. Also see Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 293.
35. Hasain Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
36. Boyle, *op. cit.*, p. 320.
37. Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 293.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *T.J.G.* (Text), p. 144.
40. *Ibid.*, (Text), p. 145, (Trans.), p. 413.
41. *T.J.G.* (Text), p. 145.
42. K.A. Nizami, *Religion and Politics in India during 13th Century*, Aligarh, 1961, p. 330.
43. *T.J.G.* (Trans.), p. 414.
44. Nizami, *op. cit.*, p. 330.
45. *T.J.G.*, p. 146. It is also written as Balala and Mankala in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, *T.N.* (Trans.), Elliot and Dowson, p. 394.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 295.
47. i.e., Gakkhar
48. *T.N.* (Trans.), p. 295.
49. *T.J.G.* (Text), vol. II, p. 147.
50. Habibullah; *The Foundation of the Muslim Rule in India*, Allahabad, 1961, p. 90.
51. Hasan Nizami, *op. cit.*, p. 241.
52. Raverty narrates that eighteen months after the appearance of the Mongols on the Indus and the investment of Multan by Turtae in 623/1226, a chief named Malik Khan with his followers and the Khalj tribe ... arrived on the north-west frontier of Sind. Qubachah moved against them and defeated them. *T.N.* (Trans.), p. 540.

53. *Ibid.*
54. Nizami, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
55. Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Nizami, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
56. *T.N.* (text), p. 173.
57. Juwayni describes that the Akar and Bakar are two fortress on an Island. *T.J.G.* (text), p. 146.
58. U.N. Day, *Studies in Medieval History*, Delhi, n.d. p. 202.
59. *T.J.G.* (Trans.), p. 411.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 413. Chingiz Khan had commanded Bala to pursue Mangbarni, the ruler of the Huei-huei, and Malik Wong across the Sin river into the land of Hindus. He searched for Jalal al-Din everywhere but failed to find him. On his way back he seized all the camels and goats of the people in the Hindu frontier cities. Yuan-Chao pi Shi, *The Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*, (Eng. Tr.). Wai Kwei Sun, Aligarh, 1957, p. 171.
63. It is in the Rawalpindi district. In ancient times, Malikfur was the residence of the provincial governors. It lies on the direct route from the Nandan® on the Jhelum to the locality in which Chingiz had pitched his camps. *T.N.* (Trans.) p. 537.
64. *T.J.G.* (Trans.), p. 142.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 225.
66. Raverty locates the fortress of Gibari in Bajaur. *T.N.* (Trans.) p. 1043. Juwayni suggests that it is possible to read Giri instead of Gibari and identify it with the fortress in which Masud, the Ghaznavid (1030-40 A.D.) was imprisoned and put to death, and which was situated close to the Indus, in the neighbourhood of Taxila. *T.J.G.* (Trans.), p. 136 f.n. But this is not possible as Chingiz Khan did not cross the Indus.
67. The Tanguts for two centuries had been a powerful people in the border area between Tibet and China *T.J.G.* (text), pp. 233-35.
68. *T.J.G.* (Trans.), p. 137 F.N.
69. *S.M.* (Text), p. 121. See below, No. 71.
70. The Qarlughs were of Turkish origin. In the early works of the Arab geographers they were mentioned as Kharlukh and in Chinese sources they are called Kol-lu. They are reported to have attained some political importance in the second half of the 8th century A.D. Jabghuy, chief of the tribe adopted Islam in 779, but the conversion of the entire tribe seems to have taken a long time. They were, however, influenced by the Persian culture in course of time, with the result that they became different in their physical features from the usual type. W. Barthold, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 766; *Huddud al-'Alam*, (tr.) V. Minorsky, London, 1937, p. 287; In the 13th century, the Qarlughs were divided into groups. Hasan Qarlugh, the founder of the Qarlugh's kingdom in the western India, remained loyal to Khwarazmshah. Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 443.
71. Shihab al-Din Nisawi, *Sirat-i-Mangbarni*, (ed.) Prof. Minovi, Tehran, n.d., p. 121. Hereafter, it is referred as *S.M.* (text).
72. It is also pronounced as Nagarahara (نګرهار), which was an old name of a town and district near modern Jalalabad in Afghanistan. S.A. Hodivala, *Studies in the Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay, 1939, p. 195.
73. There is a controversy about the name of Banian. Sir Henry Elliot reads it as Binban while Raverty writes it as Banian and identified it with modern Bannu. According to him, the town was situated somewhere between Kurraman and Jhelum near Koh-i-Jud. *T.N.* (Trans.), p. 541. However, it may be Banna or modern Bannu.
74. Siwistan is identified with Sehwan, which was situated on the main stream of the Indus during mediaeval age. According to Cunningham, native historians of Sind mentioned it as one of the towns captured by Muhammad bin Qasim in 93/711. It was again captured by Mahmud of Ghazni in the beginning of the 11th century, and under the Muhammadan Rule it would

appear to have become one of the most flourishing places in Sind. Cunningham, *Ancient History of India*, London, 1871, p. 225.

75. *T.N.* (Trans.), p. 179.
76. Nasawi says that Jahan Pehlwan being the premier noble of the prince Jalal al-Din was always honoured with the command of the advance guard of forces in the subcontinent. In 1229 A.D., he was driven away to Iran by Iltutmish. *S.M.* (text), p. 122.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *T.J.G.*, (Trans.), p. 146.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 146-7.
81. *Ibid.*; *T.N.* (Text), p. 180.
82. Raverty speaks of a Rana of the Jud hills. *T.N.* (Trans.), p. 815.
83. *T.J.G.* (Trans.), pp. 145-46.
84. *T.N.* (Trans.), p. 730.
85. *Ibid.*, (Trans.), p. 539, f.n. by Raverty.
86. *Ibid.*, (Text), p. 179.